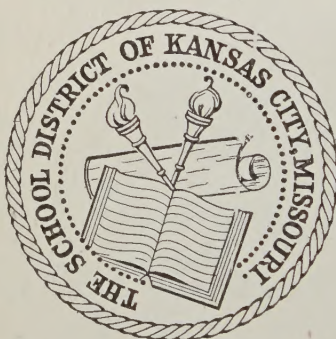


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PRINCETON REVIEW

FOR THE YEAR

1851.

VOL. XXIII.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. XXIII.

No. I.

<p>ART. I.—1. Report from the Select Committee on Public Libraries, together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, &c. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. July 23d, 1849.</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">2. Evening Schools and District Libraries. An Appeal to Philadelphians in behalf of improved means of Education and Self-culture, for Apprentices and young Workmen. pp. 27.</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">3. Free Reading Room of Spring Garden, for Young Men and Apprentices. pp. 12.....</p>	1
<p>ART. II.—Notes on the Miracles of our Lord. By Richard Chenevix Trench, M. A., Professor of Divinity, King's College, London. Author of "Notes on the Parables of our Lord," &c., &c. pp. 375.</p>	51
<p>ART. III.—The Prophet Habakkuk expounded by Francis Delitzsch. Leipzig, 1843. pp. xxx. & 208.....</p>	67
<p>ART. IV.—1. Essays of Sir W. Jones and H. T. Colebrooke, Esq., published in the 1st, 5th, 7th and 8th vols., of the Asiatic Researches.</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">2. Vedanta Sara, translated by Rev. W. Ward. 1st vol. of Ward's "View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindus."</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">3. Account of Indian Philosophy, 1st and 4th vols. of Ritter's History of Ancient Philosophy.</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">4. Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus, by H. H. Wilson, LL.D., F. R. S. Boden Sanscrit Professor, Oxford. Calcutta, Bishop's College Press. 1846.</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">5. Two Lectures on the Religious Practices and Opinions of the Hindus; delivered before the University of Oxford, on the 27th and 28th of February, 1840, by H. H. Wilson, M. A., Boden Professor of Sanscrit, etc. Oxford, 1840.</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">6. Calcutta Review, Nos. VI., VII., and VIII., respectively for June, September and December, 1845.</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">7. North British Review, No. II., August 1844.</p> <p style="padding-left: 2em;">8. Friend of India, a weekly newspaper edited by J. Marshman, Esq., Serampore. Vols. of the years 1845 and 1849.....</p>	94
<p>ART. V.—Conscience and the Constitution. By Moses Stuart.....</p>	125

SHORT NOTICES.....	159
God Sovereign, and Man Free; or the Doctrine of Foreordination and Man's Free Agency, stated, illustrated, and proved from the Scriptures.	
A Pastor's Sketches; Or a Conversation with Serious Inquirers respecting the Way of Salvation.	
Green Pastures for the Lord's Flock.	
Truth and Error, or Letters to a Friend, on several of the controversies of the day.	
The Principles of Geology explained, and reviewed in their relations to Revealed and Natural Religion.	
An Essay on Jewish Circumcision and Jewish Baptism: showing who are proper subjects of Baptism, and the proper mode of Baptism.	
Christianity Revived in the East; or a Narrative of the work of God among the Armenians of Turkey.	
Letter to the Rt. Rev. Alonzo Potter, D.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Pennsylvania, in vindication of the principle of Christian Union for the propagation of the Gospel.	
The Identity of Judaism and Christianity.	
An Address, delivered at Bedford, New Hampshire, on the one hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of the town, May 19th, 1850.	
This Ministry. A Sermon preached at the opening of the Synod of New Jersey, October 15, 1850.	
The Races of Men. A Fragment.	
The Foot-Prints of the Creator: or the Asterolepis of Stromness.	
History and Geography of the Middle Ages. For Colleges and Schools. Chiefly from the French.	
Roman Nights; Or the Tomb of the Scipios.	
The Christian Philosopher Triumphant over Death. A Narrative of the Closing Scenes of the Life of the late William Gordon, M.D., F.R.S. To which is added a Memoir of Dr. John D. Godman.	
The Paradise Lost, by John Milton. With notes explanatory and critical.	
American Education, its Principles and Elements. Dedicated to the Teachers of the United States.	
The Poetry of Science, or Studies of the Physical Phenomena of Nature.	
The Soldier of the Cross: A Practical Exposition of Ephesians vi. 10—18.	
The Abundance of the Sea and our National Union. Two Discourses.	
An Historical Account of the First Presbyterian Church of Princeton, N. J. Being a sermon preached on Thanksgiving day, December 12th, 1850.	
Evils of Disunion. A Discourse delivered on Thanksgiving day, Dec. 12th, 1850.	
The Method of the Divine Government, Physical and Moral. Discourses, chiefly Biographical, of Persons eminent in Sacred History.	
Memoir of Rev. Alexander Waugh, D.D.	
A New Method of acquiring the German Language, embracing both the Analytic and Synthetic modes of Instruction.	

No. II.

ART. I.—Foreign Missions and Millennarianism. An Essay for the Times.	185
ART. II.—Œcolampadius.—The Reformation at Basle. Œcolampade le Reformateur de Basle; par J. J. Herzog, Docteur en Theologie et Professeur à l'Université de Halle: traduit de l'Allemand par A. de Maestrel, ministre de l'église libre du Canton de Vaud. Neufchatel, 1849.....	218
ART. III.—A Life of Socrates by Dr. G. Wiggers, translated from the German, with notes. London, 1840	236
ART. IV.—Three Absurdities of certain Modern Theories of Education.	265
ART. V.—The True Test of an Apostolical Ministry	292
ART. VI.—Remarks on the Princeton Review, Vol. XXII. No. IV. Art. VII. By Edwards A. Park, Abbott Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Bibliotheca Sacra, January 1851. Art. IX....	306
SHORT NOTICES	347
My Own Book, or Select Narratives and Instructions suitable for Youth.	
1. Memoir of Mrs. Agnes Andrew, of Paisley.—2. The Ragged Scholars, Perils in the Desert, and the Avenger Stayed.—3. A Visit to the Holy Land, the Young Jewess, the Red Berries, and The Twins.—4. An Affectionate Address to Mothers. 5. The Three Last Things, or Death, Judgment, and Eternity. 6. The Bruised Reed and Smoking Flax.	
Crumbs from the Land o' Cakes.	
The Half Century, or a History of Changes that have taken place, and Events that have transpired chiefly in the United States between 1800 and 1850.	
The Old Red Sandstone, or New Walks in an Old Field.	
Principles of Zoology.—Part I. Comparative Physiology. For the use of Schools and Colleges.	
The Annual of Scientific Discovery.	
Expository Discourses on the First Epistle of the Apostle Peter.	
Scripture Lands, described in a series of Historical, Geographical, and Topographical Sketches.	
Classical Series, by Drs. Schmitz and Zumpt	
The Works of Horace, with English Notes.	
The Works of Horace, with Notes Critical, &c.	
Miscellanies. By William R. Williams.	
Reveries of a Bachelor, or a Book of the Heart.	
The Closing Scene; or Christianity and Infidelity contrasted in the last hours of remarkable persons.	
The Path of Life.	
The Educational Systems of the Puritans and Jesuits compared.	
First Things; a series of Lectures on the great facts and moral lessons first revealed to mankind.	
The Union Preserved, or the law-abiding Christian.	
Signs of our Country's Future.	
Lectures on Theology.	
The Afflicted Man's Companion.	

The Riches of Bunyan; selected from his works for the American Tract Society.
Memoirs of the Life and Ministry of the Rev. John Summerfield, A. M.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE..... 358

No. III.

- ART. I.—Lettre de Démission à la Faculté de l'Ecole de Theologie de Genève. Par Ed. Schérer, Professeur de l'Exegèse, &c. Genève. 1849..... 367
- ART. II.—Peter Collinson.—Memorials of John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall. With notices of their Botanical Cotemporaries, by William Darlington, M. D., LL.D.; &c.; with Illustrations. Philadelphia, Lindsay and Blakiston: 1849..... 416
- ART. III.—History of the Old Covenant. By J. H. Kurtz. Vol. I. Berlin, 1848, 8vo. pp. 301..... 451
- ART. IV.—Panslavism and Germanism. By Count Valerian Kransinski. London, 1846.
Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress and Decline of the Reformation in Poland, by do. London, 1840. 2 vols.
Lectures on the Religious History of the Slavonic Nations: [by do. London, 1849..... 486
- ART. V.—The Typology of Scripture; or, the Doctrine of Types investigated in its principles, and applied to the explanation of the earlier revelations of God, considered as preparatory exhibitions of the leading truths of the Gospel. By Rev. Patrick Fairbairn, Salton. Vol. I.—Investigation of Principles and Patriarchal Period. Vol. II.—Mosaic Dispensation. Edinburgh, 1847. 12mo. pp. 1115.
Jonah: his Life, Character, and Mission, viewed in connexion with the Prophet's own times, and future manifestations of God's mind and will in Prophecy. By the Rev. Patrick Fairbairn, Salton, Author of "Typology of Scripture." Edinburgh, 1849. 18mo. pp. 245.
Ezekiel, and the Book of his Prophecy. An Exposition. By the Rev. Patrick Fairbairn, Salton, Author of "Typology of Scripture," "Jonah," &c. Edinburgh, 1851. 8vo. pp. 460.... 508
- ART. VI.—The General Assembly..... 521
- SHORT NOTICES..... 554
First Impressions of England and its People.
The Week: comprising The Last Day of the Week; The First Day of the Week: The Week Completed.
A Memoir of the Rev. Henry Watson Fox, B. A.

Moriah, or Sketches of the Sacred Rites of Ancient Israel.	
Bible Dictionary, for the use of Bible Classes, Schools, and Families.	
The Infant's Progress from the Valley of Destruction to Everlasting Glory.	
The World's Religion, as contrasted with Genuine Christianity.	
The Tusculan Disputations.	
The Life and Times of John Calvin, the Great Reformer.	
The Works of Nathaniel Emmons, D. D.	
The Philosophy of the Active Powers of Man.	
A Translation and Exposition of the First Epistle of the Apostle Peter.	
Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man.	
The Principles of Chemistry Illustrated by simple Experiments.	
Popery fulfilling Prophecy.	
Have the Churches the Presence of Christ?	
Two Discourses on the Moral State of Man.	
The Missionary Age.	
A Sermon preached at the Dedication of the First Presbyterian church, Benicia, California, March, 1851.	
The Baptist Catechism.	
The Primitive Rule of Giving.	
Positive Law: its distinction from Moral Law.	
The Primitive Churchman.	
The Power of the Cross.	
The Christian Retrospect and Register.	

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.....	564
----------------------------	-----

No. IV.

ART. I.—Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, which met in Edinburgh, May 22, 1851	575
ART. II.—The Method of the Divine Government, Physical and Moral. By the Rev. James McCosh	598
ART. III.—Philosophy of Philo	624
ART. IV.—The Relation of the Old to the New Dispensation	635
ART. V.—Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche. Von Philipp Schaff. Erster Band: die apostolische Kirche	649
ART. VI.—Histoire de l'Eglise Vaudoise, depuis son origine, et des Vaudois du Piémont jusqu'à nos jours, avec un appendice contenant les principaux écrits originaux de cette église. Par Antoine Monastier.....	656
ART. VII.—Unity and Diversities of Belief even on Imputed and Involuntary Sin; with Comments on a second article in the Princeton Review relating to a Convention Sermon. By Edwards A. Park, Abbot Professor in Andover Theological Seminary	674

SHORT NOTICES	696
The Epoch of Creation. The Scripture Doctrine contrasted with the Geological Theory.	
Pictorial First Book for Little Boys and Girls.	
Lessons of Life and Death; a memorial of Sarah Ball, who died in her eighteenth year.	
English Literature of the Nineteenth Century.	
Dictionary of Shakspearian Quotations.	
A Series of Tracts on the Doctrines, Order, and Policy of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.	
The Canon of the Old and New Testaments ascertained.	
The Poetical Works of Wordsworth.	
The Religion of Geology and its connected Sciences.	
Elements of Thought; or concise explanations of the Principal Terms in the several branches of Intellectual Philosophy.	
Service Afloat and Ashore during the Mexican War.	
1. Universalism False and Unscriptural.—2. Considerations for Days of Adversity.—3. My Father's God.—4. Still Happy in Jesus; or the Dying Hours of Emily F——.—5. The Brazen Serpent.—6. Letters to the Right Rev. John Hughes, Roman Catholic Bishop of New York.	
Report of the Sanitary Commission of Massachusetts.	
Justification by Faith.	
The Popular Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature.	
The Perpetual Abode of the Holy Spirit in the Church, and Filial Duty.	
The Confessional Unveiled.	
The Bible in the Family; or Hints on Domestic Happiness.	
Songs of Zion.	
LITERARY INTELLIGENCE	708

THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1851.

No. I.

- ART. I.—1. *Report from the Select Committee on Public Libraries, together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, &c.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. July 23d, 1849. Folio. pp. 317.
2. *Evening Schools and District Libraries. An Appeal to Philadelphians in behalf of improved means of Education and Self-culture, for Apprentices and young Workmen.* pp. 27. Philadelphia: King & Baird. 1850.
3. *Free Reading Room of Spring Garden, for Young Men and Apprentices.* pp. 12. Philadelphia: Collins & Co. 1850.

ON the fifteenth of March, 1849, the English House of Commons appointed a select committee of fifteen "on the best means of extending the establishment of libraries freely open to the public, especially in large towns in Great Britain and Ireland, with power to send for persons, papers and records, and to report observations and minutes of evidence to the House." So promptly and efficiently did they execute the important commission, that on the twenty-third of the follow-

ing July, their report was made and ordered to be printed, and we have it on our table—a formidable folio containing,

First, the report proper. (14 pages.)

Second, Minutes of the meetings of the committee and attendance of witnesses. (6 pages.)

Third, Minutes of evidence in answer to three thousand four hundred and twenty-three distinct interrogatories. (254 pages.)

Fourth, Appendix. (62 pages.)

An unusual interest has been recently awakened in the provision of popular libraries, and indeed in the general subject of book-publishing and book-reading. It is among the prominent designs of the movement to which the second of the pamphlets we have mentioned, refers—to establish libraries at convenient points in the city and liberties of Philadelphia, to be connected with reading rooms, lectures and perhaps some higher branches of popular instruction; and the generous sum of thirty thousand dollars has been voluntarily contributed for this laudable purpose. The “Appeal,” which is understood to be from the pen of Bishop POTTER, sufficiently indicates the earnestness with which the enterprise has been commenced, and at the same time discloses facts which encourage the hope of entire success..

The introduction of libraries into manufacturing establishments, beneficial clubs, and various social organizations as well as into our Sunday and daily schools, gives to such an inquiry no little interest on our shores. The parliamentary report contains a vast store of facts showing the origin and growth of the most celebrated public libraries in the world—the methods of preserving and increasing them—the extent to which they are used, and the advantages which are supposed to result from them.

The committee advert first to the comparative deficiency of public libraries in their own country—there being in France one hundred and seven; in the United States more than one hundred; in Austria forty-eight; in the Prussian States forty-four; while there is only one in Great Britain to which the same unrestricted access is enjoyed as in all the other countries named. Eleven libraries are then reported which were formerly entitled, by law, to a copy of every new work

from the English press, and five of which have still that privilege, while the other six receive a grant from government which is supposed to be an equivalent, and which, in the aggregate, amounts to about thirteen thousand dollars. We are surprised to find that while all the University Libraries of Belgium and Italy are open to the public, the University Libraries of Cambridge, Oxford, and Glasgow exclude not only the public, but also the undergraduates of the colleges.

Allusion is then made to various local libraries, most of them founded by private munificence; to cathedral libraries, (thirty-four in England, and six in Ireland,) the basis of which is theological, and finally to parochial libraries, of which there are one hundred and sixty-three in England and Wales and six in Scotland—chiefly founded for the benefit of the clergy, and all very much neglected or abused.

This cursory survey of existing provisions for the reading public, is followed by sundry considerations showing their inadequacy or enforcing the necessity of their great enlargement. The evidence of a popular inclination to read is discovered in the collections of books (in addition to newspapers) with which the two thousand coffee-houses of London are now supplied—in the success which has attended most of the efforts to bring the poorest classes of the people into reading habits—in the increasing desire for village libraries in rural districts, and in the great popularity and utility of the libraries attached to the “Ragged Schools,” one of which is described as being “frequented by about one hundred constantly varying readers, of a class approaching to mendicancy, who though violent and ill-conducted at first, soon acquire perfect habits of order and learn to take pleasure in reading.”

The institution of “Farmers’ Libraries,” generally in connexion with some association or club, is particularly mentioned as an improvement. An agriculturist who has taken a deep interest in their success says :

“Some six years ago I took a part in the formation of such a library and club in the county of Wigtown, which has been productive of much good in that county. Previously agriculture was in a backward state, especially in what is called the Rhins of Galloway; but now I can speak in very decided

terms of the improvement of husbandry there, chiefly resulting to the farmers through the library and club referred to. Some of these improvements will be found explained in a recent pamphlet published by Blackwood and Sons, of which one of the practical farmers of that county is the author." *Parl. Rep.* p. 253.

Ireland, though hastening to a much higher grade of popular intelligence than she has heretofore attained, is represented as very scantily supplied with books. There are seventy-three towns within her bounds containing an average population of twenty-three hundred in each, in which such a convenience as a bookseller's shop is unknown! In the important seaport town of Drogheda, on the thoroughfare from Dublin to Belfast, containing a population of twenty thousand souls—about equal to Portland or Rochester—the only popular or public library is connected with a Mechanics' Institute and contains only two hundred volumes, and the whole town does not boast of a bookseller! Intelligent and discerning persons do not hesitate to say "that the late unhappy insurrections in Ireland embraced a large class of persons whose disposition to disorder might have been entirely curbed by free access to popular and improving books."

In reply to the question, by what method such libraries as are needful can be established and maintained, the committee say that "the general want is not so much of objects to be deposited as a depository for the reception of them. It is probable," they add, "that if the buildings, devoted to the purposes of a library or a museum existed, and if the institutions for whose use they are erected, were firmly and inalienably secured in some fixed and lasting society or corporation, and exempted from the burden of local or general taxation, the materials to fill those buildings would be easily, and in many cases voluntarily, supplied."

The obvious distinction is taken by the report between a library of deposit and research, and a library for popular use. The former should reject no printed matter of which it has not already a copy. "The most insignificant tract—the most trifling essay or sermon—a newspaper or a song—may afford an illustration of manners or opinions, elucidatory of the past

and throw a faithful though a feeble light on the pathway of the future historian." The value of such a store-room of the literary products of the current age should prompt all who have the means and opportunity, to contribute to its wealth. There are many rare and precious volumes lying unused and unvalued, exposed to waste and ruin on the shelves of private individuals, which would be gladly received and carefully preserved in a public library; and some of them, though now of little account, may, in the lapse of years, become of priceless value to the historian or antiquary.

As to the second class of libraries, viz: such as are designed for popular reading or general circulation, a very different principle governs the admission of books. Instead of rejecting nothing, great care and discrimination are needful in determining what to receive. A general order to purchase every thing which is published—taking the bookseller's circular for a guide—would result in giving currency to mischievous errors of every grade and hue, while a restriction to such works as shall conform to individual tastes or opinions would exclude some of the most appropriate and valuable books for such a purpose.

A much more rigid caution will be needful in selecting a village or family library. It is no difficult matter in our day to make up a sufficiently extensive assortment of books for popular use in any part of Great Britain or of our own country, without admitting a single objectionable volume.

In considering the methods of increasing the usefulness of existing libraries, much stress is laid upon opening them in the evening. "To close them," says the report, "during the very hours when the suspense of bodily labour or of business leaves leisure for the cultivation of the mind, seems to be defeating the very object of their institution."

The establishment of village libraries is urged with much earnestness as a means of sound, moral and religious improvement among all classes; and favourable reference is made to the "Itinerating Libraries" in use in extensive districts of Scotland, by means of which each neighbourhood, embracing an area of three miles, is supplied, once in two years, with a neat collection of fifty volumes of entertaining books, to be

loaned to all persons over twelve years of age who may comply with the rules. Instances have occurred, especially in winter, in which every book has been out at once; and the only care needed to give success to such a plan is that the collections are interchanged in proper time and order, and that the books are not abused. This scheme has been partially adopted in Germany and Switzerland.

One of the witnesses before the Parliamentary committee was a gentleman from Leeds, who conducted a newspaper in that place for many years and was extensively connected "with the working and middle classes throughout the West Riding of Yorkshire." He expresses his conviction that the itinerating library system, efficiently worked, would do more, in connexion with elementary instruction, to elevate the character and improve the taste than almost any other system of operations that he knows of. . . . I need scarcely say," he adds, "that I regard it as separate and distinct from the establishment of public lending libraries in the large towns and cities, where the books would require to be kept stationary for consultation, reference, &c. But I submit whether by some means or other, the itinerating system of libraries might not form part of any intended scheme for admitting the working people of England, in town and country alike, to participate in the pleasures and advantages which are derived from a free intercourse with the thoughts and experience of the wise and good of all ages, and which now lie comparatively hid from them in books."* p. 130.

* It is not out of place to observe that the "Village and Family Library," republished in this country by the "American Sunday School Union," in connexion with the "Religious Tract Society" of London, contains nearly or quite fifty choice volumes for popular reading, and would serve admirably as the nucleus of the plan here suggested. The titles which we subjoin so far as we know them, will denote with sufficient fullness the general character of the books.

The Solar System, part 1, by Thomas Dick, LL.D.

The Starry Heavens, part 2. " " "

Ancient Jerusalem, by Dr. Kitto. Modern Jerusalem, by same.

The Life of Mohammed. The Life of Cyrus.

Dawn of Modern Civilization. Sketches of the Waldenses.

Man in his Physical, Intellectual, Social and Moral Relations.

The French Revolution. The Caves of the Earth.

The Life of Lady Russel. Eminent Medical Men.

Comparison of Structure in Animals—the Hand and the Arm.

No valuable library should be deposited in a building that is liable to be consumed. It is a loss that no insurance can cover. The shelves and their supports, as well as the floors, partitions and furniture should be of iron. If this is not practicable, the fittings and furniture might be of fire-proof material. The damage from water to any collection of unopened bound books would be much greater than they would be likely to sustain from fire.

On the subject of catalogues, some seasonable hints are thrown out. The obvious importance of keeping them posted up with the latest additions is insisted upon. The catalogue of the British Museum is now (or was very lately,) three years in arrears, and the inconvenience of the deficiency can scarcely be exaggerated. Every permanent library for reference or research, should contain a perfect collection of the catalogues of other libraries in all parts of the world. Any complete library of this class should make it a primary object to contain within itself a "library of catalogues." In the opinion of the most enlightened men, a good catalogue of a large library is the most useful work it can possibly contain, and yet the most difficult to prepare and the most rare to find. Nothing, in this way, requires more skill than to arrange in the most useful manner a large collection of books. Without speaking of the very minute bibliographical researches which are necessary to describe correctly old and rare books, with proper references to date, edition, imprint, &c., for the guidance of inquirers, there are questions unexpectedly occurring as to the identity of authors

History of Protestantism in France to the reign of Charles IX.
 Protestantism in France, part 2. Geography of Plants.
 Magic. Pretended Miracles and Remarkable Natural Phenomena.
 The Life of Cranmer. Life of Martin Boos.
 Schools of Ancient Philosophy. Our English Bible.
 The Origin and Progress of Languages. The Life of Luther.
 Cowper's Task and other Poems. The Northern Whale Fishery.
 Arctic Regions: their Situation, Appearances, Climate and Zoology.
 Life of Napoleon Bonaparte. The Tartar Tribes. Iona.
 The Court of Persia, viewed in connection with Scriptural Usages.
 Life of Lavater. Life's Last Hours. The People of Persia.
 Characters of the Reformation, part 1.
 Characters of the Reformation, part 2.
 The Senses and the Mind. Plants and Trees of Scripture.
 Good Health. The Crusades. Life of Alfred the Great.

and editions and the genuineness of works ascribed to them, as well as in respect to the department of literature or science in which it may most appropriately be entered. Even the leading or indicative word of the title is often a most difficult point to decide and may be regarded as a test-task for any aspirant for fame in the art of catalogue-making. A catalogue, classified as to subjects, with an alphabetical list of authors, is regarded by the committee as the best form. We are surprised to learn that there is no printed catalogue of the University library of Cambridge (Eng.) and that of forty cathedral libraries two only have printed catalogues! A library without a catalogue is not unlike a complicated lock without a key.

Appended to the report and in connexion with the minutes of evidence before the committee are sundry maps showing the locality of the public libraries in Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Dresden, Munich, Copenhagen, Rome, Florence, London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, for the purpose of enabling the reader to judge of the convenience of popular access to them. There is also a large map exhibiting to the eye at one view the relative provision of books in libraries open to the public in the principal States of Europe compared with the population of the same States respectively. From this it appears that in the smaller German States there are four hundred and fifty volumes at the service of every hundred of the people;—in Denmark the proportion is four hundred and twelve books to one hundred people;—in Switzerland three hundred and fifty to one hundred;—in Bavaria three hundred and thirty-nine;—in Sweden and Norway three hundred and nine;—in Prussia two hundred;—in Austria and Hungary one hundred and sixty-seven;—in the Italian states one hundred and fifty;—in France one hundred and twenty-nine;—in Belgium, Spain and Sardinia about one hundred;—in Russia and Portugal eighty to every seventy-six inhabitants, and in Holland and the British Isles sixty-three books to fifty-three people.

We are not to regard this statement as conclusive evidence that the countries which stand highest on the list most highly appreciate or most wisely use their privileges. So far from it, it would not surprise us to learn that the intelligence of

the common people was far more general and practical at the other end. Such a result would not make at all against the importance of abundant provision of food for the intellect. It would only show that communities, like individuals, prize most highly what is sought by many, and obtained with difficulty by few. The itinerating libraries of Scotland, to which we just now referred, were so faithfully distributed as to give an annual average of seven issues to each volume. It is quite possible that the intelligence diffused by a small but choice collection of books among these who share in its use, is quite equal to what would be found in the most favoured countries on the map.

Connected with the testimony of Mr. *Edwards*, one of the officers of the British Museum, is an interesting table, showing the number of volumes published within the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland during each of the years from 1839 to 1848 with their aggregate value at the publication price. From this it appears that thirty-one thousand three hundred and ninety-five different works were published, including new edition and reprints, but exclusive of pamphlets and periodicals. The estimated value of one copy of each of these, at the publication price, would be about sixty-five thousand dollars. This is an average of three thousand one hundred thirty-nine and a half volumes for each year, the smallest issue being in 1841, two thousand and eleven volumes, and the largest in 1848, three thousand nine hundred and three volumes.

In Germany in 1847 eleven thousand and four hundred separate works were published including pamphlets, and in France during the same year five thousand five hundred and thirty works were published including pamphlets. As an evidence of the fluctuations in the book-trade it may be remarked that in Germany there were eleven hundred more separate volumes and pamphlets published in 1846 than in 1848. In France about a thousand more were published in 1842 than in 1847; while in England the number of separate volumes (excluding pamphlets) was two thousand one hundred and ninety-three in 1842, and three thousand nine hundred and three, or nearly double, in 1848. The average publication

price of the English issues was 8s. 9½d. or about \$2,12½ per volume.

Among the witnesses examined by the committee was *George Dawson*, Esq., an intelligent gentleman whose pursuits as a popular lecturer have made him quite familiar with the wants, habits, tastes and humours of what are there called the "working classes," especially in manufacturing towns within England and Scotland. His attention had been specially called to the state of the various "mechanics' institutes" and their supply of books, which he describes as "made up of very heterogeneous materials, contributed by various parties,—five or six hundred of every three thousand volumes being entirely useless, mostly annual reports and religious magazines which are never taken from the shelf."

Some items in *Mr. Dawson's* testimony are well worth transcribing and cannot be improved or condensed by throwing them into any other form than the original.

Q. 1216. Do you think there is any willingness on the part of the working classes to avail themselves of libraries, if they had free access to them?

Ans. Yes, in Nottingham they have an operative and artisans' library. The artisans' library is held in a room in one of the public buildings, and the subscription is small; but they refuse to admit theological or political works, and many working-men have withdrawn from it, and formed a new library, and the books are kept in public houses, and there they go, and pay a small subscription, and perhaps take a glass of ale, and read.

1217. Can you give the committee an idea of the character of those books?

They are mostly novels, or at least a large portion of them are novels; still there are a great many political works.

1218. Is there a willingness on the part of the working classes to study works that are of rather of a deeper character than those, if they had the power of doing so?

Yes, we find that in regard to novels, which form the majority of books taken out, the proportion is diminishing, and the proportion of historical and philosophical works is increasing. The novels, in some libraries, are in the minority.

1222. Do you suppose that the working classes prefer political and theological works?

The working classes prefer historical and political works; they do not trouble theological works much.

1223. Are historical works much read by that class of the people?

Not unless they are political.

1224. With regard to works on the arts and sciences, do you suppose the operatives would prefer reading them?

There is not so great a demand for those books as for historical books.

1228. Do they not admit newspapers in the institution at Manchester?

Yes, and so they do almost in every institution; but this is done by admitting them to the news room, as it is called, and that is regarded as a separate department.

1229. Do they not admit works of party politics?

In Manchester they do; they admit everything to the mechanics institutions, but in Nottingham the operative library was founded because of this exclusion. I have a note of what a working man said about that: he said that he and nine other subscribers to the artisans' library seceded from it because they could not get such books on political and religious subjects as they wish to read. They "clubbed" together and bought Howitt's history of Priestcraft, and that was the beginning of operative libraries in Nottingham.

1230. Can you state whether in Manchester the same preference exists for theological and political works, as distinguished from scientific or mechanical works?

Not in an equal degree; but still the greater demand is for historical and political works. There is one curious point I might notice, which is as to the proportion of issues to the number of volumes. It was found in the Midland Counties generally that there were over six issues to one volume.

1231. As to the libraries in Birmingham, what are they?

They are all subscription libraries; there are Instruction Society Libraries, which are small, and the Polytechnic Institution Library is small, and the issues are about in the same proportion, six times the number of volumes; then if

you subtract the number of volumes which never leave the shelves, you will find from that, each volume goes out nine or ten times in the course of the year. At the Leicester Library there are 3,000 volumes and 13,000 issues; then if you subtract from that the books that never go out, some 2,500 books have 13,000 or 14,000 times to go out.

1232. In speaking of the absence of historical and political books from those libraries, you would hardly apply that to standard histories of the country, but to more recent works?

Yes.

1233. Are you aware whether the older historical writings are becoming more known, that is, the standard historical works as distinguished from more recent works, bearing more upon present politics; do you know whether those are circulated much?

Very much; for instance, "Froissart's Chronicles" is a work in great demand and very popular,—and latterly the republication of the old Saxon Chronicles.

1234. Have such books as Coxe's *Revolutions of Europe* an extensive circulation?

Yes, and the translations from the French political histories have been much read.

1235. Do you think it would be desirable to have libraries containing books of every kind, so that people could take their choice?

Yes; there should be no restriction except a moral one, that is, excluding books of an immoral character.

1236. So that you would neither have political history, excluded, nor have libraries restricted as to the subject of politics, but you would have a general library, where the reader might choose what suited his literary appetite?

Yes; in the best libraries there is no restriction.

1237. Do you feel convinced that if there were such libraries on an extensive scale they would be properly availed of by the people?

Yes, I am sure of that, because wherever they can get the means of having a library they take advantage of it; for instance, the Odd Fellows have founded libraries in many towns, and some of the benefit-societies have a library at

Birmingham where the present cheap subscription room is so full at night that it is quite inconvenient, and they will have to increase their accommodation. That is the case only where the subscription is reduced to the minimum; in Liverpool there is a mechanics' institution where they pay a penny a week to the newspaper room, and a penny a week to the library and lectures. They never take any subscription above a penny; they take none in advance, and they have a great number of working men.

1242. Are you able to state how the lower classes in London are supplied with literature?

By accident altogether. It is a scramble in London: whoever can get a penny buys a book. There is no provision in London in that respect for any poor person. The libraries in London, and throughout the country indeed, are closed at the only hours the working men can use them. The British Museum Library shuts at four: the Chatham Library shuts at four: they are closed at that hour because there shall not be fire or light in them. They are utterly useless to the working classes who cannot take the books home. For them, in fact, libraries are not extant.

1246. And you think that, so opened, these libraries would be of great utility?

They would be very much used.

1253. Have you known instances of self-denial on the part of pupils to get books?

Yes, I have known men to rise at five and work till eight for book-money, and then go to their day's work.

1254. In what towns have you known that?

In Birmingham.

1255. Have you ever been on the continent? Yes.

1256. Has your attention been called to the question of whether greater facilities are possessed in this country or on the continent for procuring books?

In Paris, and some of the great German towns, I have found that books are very much better supplied, and that as a whole the libraries have much more attention given to them as regards each department, and that the access to the libraries is much more ready.

1257. Is not the access in fact quite unrestricted? Yes.

1258. You would say that foreigners never meet with the least difficulty in getting any book? No.

1259. Though unIntroduced?

No; the passport is a sufficient guarantee; you have merely to produce it.

1260. Would a foreigner in England find an equal facility in getting books?

No; there is no library in England to which he could get access.

1261. Except the Chetham Library?

There he would have more facility, but he could not take a book away; and then that library consists very much of old, dry books that nobody reads now, not even a professional man. They have agreed to buy modern books of late, and they spend a few pounds a year, but I fear much of their money is wasted.

1262. You know that many of the libraries on the continent are lending libraries, so that a person can take a book out of the library when required?

Yes, but I believe there is no case of that kind in England, except in the case of the subscription libraries.

1263. Do you think, looking at certain sets of books which could be easily purchased, it would be very desirable for the sake of literary men, and also of the working classes in England, to have libraries on the lending principle?

Yes; the only thing is that you would run the risk of losing books.

1264. But do you think the risk would be worth running for the sake of the good it would do?

Yes; a great deal of reading is not done, but might be done, because the men cannot get the books away; it is often inconvenient to sit in a public room to read.

1265. What is the result of your observation with regard to any improvement generally in the character of the working-classes, in a moral and also in a literary point of view?

I think the improvement in that respect has been very great of late years.

1267. Will you be so good as to state to the committee

your views upon the subject, so far as you feel you have scope for?

I find that the increase of reading is very marked indeed; there is a decrease, I think, of that turbulent spirit which I consider to be owing to ignorance. I have always found that when people read most they are the least open to be played upon by mere appeals to feeling. Of late years the increase in newspaper reading has been very great indeed, and I think that has had a very good effect.

1267. Is there, do you think, an increasing taste for more useful and cheaply published works?

Certainly, those works that are now published at one shilling a volume would not have had a sale at all some years ago. We now find good historical books published at about three shillings and nine pence, and three shillings and six pence a volume, which have been of great general advantage, for we find that the worst kind of reading keeps sinking to a lower stage. There is a great deal of trash published in the shape of cheap tales of horror, which is read mostly by the younger and lower class of readers; but after they have learned to read and write well, they rise gradually in the character of the works they read, and the trash sinks down to the lowest readers generally. Some of the most intelligent and best-read men in Birmingham are working men. I could produce five or six working men whom I should be happy to have examined against any of the middle classes in the place. They are men who have wrestled it out.

1268. Is that on general subjects? Yes.

1269. Comprising to a great extent scientific matters? Yes.

1270. And history?

Yes, history and politics.

1271. And literature generally?

Yes, and some of them have taught themselves German and French.

1273. Would you say that the habits of the people had improved within the last ten or twenty years, particularly with respect to temperance? Yes.

1274. Does that naturally lead to more refined pursuits?
Yes.

1275. And more extensive habits of reading than formerly?

Yes, and the character of the amusements is changed. Bull-baiting and dog-fighting in Birmingham and the neighbourhood were the public favourite sports; now the bull-baiting is gone altogether, and although dog-fighting does exist, it is only amongst the most ignorant of the people.

1276. And you think that the improved taste of the people themselves has had as much to do with the discontinuance of these sports as any interference by the authorities?

Yes, they have died out; they have not been put down; all those things have died out; there has been a change in the source and current of the thoughts of the people.

1230. You have spoken of small libraries, to which a penny subscription is paid; do those libraries take in works of design?

Very rarely; but the publication of pictures, and wood-cutting, and cheap magazines has done very much. Any one knowing the Birmingham manufactures will see the great improvement that has taken place in the drawing of the artizans since the cheap periodicals have come out; such as the People's Journal. The cuts are sometimes rude, but still they are from the great masters.

1281. Do you know any thing of the School of Design at Birmingham? Yes.

1282. Have they a collection of books?

They are making one, but it is small at present; it is not an old institution.

1283. Two or three years old?

Five or six years old.

1294. Is it much frequented by working men?

Yes, young men becoming students for the glass, papier maché, and other trades; those manufacturers having one or two drawing-rooms, and there will be twenty or thirty young men painting sometimes in them; and these manufacturers keep a supply of students at school.

1285. Is it possible to trace any advance in regard to that principally since the school was established?

Yes; you have only to go into the show-rooms and look at

the back shelves, and see the patterns which were in vogue a few years ago to convince yourself of that.

1286. Then you think the establishment of a public library would be of benefit in that respect generally? Yes.

1308. Do you not think that the establishment of libraries would be a very desirable supplement to any system of local or national education given to the working classes?

I think that one must be a corollary from the other. The fact is, we give the people in this country an appetite to read, and supply them with nothing. For the last many years in England every body has been educating the people, but they have forgotten to find them any books. In plain language, you have made them hungry, but you have given them nothing to eat; it is almost a misfortune to a man to have a great taste for reading, and not to have the power of satisfying it.

1309. Is not the most valuable part of an artisan's education, the education he gives himself?

Yes, the education a free society gives him. Still you tell him it is a great advantage to read, and you supply him with nothing.

1310. And what is put within his reach now is often as likely to be bad as good?

Yes; the penny stamp upon newspapers makes the cost of a good thing dear, and adds facility to the cheap people to circulate trash to an extent which is almost incredible; the rubbish issued every Saturday is very great indeed.

1312. Have you ever attended to the formation of parochial or village libraries in the rural districts?

In the Midland districts occasionally. They are forming them now in almost every large village in Derbyshire and that neighbourhood.

1315. The clergymen of the Established Church have taken great interest, have they not, in the formation of those libraries?

Yes, but the libraries they form are not popular with some of the people, because they are very often exclusive. When I say "exclusive," I mean that they are worked under the patronage of this or that society, and the fact is they are often too theological for the people.

1316. Do you think it desirable for any library, whether for rural or manufacturing districts, that the basis of the library should be the best of books?

The very best of books.

1317. I mean the highest quality of literature the country possesses.

Yes, the very best. I think the religious bodies are quite able to take care of the supply of that kind of books. The mistake is that they put so many of them into village libraries, because each church or chapel has plenty of means of supplying those people with religious books without filling up the general library of the village with them. I think in village libraries that has been the fault, that too many of those books have been put in which have belonged to the church or the chapel; they are not wanted, or if they are, the church or the chapel have the means of supplying them.

1341. In what proportion in towns is the reading proportion as compared with the other part?

The only way to find that out is by the issue of the books.

1342. Cannot you give a rough estimate; for instance, take Birmingham?

It is very difficult to tell, because the number of little libraries is so immense. There are libraries connected with the church and other institutions in the different parishes, and almost every chapel has some kind of library connected with it; it would not be easy to get at the numbers without a minute statement. There are some families now beginning to put libraries in their kitchens; that is a new sign of these later times; it is what few men think about, but it is what they ought to do. I have noticed of late that in several houses they have put up a shelf or two in the kitchen; it is to be feared that the mechanics and others who live under the roof of their employers are too much forgotten and neglected. Of course the quantity of people who cannot read and write in this country is a very great hindrance to the demand for books. We have eight millions who cannot write yet.

1357. I gather from you that your opinion is, that the diffusion of knowledge and the establishment of libraries for the benefit of the working classes would have the effect of render-

ing the people less liable to be led aside and made tools of by political agitators?

Yes, towns in which I think that sort of agitation does least, are those in which there is most reading. There are certain towns in England in which the agitation could do more than in others, and those are the most ignorant.

1367. Do you think the prevailing tendency of the mind of the working classes is to study political subjects rather than other general literary topics?

I think their greatest interest is in political subjects.

1368. May not that lead them to study others? It is not to the neglect of others?

I think it is so with Englishmen generally, that political questions are most interesting to them, and next those historical subjects, and then perhaps travels and poetry, which is a great deal read, very much indeed, and of course the result is, very much poetry is written by the working people. Any body connected with a newspaper knows what an enormous flood of poetry the working classes send in, in the course of the year; in fact it would, in a few years, fill a small room full; all of which shows that there is a great deal of thinking and reading going on; because, though it is a compliment to call some of it poetry, still when a man can write eight or nine verses of rhyme at all tolerable, he must have made some way in reading and writing and acquiring the English language. In the newspapers there is a great deal of correspondence from working people; it is so in Birmingham, about all sorts of things.

1369. The practice of giving prizes for essays on certain subjects, to be written by working people, is very prevalent?

Yes.

1370. Have you seen many of the essays that have been written on those subjects?

There have been some essays written lately about Sabbath observance. Three prizes were gained by three working men of Birmingham, whom I know well. I have seen them, and they were really well written; their fault is the fault which generally those people have at first, that is more words than

thoughts; they want shaking a little to let the words drop out.

1371. Then upon the whole, you consider them good specimens? Yes.

1372. Is the higher class of poetry read by the working people? Yes, very much.

1373 In many instances, do you know of their being acquainted with our best poets?

Yes, Shakspeare is known by heart, almost. I could produce men who could be cross-examined upon any play.

1374. Is Milton much read?

Yes, but less than Shakspeare.

1375. Is that spirit increasing?

Yes, increasing.

Another witness (a clergyman of the Church of England) being examined on some of the same points, though not in reference to the same districts, gave a somewhat different view of the case.

1378. Have you turned your attention to the institution of libraries in villages for the instruction of the rural population?

Yes, I have.

1379. Are those libraries extending, to your knowledge, in different parts of the country?

Yes, very much.

1380. Do you think there is an inclination to make use of them on the part of the agricultural people of the country?

Very much indeed; increasingly so.

1381. Can you give the committee an idea of the books which compose any of the rural libraries within your district?

I might observe that people are very little acquainted with the extraordinary ignorance of the people in the rural districts, such as Buckinghamshire, and many of the books which we select for those libraries, I find lie upon the shelves unread, and the consequence is, we require duplicates over and over again of such works as Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Cook's Voyages*, and works of that description; but what we are aiming at is to raise the standard, so as to get

them to read books of practical science and books of a higher description altogether.

1382. Do you make any attempts to connect education with their pursuits, so as to instruct them, for instance, in matters connected with agriculture?

Yes; but there is a difficulty in creating an interest upon the subject. I have found that if we established a lending library which was entirely free, very few people will come for the books, and if they receive the books they do not read them; and they care very little about them; therefore we have adopted a different plan, namely, that of making them pay a small sum for the use of the books; we make them pay one shilling a month, and by that means we get a little sum for the payment of the libraries, and the books are valued and more read. I have noticed a very different demand since we have adopted this plan, to the state of things previously.

1383. Could you give the committee an idea of the books themselves as forming a part of such libraries as you have there?

I might say, in a few words, we have selected the books which we think most convenient, from the Religious Tract Society, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. We have confined ourselves almost exclusively to them.

1393. In the winter the agricultural labourer has a great deal of time for reading, has he not, in the evening?

They go to bed very early; we open our library on the Monday evening, where they have good fire and good light, and many of the poor men, and even the bigger boys, come in and spend a couple of hours and enjoy it very much.

1394. Is it one day a week? Yes.

1395. You have a good room have you? Yes.

1396. If your funds would admit of it, should you think it desirable to open it on other days; say three days in a week?

Yes; I might add that since the establishment of these lending libraries, I have been enabled to do what I could not before, engraft a young man's society upon it; a sort of young man's improvement society; those young men I find

are very anxious for books, and they are reading a higher class of books. We give them lectures once a fortnight upon scientific subjects, tending to illustrate the truth of religion, and it is creating a great interest and causing discussion among them. Those young men are inquiring for the higher class of books and which in time we shall be glad to supply them with.

1412. Do you think that in a purely rural population any body of persons could be found capable of managing such an institution as a village library, I mean a population of an improved character?

Yes; I think you might find our first-class boys who have gone through our schools, and who have been kept there till they are 14 or 15 years of age, would be competent to take charge of a library in a rural district.

The social and moral benefits flowing from a good public library in popular neighborhoods is almost universally acknowledged. It has been doubted however by some whether such institutions could be of much service in small towns, or whether it is even practicable to establish them in such places. The following summary of facts which we derive from the Report before us, will tend to show the signal importance of them to any community where readers are found or can be made. The experiment to which we are about to refer was tried in Peebles, a small town on the banks of the Tweed, twenty miles south from Edinburgh, containing two thousand or twenty-five hundred inhabitants. It has no manufactures of importance and consequently there is no large body of workmen, belonging to any one trade. The artisans are of that mixed kind, usually found in a small town dependent on the surrounding country district. To these may be added the young men in shops and lawyers' offices, and thus the occupations of the employed will be at once manifest. It is not saying too much that among these were usually to be found the supporters, to some extent, of the public houses within the burgh. Several years ago the lawyers' clerks, and young trades-lads, were notorious for their disorderly and immoral conduct. Many of them had on that account to leave the place; some enlisted, and others went abroad, and some were

brought to a premature grave. Of the youths of that day hardly one has remained, in Peebles, as the master of a profession or trade, and the places in society they might have occupied, are filled with strangers. It cannot be said that these youth were more vicious or evil-inclined than the youths of the present day. A great part of the cause of their unhappy career, must be discovered in the fact that *they had no proper occupation for their idle time*. If any institution had existed, which could have afforded them the means of instruction, and recreation, and of employing their spare hours to advantage, many of their perils would have been avoided and an inducement held out to them to follow a better course.

To supply this want, several individuals in 1832 started an institution for the delivery of popular lectures on various scientific subjects. These were attended by between seventy and one hundred and twenty members. From 1832 to 1843 seven different courses of lectures were delivered; but latterly, from the heavy expense attending the engagement of a properly qualified lecturer, and from a want of novelty in the subject-matter of the lectures, a difficulty was experienced, even by those anxious for the welfare of the institution, in keeping it alive.

In 1847 the committee took the state of the institution into serious consideration. They felt that it was absurd to rail at public houses, or the idle habits of the young men, without making some effort to supply a counterpoise, which might operate beneficially against the allurements to evil. This was the more necessary as an agreement had become general to close the shops and places of business at 8 o'clock. It was accordingly resolved to re-model the institution, and make the library its prominent feature. In this way the library would not be dependent on the casual delivery of lectures, but be the staple branch of the institution, and kept in active operation; whether a supply of lectures could be obtained or not. Regulations were accordingly proposed, and submitted to a general meeting, and approved of. A body of permanent trustees, under the name of extraordinary directors, were selected from the citizens who took an interest in the institution, and in these the property was vested for the com-

mon behoof. The active management was committed to a body of ordinary directors elected annually. The members were divided into two classes viz: Those who subscribed 7s. 6d. a year and subscribers of 3s. a year. The benefit of the library was thus secured to the humblest apprentice.

Several gentlemen, (among whom may be mentioned as pre-eminent the Messrs. Chambers, of Edinburgh) having come liberally forward with donations of books, the library received a fair start, and the public interest in it is gradually increasing.

The number of volumes has risen from 150 to 730; the number of readers is also progressively increasing. During the summer months, the number of readers is smaller than during the winter, but at present there are 55 who have out books. The number of readers during the winter will, it is thought, be at least 70.

It is impossible to estimate the benefit which accrues to the whole population from the library. There are several young men of humble parents, who are educating themselves as students of divinity and as teachers, to whom such a repository of historical works and general literature, must be of great service in prosecuting their studies privately. The establishment of a public library in a country district affords the means of self-instruction to such as are desirous to rise from the condition in which they may be originally placed. It affords the means also of encouraging a taste for reading and thereby weaning the young men from many of the destructive pursuits, in which, if left unoccupied in their leisure moments, they are too apt to be engaged. Their morals are improved and they again re-act upon their families, and the society of the place generally, with a salutary effect. The youth who have acquired the habit of reading feel the desire strengthened by exercise, and are never found within the tavern or engaged in any of its debasing concomitants, which lead to vicious courses and often to heinous crimes.

This is well instanced in the present case. The young men are in general exemplary in their conduct. The clerks in offices present a striking contrast to their predecessors. The most of them are ardent readers, and a knot of them meet

weekly for mutual instruction in the principles of their profession. They have thereby every chance of becoming useful and intelligent members of society, instead of a curse to all connected with them. Another body of young men meet periodically, and discuss literary topics, and questions in Ethics. In short a wholesome spirit appears to pervade the youth, which must eventually be productive of good.

It has been said that legislation on this subject is unnecessary; that the elevation of the people ought to begin with themselves, to be effectual. It is true that any efforts for the amendment of the masses, will be to a great extent inoperative, if not supported by them; but it is equally true that the initiative must be taken by those above them. The hand must be held out to them before they will attempt, or be able to rise. It may rather be urged as the duty of a paternal Government, to depart occasionally from the negative system so often pursued, and render positive assistance to the people in giving them ample opportunity to enlarge their minds, improve their time and become better members of society, by gratifying the inherent desire for information, which exists in every man more or less, and only requires, to be called into exercise to be increased and strengthened.

A most valuable branch of the plan pursued in Peebles, is the public reading-room. This is accessible to all, at every hour of the day, free of charge. The funds are raised by donations from well-wishers, frequenters who can afford it, and by the sale of old newspapers, after they have been read. On the table are to be found the "Times Daily," "The Edinburgh Advertiser," "The Scotsman," "The Caledonia Mercury," The "Manchester Guardian," (twice a week,) and a variety of other provincial and foreign newspapers, sent by the kindness of friends. The following magazines are also read, viz: "Blackwood," "The Dublin University," "Tait's Edinburgh," and "Chambers Edinburgh Journal." They are all eagerly perused and every evening, after working hours, all the papers and magazines are occupied. The majority of readers would never have had an opportunity of seeing these publications were it not for the reading room; and the taste for reading encouraged there finds abundance

of room for further development in the library. This has proved a decided antidote to the tap-room; it affords an agreeable lounge for the tradesman, where he can meet with his companions and experience a gratification of mental excitement in the perusal of the day's intelligence, which the public houses cannot supply. The reading room has now been in operation, nearly three years, and this year the number of applicants, within the burgh, for ale house licenses has been diminished by six. From the result of the experiment here, a reading-room must be considered as an important and necessary adjunct to a public library; and the two combined under proper and efficient management, form, undoubtedly, an institution tending to the repression of vice and ignorance, the support of order and government and adding largely to the self-respect, comfort and happiness of those within its sphere.

These facts from such sources furnish numberless topics for reflection of which we have neither time nor space to treat.

Some of the most interesting passages of the volume before us relate to the habits and associations of those who are called "the working men" of England, though it would seem that even there, where artificial distinctions in social position are so well understood and patiently acknowledged, there is no little vagueness and uncertainty in the terms which designate them. In the course of the testimony of the witness from *Leeds*, (whom we have already introduced to our readers as an editor, for eight years, of one of the newspapers of that city, and who claims to be well acquainted with the middle and working classes of its population,) he speaks of mechanics' libraries as being quite extensively connected with "mechanics' institutes," but he adds that "Mechanics' Institutes" in the large towns are not, generally speaking, institutes for mechanics, but rather "institutes of the middle and respectable classes; a small proportion (not so much as half in some cases,) being working men." It seems there is a general organization called "the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes"—embracing seventy-nine local associations and (say) sixteen thousand members, but half of whom are of the "superior order of the working classes," receiving from five to seven dollars per week for their labour. Each

of these associations has a library attached to it, containing on an average nine hundred volumes. Some of these have lectures, and a large number of them have recently formed classes for instruction in particular branches of science, which are found an exceedingly valuable feature of the institutes and necessary in many cases to keep them alive. "Some have mutual-improvement classes, and all, without exception, have libraries. They find the library a bond of union which is needful to keep the institute together."

In answer to the question what is the character of the books in these libraries, it was stated that they were of all kinds, history, political economy, statistics to a small extent, but *a large proportion works of fiction*. And in answer to the question what class are chiefly read, the answer is, "works of fiction, but a taste for a better description of literature is evidently increasing. The number of issues of works on mechanics, philosophy, chemistry and science generally, is on the increase; and historical works have been read a great deal, of late years."

Amongst those who resort to these libraries there is said to be an unquestionable improvement in habits of order and temperance and character generally, but it is represented to be a formidable obstacle to the success of popular libraries that so small a proportion of the people in large towns (and probably also in the agricultural districts) are able to read. There is a want of elementary instruction to begin with, and often where a partial knowledge of the art has been obtained in early life, it is wholly lost for want of opportunity to improve it by practice. In the parish church at Leeds it is stated that nearly half the married women were unable to sign their names, and the still more surprising statement is added, that "it is exceedingly probable that a large proportion of those women had learned to write when they were young, but have forgotten it for want of means and opportunities of practising it when they grew up."

The "Mechanics' Institutes," which have been mentioned, though exerting a salutary influence on such as avail themselves of their advantages, do not embrace in their benign sphere large classes of society that most need them. "There

is a very large proportion of the working classes," says one of the witnesses, "who are neither connected with any literary body nor any religious body—whom society does not look after in the slightest degree—who have no literary nor mental provision and for whom libraries or some literary food of some description is very desirable." We should have been glad if the inquiry had been pushed a little farther, and information obtained as to *what kind* of literary and mental food would be adapted to this class, and in what form it would be practicable to furnish it. If we do not misjudge, Infant and Sunday schools would have to do a large share of the work, so far as mind and heart are concerned, while Industrial and Training schools would supply bodily nutriment to their pupils, and at the same time form them to habits of frugality, foresight and enterprise, without which they will never rise much above their present moral and physical level.

There is a class of institutions recently introduced into some manufacturing towns, as Barnsley, Halifax, Leeds, &c., called "Mutual Improvement Societies." One of the first things they do is to get a library together, but they have considerable difficulty in obtaining books and are obliged to rely chiefly on donations. They pay something like two or four cents a week to the support of the classes. They have no paid teachers but teach each other under a system of mutual instruction. These societies have multiplied considerably, and are regarded as evidence of a strong desire for literary culture among the working classes.

In the course of his examination, a Leeds witness was asked if he thought the introduction of public libraries "would infuse habits of general reading into that large class who take no part in Mechanics' Institutes;" to which he replied—"I think by establishing public libraries, open at all times, especially in the evenings, a taste for reading would be greatly promoted. Give a man an interesting book to take home with him to his family, and it is probable he will stay at home and read his book in preference to going out and spending his time in dissipation and idleness; and therefore the formation of these libraries would be favourable to the improvement of the moral and intellectual condition of the working population."

It would seem that incipient steps have been taken to extend the benefits of literary associations to young women. Particular reference is made to an organization at Huddersfield (Yorkshire) where classes have been formed and conducted by young ladies. Those who have not before learned to write are taught this, in connexion with other useful branches. Instruction in plain sewing and cookery and domestic management is also given. There is a similar institution at Keighley, and efficient female classes are connected with the Mechanics' Institute at Woodhouse.

Although the Mechanics' Institutes of Yorkshire do not seem to have reached a class of the community who greatly need aid from such a source, the report furnishes abundant encouragement for efforts in their behalf.

The Rev. *Henry McKenzie*, vicar of St. Martin in the Fields, (London) gives an interesting account of a successful method pursued by him the autumn of 1848, in the most obscure sections of that parish. The population was "quite the humblest of working people"—mechanics and labourers, some of whom had nothing but casual employment and a few no employment at all. The effect was limited to one particular court and was under the direction of Mr. Brereton, one of the Parish curates. He had charge of a large class which met on Sunday for religious instruction. For the purpose of securing a more neighbourly feeling among the people and a more efficient social and religious influence over them, he volunteered to give them instruction on Monday and Thursday evenings. From having them around him, the idea was suggested of forming a library for the benefit of that court. He took a room in the court and by subscriptions and donations soon gathered together a collection of four hundred volumes, including children's books. They were quite miscellaneous in their character—religious, historical, biographical, and poetical. The library was open two days in the week and the terms of admission were a residence of one month in the court and the payment of one penny a week. One week's subscription amounted to nearly ten shillings (\$2.50). The curate himself took the oversight of the admission of members and the delivery of books. In the course of three months the

subscriptions numbered one hundred and forty-three—all of the class which has been described, and all zealous to avail themselves of the privilege. They sometimes brought a list of five or six books, any one of which they were anxious to obtain.

From Mr. Brereton's own account of the matter, it seems that in addition to the direct social and literary advantages of his scheme he hoped "to gain access, *as a clergyman*, to that large class of artisans over whom religion has apparently so little control; who being extensively organized into clubs or trades-associations from which all the better influence of the upper classes is excluded, are not only a depraved but a very dangerous portion of society." And he expresses his full conviction that "so far as the experiment went, it abundantly proved that the working classes are ripe for much superior and more extensive information than that to which they have generally access, at present."

The small variety of books was a great hindrance to success as was also the size of the room; and Mr. Brereton adds, in this connexion, "that the working men in towns are very sensitive to any apparent disregard of their convenience," which he also believes "to be one great cause of their non-appearance at church." With all these drawbacks however, the books did good service. They were always returned in good order—few if any were lost—the subscribers steadily increased, and the closing of the library at the end of four months was a matter of general regret. Mr. Brereton's plan was to have a central library under the charge of one efficient person, and in connexion with it to have opened a reading-room in each court and street, through which the books would circulate from the central depot. He thinks such reading rooms when fairly established would be nearly or quite sustained by subscription. He would have lectures and improvement classes in connexion with the central depot which he thinks would draw multitudes away from city temptations. He is also of opinion that a small payment is quite indispensable to a proper appreciation of such a library." If the people are told "there is a library in such a place you may go and get books when you like," very few comparatively will avail themselves of it, but if it

were brought before them as a thing in which they were to take a part and they could feel as if they have a sort of vested right in it, they would be much more likely to appreciate its privileges. Even then, however, some systematic effort is needful to excite attention to it. Those who subscribed to the court library we have mentioned, were led to do so by a thorough "house-to-house" visitation. *They must be made to see that some personal or social advantage is certain to result from the effort, or they will not be excited to make it.* This is an important feature upon the face of the body-politic, to which sober-minded reformers, in all ages and countries, would do well to heed.

To return to "Mechanics' Institutes"—a witness from *Stockport*, who has been more or less closely connected with them for ten years, estimates the number of them in England and Wales only, at four hundred, all in active operation; and he is of opinion that the libraries connected with them constitute their vital element, though lectures and classes and discussion societies, bear an important part in sustaining them. He also states that of the libraries most used fiction forms a large proportion, and that a regulation to exclude novels, which has been adopted in two or three instances, has reduced the circulation in such cases, to a very small measure. He thinks however that the demand for this class of books is becoming less and less, and he states (what certainly conflicts with some received theories on the subject) that "upon tracing out the readers it is found that their names are usually first attached to narratives and tales, then to novels, then to biographies, then to histories and then to philosophical works."

In respect to lectures in connexion with such institutes they are regarded as giving quite an edge to the reading appetite. One lecturer had much to say of German philosophy, and forthwith young persons, engaged in trade and indeed those of all classes and ages, were clamorous for the works of *Kant*, *Fichte* and *Hegel*, so that it was quite impracticable to supply them. An interesting illustration of this statement is given by one of the witnesses:

"We had two lectures on electricity; they were remarkably well attended; and a young man, a respectable operative,

after the second lecture, applied to the lecturer for the loan of some work on the subject of electricity! The lecturer happened to have in his hand a popular tract which he gave to him, and I think in a fortnight afterwards the latter produced an electrifying machine which he had made himself from the diagrams and descriptions in the tract! That machine he subsequently brought to another meeting and convinced the audience of his success and at the same time amused them, by giving them shocks from it."

It is supposed that the number of popular lecturers in England has doubled within ten years. Less than five guineas (\$25) is rarely paid for a single lecture, and those who have considerable ability are able to realize an annual income of from \$2,500 to \$5,000.

There are some difficulties in the formation of "*Mechanics' Libraries*," which are presented in various connexions in the course of this testimony. Among them is the establishment of a satisfactory rule to govern the admission of books. In some instances additions are proposed by subscribers and a committee is charged with the duty of examining them with the power to admit or reject—but in the general regulations, in which the classes of books are sometimes described, it is difficult to find terms of designation which are not either too broad or too restrictive. To exclude works on politics and religion, for example, would be to exclude some of the best books for popular reading that can be found in the English language. Politics and theology enter more or less into almost all histories and biographies. In some instances we notice the question of admitting books is determined by a secret ballot—one black ball excluding any proposed volume. This however would prove a very uncertain protection against the introduction of mischievous reading, and we are disposed to think a judicious and intelligent committee would be a much safer barrier.

It is at this point that some of the gravest obstacles to popular libraries meet. The title of any new volume is no certain clue to its character. The name or standing of the publisher is no certain guaranty beyond a very limited circle. The notices of newspapers and reviews are often very vague

and not seldom conflicting, and the commendation of the seller is to be taken with some caution. Even the reputation of the author is not to be fully relied on. We might easily select instances of fresh occurrence—both from American and foreign catalogues—where authors whose works were once received with entire confidence have become the advocates and propagators of some hurtful or vain philosophy. Their previous popularity gives a currency to them which the character of their present works would never secure. Much discrimination and a large acquaintance with the productions of the press should be possessed by those who purchase books for popular libraries—and connected therewith should be a thorough knowledge of the tastes and attainments of those who are to frequent them. The reports of some of the Mechanics' Institute Libraries conduct us to large classes of books that would be both safe and acceptable. One witness states that the "Pictorial History of England" published by Knight, "is so much in demand that in the libraries of Manchester not a copy is fit to be used."

There is a library institution at Salford, near Manchester, which seems to be very nearly in the grade of those that are contemplated in the Philadelphia pamphlet, to which we have before referred. It contains one thousand six hundred and twenty-one works consisting of about three thousand one hundred and eighty volumes. The Reading Room is open every evening (except Sunday) from six to ten o'clock. The subscription is one shilling (25 cents) a quarter, admitting the subscriber to the lectures, evening classes and library. The number of subscribers for the quarter ending June 24th, 1849, was two hundred and seventy-four. The number of books loaned for reading during the preceding three months was three thousand five hundred and ninety-five, or an average of about fifty each night. The classification of the catalogue published January, 1849, is as follows: Arts and Sciences; Biography; Novels, Tales and Romances; Poetry and the Drama; Natural History and Philosophy; Theology, Morals and Metaphysics; Law, Politics, Commerce; Education, Rhetoric and Logic; Diatetics and Materia Medica; Foreign Works, Greek and Latin Classics; Encyclopedias and Lite-

rary Journals; Magazines; Miscellaneous. It is a subscription library vested in trustees.

We have already taken the reader to a narrow court in the city of London to see what a four months' experiment accomplished among the lowest of what are called the working classes. There is a much larger section of that city which we would have him visit and inspect for a moment or two. It is known as Spitalfields and is occupied, to a large extent, by weavers. As a general thing they are spoken of as "remarkably intelligent" and yet they are very scantily supplied with books. What they have they obtain from small shop-libraries and from the lower order of coffee-houses, where any person who takes coffee is furnished with a cheap novel or some light work of fiction for his amusement while drinking it. The general current of this coffee-house literature is of the inferior class of fictions of which the "Mysteries of Paris" would pass for a fair sample. Not only in Spitalfields but throughout England there has been a large circulation of French novels, especially among the reading portion of the working population. It is well known that as a class, they are unequivocally bad in their social tendency—they all contain very loose ideas respecting the relations of the human family to each other and to God; and most of them are licentious in morals. One of the witnesses describes them as "turning on love-adventures, painted in a very vivid kind of language, sufficient to excite evil passions without expressing any thing positively gross," and he adds, "the 'Mysteries of Paris' has been *immensely* read by the common people of England."

In connexion with this view of the reading habits of the eighty thousand people inhabiting the district of Spitalfields, we must have some idea of their social and domestic condition, otherwise we may condemn their taste too harshly.

Few comparatively attend any place of public worship. They are strangers to domestic comfort and they labour fourteen hours a day. "Frequently as many as seven or eight persons live and sleep in one room in which there are perhaps two looms at work; so that the noise and discomfort render it almost impossible for a working man, were he ever so well inclined, to sit down and read quietly." There can be no

doubt that the pressure of poverty and the constant and intense anxiety which the father of a large family must feel, while their sustenance depends upon the daily earnings of his hands, interfere sadly with means of intellectual and moral improvement. A simple trust in Providence is easily preached and is an obvious duty, but to exercise it in the extremity of a poor weaver's necessities is a rare though not unknown attainment. Perhaps the resort to fictions that will minister gratification to the base conceptions of the human mind is as natural as a resort to the intoxicating cup to stupify the senses. And may we not suppose that the "remarkable intelligence" which has been attributed to such a population, having been derived from such sources, is much of the same character with the muscular activity of an inebriate, after the intoxicating draught has begun to excite his nerves and before the stammering and staggering and idiotic stage of the process has been reached?

Why should we delay to put in motion the agencies which worked so benignly in White Hart Court, in sufficient number and force to re-mould all the courts in all our cities and extend the same to the larger and more populous districts of Spitalfields, the "Five Points," and the turbulent sections of Southwark and Moyamensing?

The coffee-houses of which we have just spoken as furnishing cheap fictions to their customers supply also much useful reading, and have been the means of extensively meliorating the habits and condition of those who frequent them. They afford no means of indulging any vicious appetite. Intoxicating drinks are excluded from them. Tea and coffee, with some simple article of warm food, are furnished at a low rate, and the sober part of the labouring population chiefly frequent them—especially such as have their business in town and their homes at a distance. The number of these houses has increased four fold since 1830, and is now supposed to exceed two thousand, of which five hundred at least have libraries connected with them, some containing from one to two thousand volumes; and all of them are furnished with the current periodicals of the day. One of them is particularly mentioned as expending twenty-five dollars a week for periodicals and books.

Before the four-penny newspaper stamp was repealed, these houses (the few that were opened) were comparatively unattractive, for want of some such excitement as a newspaper furnishes. The writer of this article has more than once taken a cup of coffee and a muffin in a coffee-house of this class, at those hours of the day when they are most frequented, for the purpose of observing the manners and customs which prevail there, and he was at once surprised and gratified to notice the decorum and appropriateness of all the proceedings. The newspaper is evidently highly appreciated, "The Times," "The Morning Chronicle," "The Daily News," &c., wet from the press, are spread out in season for the earliest call, and before night they would bear upon their surface unequivocal evidence that they had been in the hands of "working men." It is to the operation of these and kindred causes that the obvious improvement in the moral and intellectual habits of the working classes of London is attributed.

There is no portion of this voluminous testimony that has impressed us more than that of Mr. John Imray a civil engineer and superintendent of a "Ragged School" in the district of Mary-le-bone, London. In answer to the question by the Committee whether the poorest classes of the population avail themselves of the facilities of reading when offered to them, he says—that the small library (one hundred and fifty volumes only) and the reading-room connected with that school, is open from five to nine o'clock every evening in the week, but one—that more than one hundred different persons frequented the room, ranging in age from sixteen to thirty or thirty-five years—that the attendance was quite uniform and the books were read with the greatest quietness and attention. The school-master acts as librarian, and though the establishment is open to every body and would contain comfortably one hundred and fifty persons, those who attend are chiefly members of the school. Some begin to attend for the sake of a quiet and pleasant hour, but they soon get interested in the books and return to read them. Since the plan has been adopted of supplying the means of colonial emigration to boys of this class, the eagerness to read books which describe the countries to which they expect to go is very great.

Mr. Imray states the very interesting fact "that a great number of the same persons who frequent the Ragged School Library had been in the habit of reading before, but they had read only the cheap pernicious publications which are circulated by thousands among such classes." "I may say" he adds "that among these classes there is perhaps a greater amount of reading than among the better classes, but it is reading of the worst description." The opinion is decidedly expressed by this gentleman that the institution of such libraries would withdraw the most dangerous part of the population, not only from worse reading but from worse pursuits. "Their habits as well as their intellect will be improved. Most of them have no homes to go to, and no rational pursuits of any kind, and therefore they take to immoral pursuits."

In the course of Mr. Imray's testimony he brings to view several interesting items of which we have room but for a sample. The frequenters of his library are all very poorly born and very poorly clad, and they are such as, under ordinary circumstances, would be most noisy and rude in their conduct. He has known men of from twenty to thirty years of age, who, when they first came, smoked their pipes in the school-room, overturned the forms and did all kinds of mischief, but are now perfectly quiet and orderly. Instead of rags they come with whole though very mean clothes and sit down with decorum to their books. He has seen there as many as fifty men of this character having wives and families at home! Some persons who have been familiar with half-penny and penny periodicals containing horrible stories, memoirs of notorious pirates and highwaymen, extracts from the Newgate Calendar, hangman's ballads, &c., having a tendency quite as bad as—perhaps worse—than those which are grossly obscene, slowly acquire a taste for such works as the "Penny Magazine" "Chambers' Journal" and "Knight's Weekly Volume" &c., and Mr. Imray thinks *that few if any of them would ever again find pleasure in their former reading.* A library is also a powerful incentive to the ignorant to learn to read. They see how much interest their friends take in acquiring information from books and papers, from which they are debarred by their ignorance. They then very naturally apply

for admission to the school as a means of introduction to the library, and thus the good work proceeds in a circle of beautiful influences. The persons to whom these remarks apply are represented to be street-peddlars of vegetables, oranges &c., who live from hand to mouth, and are too poor to be able to contribute any thing towards the expense of their instruction. A compulsory subscription or admission fee would cause many of them to fall off.

It may interest some of our readers to examine an estimate of the expense of a popular library to accommodate a district of ten thousand inhabitants. Mr. Imray gives it as follows :

It may be assumed without material error, that a square foot of wall surface, can accommodate ten average volumes, allowing for shelving and fittings. A tier of shelves may extend six feet six inches in height without requiring a ladder to reach the upper shelves ; one foot six inches may be left vacant below to avoid stooping ; and in the case of successive tiers, one foot in height may be allowed for galleries and their fittings ; so that each tier would occupy in all seven feet six inches in height, five feet of that being available for books. A room fifty feet square and thirty feet high, lighted entirely from above, so that all the wall surface may be available for shelving, might be fitted with three galleries entirely surrounding the interior, so as to provide four tiers of convenient shelving. The total surface for book accommodation would thus be four thousand square feet, which would contain forty thousand volumes without any projecting-presses or partitions. Access might be given to the galleries, by staircases at the angles of the room ; further, a width of five feet, railed off around the room, would be a passage for the service of the library, and a central area of forty feet square would be left for a reading room, capable of accommodating one hundred readers with space for passages, tables and catalogues allowing sixteen square feet to each reader. " I have little doubt " he says, " that such a room with all its fittings, and with some additional accommodation for the servants of the library could be plainly constructed in the country for one thousand pounds, or one thousand and two hundred pounds. And I imagine that an arrangement like that which have I briefly indicated, would in point of appearance

be in no way objectionable ; for while it is extremely simple and capable of being decorated, it would, I think, have a better effect than such a disposition of the shelves in separate chambers, or in presses projecting from the walls, as necessarily conceals more than half the books, from any single point of view. The warming, lighting and ventilation, and even the fire-proofing of such a room might be simply and economically effected."

We apprehend some of our ingenious students of economy and convenience could squeeze something rather better out of four or five thousand dollars than is here produced, and we may hope that when public attention is more generally directed to the subject, great improvement in both these respects will be revealed.

The experiment in progress in Philadelphia, (the preliminary details of which are given in one of the pamphlets before us) is a very interesting and important one. It is well known that from some cause (chiefly perhaps from the anomalous relations of several adjoining and independent governments) an extraordinary tendency to popular violence and outrage, and a frightful recklessness of life and limb have been manifested there. The clubs or combinations which have become so notorious under sundry barbarous names are known to be composed principally of young men from eighteen to twenty-five years of age. How far their organization may extend beyond a more voluntary street-gathering, from day to day, we are not informed ; but it is sufficient to produce a strong sympathy with one another, and violent animosities towards those who are not of their clan. That these combinations were for purposes utterly hostile to the public peace and destructive to the interests of those who formed them, no one could doubt ; and it is certainly a token of advancing deterioration in the state of society that such hordes of base wretches can consort together from week to week in the midst of an ancient and peaceful city, like Philadelphia, and sally forth by night or day upon their marauding and murderous expeditions with so great a degree of impunity.

How far these ferocious and bloody youth may have derived their spirit from or infused it into the fire-companies of

the city and suburbs, we know not ; but certain it is that some of these also give unequivocal tokens of a contempt of life, law and order, and of a readiness to sacrifice them all to the gratification of a savage passion. As an integral part of the police of a city we might suppose that all danger from this source could be obviated without delay or difficulty.

It was into the midst of communities where this heedless and riotous spirit seemed to have the ascendancy, that *night schools* were first introduced in the winter of 1849-50. It was urged as a sort of apology for their disorder and evidence that the young men were apprentices or journeymen who had no occupation and no place in which to spend their evenings and their leisure hours ;—that they had no taste for reading, and if they had there were no means of cultivating it, and that the only hope of rescuing them from still deeper degradation and criminality was to supply them with means of instruction. To this end several night-schools were opened at once and with very unexpected success. Not one that was established failed for want of attendants. Most of them were crowded at once and some of them to the exclusion of large numbers who sought admission.

How many of the members of the barbarous clubs or of the active participators in their deeds of violence and outrage were induced to attend does not appear. Those who contributed most time, labour and counsel in carrying out the philanthropic experiment, were encouraged to believe that a large number of the pupils were of this class. That they left comrades enough behind to maintain the unenviable reputation they had acquired, the history of the intervening period sufficiently proves ; but no one can tell how many dark shades are kept from the picture by the influence, direct or indirect, of the evening schools of 1849-50. At all events the success of the effort was so great as to excite high hopes ; and to warrant a very spirited endeavour to enlarge and extend the scheme. A voluntary contribution from a very limited number of citizens, amounting to more than thirty thousand dollars, was made in a few days for the purpose of erecting six substantial and convenient buildings in as many different sections of the city and districts, to be arranged for the accommo-

dition of a library, reading room, lecture rooms, and one or more school or class rooms. It was presumed that land for such a purpose might be given, in which case enough of the contributed fund would remain to form the nucleus of a library. The fund was vested in trustees and proper measures adopted to bring it into early active use.

While we look with unqualified favour on such attempts to diffuse intelligence and to divert the vile and vicious from their chosen way by such allurements as we have been considering, we cannot persuade ourselves that any very perceptible change is to be wrought by these means, in the moral tastes or social habits of such ruffian youth as are represented in the clubs to which we have referred. We are apt to forget that their associations and dispositions are the result, not of casual influences or transient excitement, but of a *thorough and efficient education*. From the day they could first lisp those little words, they have been prompted by nature and circumstances to say *Yes* to every suggestion of evil, and *No* to every proposition to do right. The gentle restraints of a quiet and orderly home, which are to the tender spirit of children as imperceptible as the falling of the dew, were never laid upon them. All along the path of infancy and youth they were the sport of the capricious humours and passionate sallies of parents and care-takers—now coaxed and petted, and anon kicked and cuffed and surrounded by influences most debasing to the mind and corrupting to the moral-sense. The counteracting processes of schooling and employment were looked upon with aversion and contempt, and they have been taught by precept and example to regard law as the natural enemy of liberty. and the superiority which wealth, or talents, or office confer as necessarily deducting just so much from the comfort and respectability of those who occupy inferior stations. With such impressions deepened and darkened with every setting sun for the first twelve or fifteen years of life, what can we expect other than what we see—hordes of lawless ruffians fatally bent upon mischief and restrained by the fear neither of God nor man, from the execution of their purposes? We can scarcely think it to be in accordance with the principles of human nature, or with the laws of God's moral govern-

ment, that such sturdy necks as these should be brought under the yoke of wholesome restraint by scientific lectures and free libraries. The novelty of such associations may supply a momentary attraction, and cases may now and then occur in which some stray sympathy of a better sort may be wrought upon for permanent good ; but we fear they will be only exceptions. The chance of succeeding in our country with such influences upon such a class is far less than in the cities of the old world. There the strong arm of power is lifted so high as to be out of the reach of the baser sort. They must work their way up to it by some general revolution before they can seize it and bring it down to their level. But with us it is as near them as the ballot-box. It is so near as to make them feel that it is virtually their own ! They know in what high esteem an office is held, though it be but that of a constable or watchman, and of course what a vote for the appointing power is valued at. What can we expect from the force of law where the gamblers take a hand at cards with the Mayor, and the tipplers share a glass with the judge, and the thief divides the spoil with the policeman ? Who does not see and know and feel that the spirit of insubordination and disorder and contempt of authority, under such a government as ours, can only be restrained and corrected by the inculcation of early habits of obedience to household and school-room law. It is so soon as the muscles are strengthened and the blood flows briskly and the consciousness of power and the love of liberty are awakened, the ordinary methods of control are spurned. The youth is impatient of dependence even upon parental care, and would fain demand " the portion of goods that falleth to him." He soon learns the slang of the street, and " Does your mother know you're out," expresses his contempt for the tenderest watchfulness and anxiety. He finds congenial associates at all corners, and especially in the vicinage of Engine and Hose-houses. Obscene jests upon passers-by, senseless oaths, low and vile songs are there current. Little feuds are nourished. The fighting propensities develope themselves apace. Bowie-knives and revolvers naturally follow, and when a suitable crisis arrives the battle is set in array, and then peaceable inhabitants do well to retire to bullet-proof rooms,

and the little children to retreat from the door-steps of their homes, and give the streets up to the bloody combat. When it is all over, a contribution can be raised for the families of deceased rioters, or their victims. Citizens who have the misfortune to be shot down will be duly hospitalized or interred, and the good people who stayed at home during the melee will put their hands in their pockets and pay for the houses that are burned or destroyed, and the wages of the brave soldiers that turned out to quell the mob, after the mischief was all done and the gentlemen of the mob returned to their rendezvous.

No. The spirits that stir up such strifes and glory in them, are not to be subdued by books and lectures. Leviathan is not so tamed. Wholesome laws should be made to restrain them—but these, by a lax administration, may lose their virtue. Public sentiment is not a tribunal to inspire such men with dread—the ultimate recourse must be to a process of *extermination*. The diseased limb must be amputated—and the gangrene will extend and increase in virulence till this is done. The origin of the disease, however, is close by the hearth-stone, and there the radical preventive must be employed. The spirit of wanton mischief which prompts to the defilement of a newly-scrubbed flight of marble door-steps with tobacco saliva, or to the rude and filthy scribbling of a newly-painted wall or fence, or to the mutilation of shade-trees, or to the breaking of street lamps, is near akin to the spirit of malicious mischief that prompts the burning of stables and carpenters' shops—to riots, routs and tumultuous assemblages, and to other outrages upon personal rights and the public peace and security. If the twigs were straitened in the nursery there would be no such crooked trees in the forest; and nine-tenths of our prison-cells would be unoccupied to-day, if a tithe of the chastisement which has been inflicted on callous manhood had been applied, in a proper form, to the unblunted sensibilities of children.

But we must return to our main subject for the purpose of suggesting a few considerations touching *the elements of a popular library in our country*. A very considerable collection of books could be made up of unobjectionable authors in the departments of American history, geography, &c. The biographies of our eminent statesmen, magistrates,

philosophers and philanthropists—of the pioneers of civilization and enterprise in this new world—of the discoverers of new and grand principles in art or science, and of those who have faithfully served their day and generation in humbler spheres, would constitute another large class. Works respecting the natural resources, internal improvements and commercial interests and capabilities of different sections of the country would form another. We feel confident that if any books of this class would attract such persons as we have just had in our view, it would be such as relate to *our own country*. But is there good reason to believe that a judicious selection of such books would commend itself to the tastes of those whose improvement we seek? We fear not. They have been too long accustomed, as a body, to a very different sort of reading to justify any such expectation.

The question will then come up, what class of books shall be admitted with more attractions and yet without danger? We are happy to know that there is a large variety of very useful publications, often alluded to in the parliamentary document before us, which may well suit the exigency. They are such as "Information for the People," and "Useful Tracts," and the "Cyclopedia of English Literature" by the Messrs. Chambers—"The Saturday Evening Visiter," "The Penny Magazine," "Knight's Weekly Volume," "Library of Entertaining Knowledge," and a variety of popular volumes belonging to the same class, but of divers authorship and publication. There are also treatises on Political Economy, Mechanics and various departments of Natural Philosophy, involving intimate relations to the arts, conveniences and enjoyments of life in all its grades and circumstances, which we might suppose would interest any person of sufficient capacity to read. Then we have a very large variety of travels in our own and other countries, and a rapidly increasing assortment of reports and journals of scientific and exploring expeditions, often highly illustrated and opening to our view some of the most interesting facts in the history and condition of our globe and its inhabitants.

We should then fall, perhaps, on the better class of *fictions*, which for the very reason that they are of the better class

would be very likely to remain unopened on the shelves. To admit fictions at all would be regarded by many as a very questionable expedient. The liberal provisions of money, and the rigid safeguards of official oversight with which district school libraries were introduced into the State of New York, might have justified our confidence that a wise and safe selection would be secured. But it is well known that the most scandalous books were found in several of these libraries, and the children of the people were actually invited by public authority to partake of moral poison provided at public expense! At the National Convention of the Friends of Education held in Philadelphia on the 28th of August last, the Superintendent of public instruction of New York, is reported to have stated that "district school libraries had been established in eleven thousand school districts—but that there had been great difficulty in finding books suitable for the purpose. Publishers have published books, it is true, under the title of School Libraries, but they have been as it were cast-off clothes—old books which have been re-vamped and are entirely unsuitable for juvenile hands. Proper books for school libraries are yet to be written."

Among the books thus improvidently introduced into these juvenile libraries were several of the lowest class of fictions, as well as biographical or didactic works ministering to the most anti-social and atheistical tendencies of the age. It is well known that the advocates of semi-papist views in religion and of ultra-radicalism in politics, have made fiction the vehicle of their sentiments and some of the most attractive works of this class could hardly be excluded from a popular library, if what others would esteem the better class were admitted.

We are aware of the difficulty of prescribing any rules on this subject. We have fancied ourselves authorized to commence a library for a "Mechanics'" or "Apprentices' Institute" in one of our chief cities at an outlay of five hundred dollars as a beginning. Two or three hundred volumes, at an average price of three-fourths of a dollar, would be selected without much hesitation, more than half of which would be of American growth and manufacture. In advancing to a larger and more expensive class of books our rule of judgment (apart

from our own knowledge or the opinion of a judicious critic) must be the standing of the author or publisher, or the general reputation of the work. But the two last tests are quite inconclusive. Authors and publishers, like private individuals, often change their position, and what to-day they shrink from, to-morrow they may embrace and hold fast. Numerous instances of this kind might be cited from the annals of modern biography. As we have before intimated, a writer of deserved celebrity for his eminent attainments in some branch of philosophy falls into a specious but radical error, the hues of which spread over all his theories and conclusions. His reputation as a philosopher gives currency to his works that will be quite likely to overbear all objections to the unsoundness of his views on a particular subject, and so they will force their way into a popular library, and the more grave and pernicious the supposed error of their teaching the more eagerly they will be sought for and read. It is at such a point as this that embarrassment would be likely to begin, and it is here, we apprehend, that a schism would occur in most purchasing committees. Some would contend that error may be safely tolerated if reason is left free to combat it, while others would maintain that the odds are altogether against truth, in the present state of the community. Error has a thousand allies and friends where truth has one. Evil grows spontaneously and matures rapidly, while good thrives only by extraordinary and unremitted cultivation. There are theories respecting the origin and physiology of the human race—the order of the work of creation and the structure of our globe, which involve the most revolting forms of atheism and yet they are so insidiously broached and so enfolded in the beauties of rhetoric and the wonderful revelations of nature as scarcely to be noticed, until the subtle poison is thoroughly diffused over the system and its source probably forgotten. Who would not shrink from any agency in introducing such matter into such a library? And yet would it not be difficult to expend the balance of our five hundred dollars in really “popular books for the mass,” without embracing some volumes of which we might stand in doubt—either of their freedom from error or their suitability for such a purpose?

Suppose the library collected with all the caution and discrimination that are practicable, and opened on the most judicious plan that can be devised, with catalogues, &c., what is to guide the frequenters of it in their choice of books? In the evidence before the parliamentary committee, instances are mentioned in which a lecture on a particular subject occasioned an immediate rush for all the books in the library that related to it. So also the prospect of emigration to India or America brought into requisition any work treating of those countries. We can readily conceive that in the progress of a course of popular lectures such subjects might be introduced and such references made to treatises upon them as would keep a library in brisk circulation, provided the lectures themselves were sufficiently attractive to secure attention. But to accomplish so desirable an end the lecturer must have it distinctly in view in the preparation of his matter and must show no ordinary skill in arranging it, so as to make a resort to the library an incidental rather than a designed result. With every popular library then we must connect a competent corps of lecturers; and inasmuch as those whom we desire to benefit are generally destitute of any suitable place to read, we must also provide a competent apartment for this purpose, and these three several ends are embraced in the Philadelphia enterprise.

We should not regard such an arrangement complete however, without an elementary school for instruction in the arts of reading and writing, where the ignorant might be taught the rudiments of science without being subjected to a mortifying exposure of their ignorance, and where the partially instructed might be improved so as to avail themselves more profitably of the higher advantages of the library and the lecture room. There should also be under the same roof, suitable apartments for private and mutual-instruction classes—where the useful, practical sciences might be taught, especially those which are closely connected with mechanical, agricultural and manufacturing pursuits, such as the elements of drawing and designing, of chemistry and botany, of commerce and political economy. With all these agencies skilfully combined, it might be hoped that some permanent hold could be

retained upon young men who have any intellectual nature to work upon, or any virtuous inclination to be encouraged.

It will not be a very easy matter, we know, to secure the services of competent and trustworthy lecturers. The facility with which error may be propagated by means of a popular address is obvious. A look, or tone, or gesture may convey a meaning far more permanent and pernicious in its impression than an elaborate chapter in print. Oftentimes a form of expression is undesignedly used, in the fluency of speech, which conveys a very different meaning from that which the author intends; and not unfrequently his language or the connexion of it, is misapprehended, and mischief, wide-spread and lasting, ensues. We do not suggest this as a serious obstacle but as a matter of caution.

There are doubtless many persons engaged as operatives in the various departments of labour whose natural abilities and acquirements would render them very acceptable lecturers. What they might lack in the graces of oratory would be more than made up by the simplicity, directness and practical character of their discourses. With such evidence of powers of reflection and expression among working men and women, as is furnished by the *Sabbath Prize Essays*, we should not be in great danger of expecting too much treasure from this almost unworked mine.

The introduction of periodicals, magazines and newspapers in connexion with reading rooms, has already been the occasion of sharp controversy. There is a large class of monthly periodicals of very equivocal character. By dint of extraordinary effort they have a circulation which their intrinsic merit would never have secured. Generous prices are paid for contributions and very little discrimination is used in the choice of matter beyond what a prudent self-interest suggests. It can scarcely be otherwise than that much of the matter should be insipid and without any positive character at all, and still stranger would it be if such a door should be set open for the introduction of false and pernicious opinions, and none should find their way within.

The legion of periodicals that pass under the name of newspapers, religious and political, unquestionably constitute the

most popular channel of communication with the masses of society and yet there would be manifest objections to their introduction into such reading rooms as we have had in view. The bitter partisan spirit which reigns in most of them, and the impracticability of drawing a line where the shades of difference are so imperceptible between the best that are rejected and the worst that pass, will occur to all as among threshold difficulties. The controversy upon this point has been pursued with no little warmth by some of the trans-atlantic Institutes, and has on more than one occasion, we believe, issued in an open rupture. In some instances there, the newspaper reading room is entirely distinct from the book reading room and library, the subscription to each being independent of the other. This arrangement might obviate some of the objections; but others would remain in full force. One thing may be said, without the fear of contradiction—the reading of newspapers contributes very little toward improvement and still less to the strength or stores of intellect. With some honourable exceptions, they serve no better purposes than to aggravate sectarian or party strife, or minister to the gratification of very low tastes and corrupt passions. There can be no doubt that the minuteness with which the most startling details of crime have been spread before the eyes and ears of the public by means of the newspaper press, has had a most powerful influence in blunting the sensibilities of the community—divesting crime of some of its most revolting aspects, and propagating thoughts and plans of fraud and violence, which would otherwise have perished with their originators.

By the remarks we have made in this article we shall not be understood as discouraging, in the slightest degree, the praiseworthy efforts which have commenced for the benefit of the neglected, or of those whose privileges have been few and meagre. We agree fully in the sentiment uttered by one of the witnesses before the Parliament Committee, that “every pound spent on (well selected) libraries, open to the working classes, would, in the long run, save two that are at present spent in the prosecution and punishment of crime and the relief of paupers.” That these recuperative means should

be employed efficiently and systematically none will deny. But we suggest dangers and difficulties which beset all efforts in this direction, that we may the more impressively show the disadvantages of so late an employment of them.

If there is any design clearly manifested in the arrangements of God's providence and in the establishment of His laws, it is that the character of successive generations shall be formed under home-influences; and that in the absence of these, society should take the fearful risk of a perverse, headstrong, reckless race. The infinite wisdom with which these influences are provided for in the organization of the family, the auxiliaries to their power which spring from a thousand collateral sources, natural and moral; and their admirable adaptation to the varying circumstances and relations of the parties to be affected by them, conclusively prove that the grand agency in the formation of human character was intended, from the beginning, to be parental teaching and example. The apostacy greatly weakened and corrupted this agency, but at the same time made it the more needful and appropriate, and the neglect of it proportionably disastrous.

To some extent, conscientious and qualified teachers may supply parental deficiencies. Though the infant is susceptible of impressions which cannot be so well made on the child, yet childhood is a far more hopeful period than youth. There is a moral instinct in most children that shrinks from acts of misconduct which will not occasion a wince six or eight years later in their lives. But it is hard to bring good influences to bear favourably upon one in whom this instinct has given place to impudence or even indifference, and yet they are not to be withheld, and we do unfeignedly rejoice in all judicious efforts for the rescue even of the most hopeless. It is better to use such means at the eleventh hour than not to use them at all.

ART. II.—*Notes on the Miracles of our Lord.* By Richard Chenevix Trench, M. A., Professor of Divinity, King's College, London. Author of "Notes on the Parables of our Lord." &c. &c. Reprinted from the last London edition. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1850. pp. 375. 8vo.

WE look on this book as a very valuable addition to theological literature. The Professor of Divinity in King's College has done good service to the church, in presenting a remarkably clear summary of the teratological argument in general, and of our Lord's miracles in detail. The defender of the outworks of Christianity may feel himself safe behind such entrenchments as these. The author has enriched his pages, as he has those of his work on the Parables, with copious citations of the Fathers, with whom he appears to be familiar. One might almost be tempted to fear an undue partiality for patristic lore, were it not that we find occasional references to modern authors, as Arnold, Coleridge, and the German writers. His quotations are made with great point and discrimination, and may be read with interest and pleasure. His style is compact, and occasionally hard and dry; but he has one most admirable quality, a downright earnestness and perspicuity which never leave us in doubt of his meaning. We were pleased to find him speaking in such high terms of Thomas Aquinas, especially that portion of his *Summa Theologiæ*, in which he treats of Miracles. The argumentations of Aquinas on this subject and on the Being of God are models of logical power and succinctness.

The first and smaller portion of the volume is occupied with a dissertation on the nature and authority of miracles, and the assaults made on them by various schools of objectors; the Jewish; the Heathen; the Pantheistic, or that of Spinoza; the Sceptical, or that of Hume; the school of Schleiermacher, which viewed them as only relatively miraculous;* the Ra-

* It is to this class must be referred the semi-blasphemous hints of some of the advocates of Mesmerism and Clairvoyance, of which our author makes no mention. The Rev. Mr. Furness, of the Universalist body, has suggested, in one of his works, an explanation of our Lord's raising Lazarus by an unknown magnetic power. He says that we know not how far the force of sympathy may extend, even beyond the precincts of the grave!

tionalist, or that of Paulus; and the Historico-Critical, of which Woolston and Strauss are the exponents. The statement of each of these antagonistic theories is brief but very perspicuous. In a few words the author seizes the pith and marrow of the objection, disentangles it from the eloquence or the sophistry in which it was wrapped up, and demolishes it in the most neat and complete manner. He wields the spear of Ithuriel, and at his touch error drops every mask of plausibility it had worn, and stands exposed in all its undisguised ugliness, deformity, and weakness. The second part of the book consists of a thorough sifting of each of Christ's miracles by itself, from "the beginning of miracles" in Cana, to the second great draught of fishes. It displays learning, patience and judgment, and is executed in a masterly manner.

Miracles and Prophecy are the two pillars of brass, the Jachin and Boaz, which guard the entrance of the Temple, and constitute the stability and strength of its defences. Unless, indeed, with Huet and our author, we define the Prophecies to be only another species of Miracles, *miracula præscientiæ*, as distinguished from *miracula potentiæ*. But this is a refinement in terminology which is too delicate for ordinary purposes; and long established usage has acknowledged a sufficiently palpable difference between the two. This popular usage restricts the application of the word Miracle to those events designated in scripture as wonderful works, signs and wonders, or sometimes, elliptically, works, a favourite expression of the evangelist John. They are sometimes grouped together, as in 2 Corinthians xii. 12. "Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds." Each of these terms has its peculiar significance. The term *works*, or *mighty works*, whether *εργα* or *δυναμεις*, denotes the operative energy of a superhuman power; the term *wonders*, *τερατα*, intimates the effect produced on the spectators; the term *signs*, *σημεια*, refers particularly to their authenticating a divine mission, or serving as seals of some divine truth. The word *miracles*, which in common usage covers the whole ground, corresponds with the second class of these terms, *τερατα*, wonders. But inasmuch as every thing unusual raises our wonder, the sacred penman

couples with it the word *signs*; thus unequivocally teaching us that every wonder is not to be counted a miracle, in the technical sense, unless it be a sign also. We are therefore authorized to withhold the term unless it is employed in a sacred or religious sense. Thus we get rid at once of all wonders or portents in which we may detect any thing false, immoral, ostentatious, or trivial. Tried by this test the pretended miracles of later times, the "wonders" of Antichrist, winking pictures and bloody stigmata, are to be discarded without hesitation. Our author properly considers the miracles of the Old Testament and of Christ and his apostles as normal, in the chief features at least, for all future time. Guided by such examples, we must pronounce spurious whatever would restore the bondage of the senses; whatever would be aimless or destitute of a moral object; whatever would be merely ludicrous or grotesque; or whatever the conscience enlightened by the Word of God condemns as untrue, in whole or in part. If these tests be applied, the pretended miracles of the middle ages, and those revived at the present day, must be abandoned as indefensible. It is obvious at a glance how difficult and delicate a task they who treat upon this subject undertake; for they must frame their definitions so exactly, as to give no advantage to the advocates of pseudo-miracles on the one hand, or on the other, to those who deny the truth of miracles altogether.

The objections to the miracles of the Old and New Testaments naturally fall into one or the other of two classes; those which assert the incredibility in the nature of things of miracles in general, or exceptions to the evidence which attests the scripture miracles in particular. The first class object an antecedent difficulty which must be disposed of, before we can proceed farther. And the steps necessary to take are, to show that miracles are possible, reasonable, and entitled to regard from the nature of the revelation with which they are found connected.

To pronounce miracles impossible is to limit the power of God, whether we consider the nature of a miracle or the attributes of the Supreme Being. Our knowledge of nature is limited. There are many secrets of nature which no tortures or

ingenious questionings of science have yet compelled her to give up. Among these are some on which the most practical and useful arts depend, the mystery of whose operations is as yet inexplicable. Physiology, Natural History, Navigation, these all have their depths which no plummet has ever sounded; the polarity of the needle, the enigma of animal instinct in migration, and the invisible and imponderable cause of electro-magnetism, which is able

"To put a girdle round about the earth
In forty minutes."

Since we meet so many mysteries that baffle our penetration, modesty becomes us. When the Lord answered Job out of the whirlwind, he enumerated a variety of perplexing inquiries, running through four chapters, which he demanded a solution of in vain; and to all which the patriarch completely humbled, could only reply, "I know that thou canst do every thing, and that no thought can be withholden from thee. Who is he that hideth counsel without knowledge? therefore have I uttered that I understood not; things too wonderful for me, which I knew not." But not only so. Many things in nature strike us with no sensation of wonder, simply because we have grown familiar with them, which, did we now view them for the first time, could not but appear to us miraculous.

"What prodigies can power divine perform
More grand than it produces year by year,
And all in sight of inattentive man?
Familiar with the effect we slight the cause,
And in the constancy of nature's course,
The regular return of genial months,
And renovation of a faded world,
See naught to wonder at. Should God again,
As once in Gibeon, interrupt the race
Of the undeviating and punctual sun,
How would the world admire! but speaks it less
An agency divine, to make him know
His moment when to sink and when to rise,
Age after age, than to arrest his course?
All we behold is miracle; but seen
So duly, all is miracle in vain."

Hume makes the essence of a miracle consist solely in the rarity of the phenomenon. "Nothing," says he, "is esteemed a miracle if it ever happen in the common course of nature. It is no miracle, that a man, seemingly in good health, should

die on a sudden; because such a kind of death, though more unusual than any other, has yet been frequently observed to happen. But it is a miracle, that a dead man should come to life; because that has never been observed, in any age or country." (Essays, vol. ii. p. 108.)

Since then we are not qualified dogmatically to pronounce what is the legitimate province of superior intervention, the grand object we are concerned to ascertain is simply this: Is there a power adequate to produce a given effect, and can the special case, whatever it may be, be referred without violence to that power? In other words, is there a superhuman agency which originated and regulates the motions of nature, and is there no contradiction in supposing that agency capable of arresting those motions at pleasure?

To evade the force of such a question, the advocates of scepticism throw in a cloud of metaphysical dust, and labour to prove that there is no necessary connexion between cause and effect. The result gained by advancing a proposition which shocks common sense and the established sentiment of mankind, will be to set aside all causes, and by consequence to get rid of that most obnoxious idea, the presence and agency of a great First Cause, adequate to produce changes and alterations in nature and to punish sin. It is therefore said that the only connection of cause and effect is that which exists in the mind, and which is of the nature of association or suggestion. Accustomed to see certain appearances follow others invariably, this antecedence and consequence furnish the only foundation for the inference of the mind that the one necessarily depends on the other. We might, as we think, prove that the mind is justifiable in drawing this inference; but we prefer to meet our antagonist on his own ground, and strike off the head of Goliath with his own sword. Grant then, for argument's sake, that the connection between cause and effect exists in the mind that conceives it, why should not a new connection be suggested? One being no more necessary than another, the new and hitherto unwitnessed appearance may prove only the beginning of a new order of sequences. It may turn out the herald of a valuable class of facts referrible to no precedents; and of course, until experience shows that

this is not the case, objections should be tardily raised. Besides, the necessary number of observations or experiences being indeterminate, it is unfair to assert that a dozen instances or fewer are not sufficient in regard to the new class of facts or new order of sequences, to establish the connection of invariable antecedence and consequence.

It appears therefore that there is nothing in the nature of a miracle to render it a priori incredible; since it leads at once to the idea of a superhuman power adequate to accomplish it. The only question that remains, is, whether God who established the present order of nature, can vary or disarrange that order if he pleases.

It is mere evasion to take refuge behind the laws of nature, and plead their uniformity. The phrase, laws of nature, is ambiguous. The only rational interpretation that can be given is, that they are laws which the God of Nature has imposed; a law being, according to its Saxon etymology, something laid down, thus implying a law-maker, whose prerogative it is to lay down the law. But He who imposed the law is the same who in the exercise of a sovereign authority accountable to none, can suspend the operation of the law for sufficient reasons. A dispensing power is always acknowledged to be inherent in the authority which originates. But sophistry has taken an underhanded advantage by calling miracles a violation or transgression of the laws of nature; thus affixing a sort of stigma on the act, and insinuating that God would be transgressing his own laws. This is preposterous; since the laws of nature were not laid down for his own government, but for the government of the creature. We therefore adhere to the more correct definition, that a miracle is only a suspension of the laws of nature.

It was this misrepresentation of miracles as violating the laws of nature which God had imposed, and which it would imply imperfection to alter, that formed the stronghold of Spinoza. But our author has admirably and eloquently met the objection. "The unresting activity of God," says he, "which at other times hides and conceals itself behind the veil of what we term natural laws, does in the miracle unveil itself; it steps out from its concealment, and the hand which

works is laid bare. Besides and beyond the ordinary operations of nature, higher powers, (higher, not as coming from a higher source, but as bearing upon higher ends,) intrude and make themselves felt even at the very springs and sources of her power." (p. 18.) And again; the miracle is "not a discord in nature, but the coming in of a higher harmony; not disorder, but instead of the order of earth, the order of heaven; not the violation of law, but that which continually, even in this natural world, is taking place, the comprehension of a lower by a higher; in this case the comprehension of a lower natural by a higher spiritual law; with only the modifications of the lower, necessarily consequent upon this." (p. 59.)

We are gravely told that we can know nothing more of God than we see of him; and that it is not right to argue from what falls under the purview of our senses to what lies beyond it. It is only necessary to reply briefly, that we are undoubtedly within the limits of rational probability, when we infer that the Being who can create worlds on worlds, stocked with animate and inanimate wonders, must be not less than Almighty.

What are the proudest works of man to those of his Creator? It was but a breath of his mouth, but a wave of his hand, and a whole world of mountains and sunny plains was built on no foundation but the empty void; his finger traced the channel, and mighty rivers rolled along, or expanded into capacious lakes; his hand hollowed out the great abyss of ocean,

"Strongest of Creation's sons,
Unconquerable, unreposed, untired;
That rolled the wild, profound eternal bass
In nature's anthem, and made music, such
As pleased the ear of God;"

the tameless, trackless sea, emblem of eternity, perpetual mirror of all that is bright or beautiful, terrible or dark in the wide firmament above; to which He set impassable boundaries, and said, "Hitherto shall thou come, and no farther, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed:" and when those ocean waves lashed into fury, swell, and dash, and roar with tumultuous wrath, he has but to say, "peace be still!" and

all is hushed to sleep, like gentle infancy upon its mother's lap. "Behold! these are parts of his ways; but how little is known of him! But the thunder of his power who can understand?"

And shall man prescribe limits to the energies of that great Being to whom the universal reason of mankind, expressed in every tongue and language, hath accorded the title of Almighty! Shall a puny mortal presume to say that He may not regulate what he hath made, or arrest what he hath set in motion, or suspend the laws which in the plenitude of his sovereign and irresponsible will he hath enacted! What we see of Him but raises our ideas of what we see not; and as from the foot we infer the height of the colossus, so the manifest traces of the Deity, discernible in the works of nature, compel the inference of his absolute omnipotence.

Miracles are possible; are they also reasonable? Men are naturally disposed to inquire of any individual who presents himself as the promulgator of a new revelation, whence he derived his authority, and what are the proofs of his mission. He comes as an ambassador from the courts of Heaven, and it is proper to require the exhibition of his credentials. "What sign showest thou?" asked the Jews of our Lord. "Show a miracle for you," demanded Pharaoh of Moses and Aaron. There is no more connection between a visible miracle and a religious truth, than between an ambassador's credentials and the topics of his embassy. The only value either possesses is the value of attestation. The being favored with a revelation, and the being endowed with a power to work miracles, are both deviations from the usual course of things, and not to be hastily believed, both being attended with antecedent difficulties. If a man satisfies us that he has been endowed with the power of working miracles, it being as extraordinary as the revelation, we must for consistency's sake, allow the latter also. Miracles serve as credentials, which incline us to listen favorably to the communications made. They are indeed nothing more. And this leads us a step farther.

A miracle borrows no inconsiderable title to regard from the nature of the revelation with which it appears in connection. This is, and deservedly, a strong point with our author,

and he has presented it in a bold and clear manner. Indeed we are hardly prepared to endorse his statements in full. He believes that the marvels of the Egyptian magicians, and those predicted of Antichrist, are of a class brought about by satanic agency. On this subject divines have been greatly divided. It is so obscure that such men as Saurin and Hengstenberg hesitate to express an opinion. Our author has no doubts. Therefore he affirms roundly, "a miracle does not prove the truth of a doctrine, or the divine mission of him that brings it to pass. That which alone it claims for him at the first is a right to be listened to; it puts him in the alternative of being from heaven or from hell. The doctrine must first commend itself to the conscience as being good, and then only can the miracle seal it as divine. But the first appeal is from the doctrine to the conscience, to the moral nature in man. For all revelation presupposes in man a power of recognizing the truth when it is shown him." (p. 27.) "The miracles have been spoken of as though they borrowed nothing from the truths which they confirmed, but those truths every thing from them; when indeed the true relation is one of mutual interdependence, the miracles proving the doctrines, and the doctrines approving the miracles, and both held together for us in a blessed unity, in the person of him who spake the words and did the works, and through the impress of highest holiness and of absolute truth and goodness, which that person leaves stamped on our souls;—so that it may be more truly said that we believe the miracles for Christ's sake, than Christ for the miracles' sake. Neither when we thus affirm that the miracles prove the doctrine, and the doctrine the miracles, are we arguing in a circle: rather we are receiving the sum total of the impression which this divine relation is intended to make on us, instead of taking an impression only partial and one-sided." (p. 81.)

A revelation every way worthy of God, and in nothing derogatory to his pure and exalted character, lends a great authority to the signs by which it is accompanied. Paul recognized this principle, when he told the Galatians, "though we or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached, let him be accursed!" The

apparition of an angel would have been in direct contravention of what was already proved by like attestations. And when a contradiction distracts, belief cannot follow. The fact, therefore, that the revelation is sublime in its character, beneficial in its tendency, and worthy of the perfections of God, is a powerful presumption for the truth and genuineness of both the miracle and the revelation. To this purport writes Bonnet, "this moral certainty will increase, if I can discern what were the views of the legislator in thus modifying the laws of nature." (Inquiries Phil. and Crit. concerning Christianity, p. 54.)

This is a favourite point with Professor Trench. He lays out his strength upon it. It is in fact the key note of his whole treatise. To view the miracles isolated he considers the great omission of former apologists; a tearing of the seals from the documents to which they give validity and without which they are in turn worthless; nay, a paving of the way for Antichrist, who is to have miracles of his own. On the contrary, all true miracles are always, more or less, "redemptive acts; in other words, works not merely of power but of grace, each one an index and a prophecy of the inner work of man's deliverance, which it accompanies and helps forward. But, as we should justly expect, it was pre-eminently thus with the miracles of Christ. Each of these is in small, and upon one side or another, a partial and transient realization of the great work for which he came that in the end he might accomplish perfectly and forever. They are all pledges, in that they are themselves first fruits, of his power; in each of them the word of salvation is incorporated in an act of salvation. Only when regarded in this light do they appear not merely as illustrious examples of his might, but also as glorious manifestations of his love. (p. 31.)

The effect of such a presentation of the subject is widely different from that produced by a dry proposition in logic or mathematics. The analysis no longer ends in a *caput mortuum*. The skeleton is clothed with flesh. The truth is instinct with life, it is warm and glowing. The feelings of the soul, as well as the convictions of the intellect, come within the range of our appeal. The commanding themes of sin and salvation

enlist attention, and throw their own interest about everything that bears upon them. Indifference is rebuked. The hearer listens as one who desires to be convinced of what is for his own good. The aversion of the unbeliever is seen to be directed not so much against the miracles as the truth they attest. The sting is extracted from infidelity, and the insect is left to buzz harmlessly. "The standing miracle of a Christendom commensurate and almost synonymous with the civilized world," is an argument which may now be wielded with tremendous effect, without denial or gainsaying. "Little as it wears of the glory which it ought to have, yet it wears enough to proclaim that its origin was more than mundane; surely from a Christendom, even such as it shows itself now, it is fair to argue back to a Christ such as the church receives as the only adequate cause. It is an oak which from no other acorn could have unfolded itself into so goodly a tree." p. 78.

In order to give this thought increased weight, it must be remembered, that in spite of all insinuations thrown out against miracles as resorted to by all religions, and so mutually neutralizing or destroying each other, Judaism and Christianity are the only two religions that claimed to be received on the score of miracles attesting them. Their introduction was ushered in by stupendous signs. Herein they differ from all other religions. They differ also in this, that the pretended wonders were wrought for false religions in agreement with the already existing prejudices of the people, and in favour of an established system; while the miracles of Christianity were wrought in opposition to established systems, and did violence to the oldest and strongest prejudices of the men who witnessed them.

The "ethical aim" of the miracles, as Professor Trench felicitously calls it, should ever be kept steadily in view. It gives the Christian reasoner immense advantage over his antagonist. Our author is undoubtedly correct when he laments the throwing away of this advantage by writers on the evidences of our religion, while they laboured to convince the judgment alone, and extort an unwilling verdict. It was a *lumen siccum*. Dr. Chalmers has expatiated largely on this

distinction between the ethics and the objects of theology, and shown conclusively that an indifference or aversion to the *prima facie* evidence which constitutes a claim on the attention, imports a delinquency of spirit. The beneficial consequences of the truth of Christianity being established are so many and great, so much in harmony with all that is good and virtuous and lovely and happy, that there should be a proclivity of the mind to those arguments which tend to evince its probability or even its possibility. In short, the human heart ought to desire to find it true, and if in a candid and truth-loving state, will do so. For this we have our Saviour's authority. "He that doeth truth cometh to the light." "If any man will, *ἑλθῆναι*, is willing, to do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself." "Next in importance," says Dr. Chalmers, "to the question, 'What are those conclusive proofs on the side of religion which make it our duty to believe?' is the question, 'What are those initial presumptions which make it our duty to inquire?'" (Nat. Theol. vol. i. p. 94.)

All antecedent difficulties being disposed of, and the credibility of miracles being ascertained, another class of objections meets us in regard to the particular miracles which claim our belief. Descending from the abstract and speculative, we are brought into the region of the practical.

It would be to little purpose to have discomfited the general objection, if we can prove no specialties. Have miracles been actually performed? is now the question that must enchain attention. This takes in the subject of Testimony, on which our author has said little. The assertion that no testimony can be admitted as sufficient is unreasonable, if the possibility of miracles is once established. All that remains is to fix and ascertain beyond a doubt, the date of their occurrence.

And as we have had to dispute every inch of our way hitherto, so we must gird up our loins again. We will not be permitted merely to walk over the ground. We are told that faith in testimony is the result of experience solely; and that as the belief of the uniformity of nature is the result of experience also, we have two contradictory experiences, the last of which counterbalances the other; and hence no human testimony can prove a miracle. We deny that faith

is the result of experience. We hold that it is the effect of a principle connate with our existence. These are the words of Mr. Starkie, a writer whose opinions have deserved authority among jurists. "In short, where knowledge cannot be acquired by means of personal observation, there are but two modes by which the existence of a by-gone fact can be obtained: 1. By information derived either immediately or mediately from those who had actual knowledge of the fact, or 2. By means of inference. In the first case the inference is founded on a principle of faith in human veracity sanctioned by experience." (*Treatise on the Law of Evid.* vol. i. p. 10.) The truth undoubtedly is, that faith in testimony is prior to experience, for there is no reason why it should be otherwise. There is inherent in the human breast a disposition to confide in another's word, till forced to retract that confidence in consequence of having been deceived.

"Candid, and generous, and just,
Boys care but little whom they trust,
An error soon corrected:
For who but learns, in riper years,
That man, when smoothest he appears,
Is most to be suspected."

It is again objected to testimony that it is weaker than the evidence of the senses. But the evidence of the senses is far from infallible, and we are often liable to be deceived by them. The very writer who insists most loudly on this evidence, has elsewhere arrayed all the objections that can be urged against it, and has affirmed that neither the senses, experience, instinct, nor reason can compel conviction of the existence of an external world. So hard is it for error to be consistent with itself. But if Proteus can escape, he cares little whether he turns into fire or water.

This is not hearsay testimony; we have the recorded assertions of eye witnesses. They inform us explicitly "what their eyes have seen, and their hands have handled." The records are admitted to be authentic, so that the contents stand on the same footing with the letter we received yesterday. The lapse of time makes no difference; unless indeed as it has afforded more opportunity to apply every conceivable test of genuineness. It is, therefore, as if John, or Peter, or

Paul were present before us to tell their story in their own words. There is nothing intermediate. It is all the direct force of a deposition or affidavit read before the court from a man unable to attend in person.

Test these witnesses by the rules laid down by the leader of the sceptical school, and they come off triumphant. We shall not rehearse these rules. They are found in any treatise on the evidences. Suffice it to say that we have three classes of independent testimony. One is of eye-witnesses; not traditional, but preserved in authentic records in their own words. Another is of a host of converts convinced in spite of prejudices national, popular, and religious. A third is the admissions of enemies and unbelievers who retained their prejudices, and wrote against Christianity, and explained away its miracles, but never ventured to call the reality of those miracles in question. And if we were to add to these "the standing miracle of Christendom," as Coleridge called it, or of each individual Christian, regenerated and improved, as Mr. Griffin proposes in a recent work, we might swell the evidence to its highest culmination.

Weigh against these combined proofs the assertion that "no testimony is sufficient to establish a miracle," and next the concession of the same writer, that immediately follows, "unless the testimony be of such a kind, that its falsehood would be more miraculous [i. e. improbable,] than the fact which it endeavours to establish." On which side the greatest improbability lies it will not take long to determine. It would be the most astounding of all improbabilities that this host of witnesses should have been all either dupes or impostors, in matters so public, so notorious, and so easily sifted, and in opposition to which were arrayed the most virulent prejudices of the times. To all this, add the remarkable coincidence of the miracles with the predictions and the general tenor of the Old Testament scriptures, thus forming a stupendous, unique, harmonious plan. We see a number of separate writings by unconnected individuals, covering a space of some thousand years, all mysteriously linked and dovetailed with each other, and pervaded by one single towering idea, to which all others are subordinate or ancillary, the idea of a Saviour from sin

and its tremendous consequences. It shocks every supposition of probability that this complicated apparatus, this vast chain of circumstantial evidence, could owe its birth either to imposture or to accident.

Four of the most eminent assailants of the miracles, Spinoza, Woolston, Hume, and Strauss, our author has summarily disposed of in turn; singling out, as by instinct, the salient point of error in each case, and exposing its weakness. In his anxiety to be laconic, he has omitted some things which might be dwelt on to advantage. A dozen or twenty more pages added to the volume, would have enabled him to give a more complete *resumé*, and would have materially increased its bulk or its price. Thus we should have been pleased to find a larger space devoted to Spinozism, which seems likely to have a resurrection in our times, and which is an exceedingly subtle system. It appears to be very generally conceded that Dr. Clarke's elaborate demonstration, intended as a refutation of Spinoza has proved a failure. We are not of the number who hold this opinion, nor have we lost our confidence in the legitimacy or validity of the argument *a priori*. Different minds are affected differently according to their constitutional turn or mode of education. Dr. Duff, the eminent Scotch missionary in India, found the use of this argument satisfactory and triumphant among the acute and metaphysical young Hindoos, while the argument *a posteriori*, so popular in England, fell powerless on their minds.

The celebrated argument of Hume about experience has also been but briefly handled in the prolegomena, nor has the name of Dr. Campbell been once mentioned in the text or the notes. The Essay on Miracles is disposed of in less than three pages. This is the argument which has gained most currency in Great Britain and in this country, doubtless owing to the author's reputation as a historian. Notwithstanding its celebrity, and the confidence of Mr. Hume that he had discovered an unanswerable argument and "everlasting check," we feel bound to record our impression of its being a flimsy, sophistical, and flippant performance, savouring less of logic than of rhetoric, and recommended chiefly by its easy style, and a sort of complacent, well-fed, post-prandial philosophy. We

remember distinctly what were our feelings after twice carefully perusing it several years ago. We could not avoid asking ourselves again and again, is this the strongest argument which such a champion could adduce? Especially, after following the close logic and clear conclusions of Dr. Campbell in his masterly Reply, we could hardly avoid feeling that so much pains and elaborate reasoning were hardly necessary to refute it. And indeed, they would not have been necessary, had not the inclinations of the depraved heart been so propense an ally of error.

Hume versus Hume, or the self-contradictions of this distinguished sceptic, might be shown up without much trouble. After repeatedly affirming that no testimony is sufficient to establish a miracle, he admits that a total darkness of eight days might be so attested as to command belief; and yet rejects the less wonder of a darkness of three hours at the Passion. He insists on the absolute uniformity of experience against every miraculous event, and that there is no contrary testimony; when it is the very object of his essay to invalidate such contrary testimony. He boasts of his freedom from bigotry; yet whenever a religious miracle is in question, he forestalls inquiry by forming a general resolution never to lend it any attention, however specious. He maintains that polytheism was the primitive religion, and pure theism the result of philosophy and high civilization; yet he ridicules the Pentateuch, which sets forth a pure theism, as the work of a barbarous age. And to add no more—what are we to think of that man's morals, who after attempting to stab Christianity to the heart, hypocritically talks of "our most holy religion!" It reminds us of a midnight scene of old, when a certain individual said, "Hail, Master!" and kissed him, and in the same breath betrayed his victim to his enemies.

Woolston is another of these worthies, whose *Six Letters on the Miracles* had once a great run. Swift speaks of them as having reached the twelfth edition. Above sixty answers were elicited. The book is now only to be found on the shelves of some dusty library. Our author has noticed his ridicule of the miracle of the paralytic let down through the tiling; but not under the appropriate head (as it seems to us,) of the

miracle itself. On opening the volume, our first impulse was to look there for it, and we had a sensation of disappointment at not finding it in the second part.

Strauss is classed in the same school, though he has added the speculative refinements of Spinoza. Strauss is dismissed in two pages, which we regret; as his life of Jesus is translated and diffused in this country, and our divines should be better acquainted with it. Neander thought it of so much consequence that he wrote another Life of Christ as an antidote, but of this reply our author has taken no notice. We regret that his anxiety for brevity should have led to the omission.

ART. III—*The Prophet Habakkuk expounded by Francis Delitzsch.* Leipzig 1843. pp. xxx. & 208.*

If we estimate the value of a commentary by the size of the volume, or the extent of scriptural surface over which it travels, the merit of this exposition of Habakkuk by Dr. Francis Delitzsch will undoubtedly not be very great; but if we allow the ability, the learning, the evangelical views, and the deep-toned piety, which it displays, to enter into the computation we must assign to the work before us a distinguished place. Its author belongs to that school of German Theologians so happily on the increase, who with profound scholarship unite staunch orthodoxy, and who are turning the tide of popular unbelief by their unanswerable demonstrations, that learning and faith in scripture go hand in hand. In the matters of inspiration and of the supernatural facts of the Bible Dr. Delitzsch admits of no compromise; and he plainly evinces in abundant instances throughout the book, the truth of what he thus states in his introduction, that there must be—for we have in Habakkuk an instance of it—"a prophecy, which as it cannot be explained from human foresight, must have a supernatural divine illumination for its cause." This deserves to be rated pre-eminently among the qualifications of an expositor. How essential it is for a biblical interpreter to have

* Der Prophet Habakuk ausgelegt von Franz Delitzsch.

this conviction well grounded in his mind at the outset, can be best appreciated by those, who have seen something of the monstrosities of exegesis and of criticism, to which an error here has given rise. If some one were to attempt to expound the *Paradise Lost* on the presumption that it was an infantile production, and should go determinedly to work to reduce every thing to the level of what might be expected from a child's capacities, lopping off and paring down without scruple wherever this was necessary to his end; such a procedure with Milton may very well be put on a paralled with that treatment of the books of scripture, which sets out with the principle that nothing supernatural can be admitted. Lexicography, grammar, history have all been, as occasion required, broken on the wheel. Many German works, which pass under the name of commentaries or introductions, are by this unsound principle at the bottom rendered perfectly worthless, except as museums of exegetical curiosities; while others, that are really valuable, are in many points sadly disfigured. In the hands of unbelieving interpreters the method and result of their exegesis have grown up into a system, which spreads its influence over the whole field of sacred literature, even to points where we would least suspect its existence. It constantly reappears in places the most remote from those obnoxious passages for the sake of which it was invented. With an appearance of candour and laborious induction, well calculated to deceive the unwary, it deduces significations, assigns etymologies, lays down grammatical rules, which nevertheless have no other reason but that they may be applied in some particular case where the maxims of neology find them necessary. So that even an interpreter of sound views if he suffers himself to depend upon writers of this school for materials, without subjecting them to an independent and thorough investigation for himself, will be constantly liable (as has often actually happened) to adopt, without designing or observing it, what has sprung from no better origin than principles which he repudiates. On the other hand, if he rejects indiscriminately all that such works contain, he deprives himself of the benefit of whatever is valuable in the patient and laborious researches of many able scholars.

Without undertaking to pronounce accurately upon the comparative merits or demerits of the work before us, we wish to note a few things in addition to the soundness of its author's theological sentiments, which contribute much to its value as a critical commentary. In Hebrew philology Dr. Delitzsch is evidently at home. His previous labours in this field, particularly his *Jesurun* published in 1838 under the double title of *Prolegomena to Fürst's Hebrew Concordance, and Introduction to the Grammar and Lexicography of the Hebrew*, language in opposition to Gesenius and Ewald are spoken of by Dr. Fürst in the preface to his great work, in the most exalted terms, saving only the author's '*piam nervosamque orthodoxiam*', to which of course he was no friend. The regard shown for the genuine Hebrew construction and the strict Hebrew sense as determined by usage, and his preference for a Hebrew etymology wherever one is possible, not refusing however on proper occasions the aid of the cognate tongues, are undoubtedly just principles of interpretation. With much that is original and striking there is little strained or extravagant; he never seems to be seeking for the novel, but only for the true. And whether he has in all cases found it or not, his views certainly commend themselves often by their acuteness and plausibility, and the remarks upon points of grammar and lexicography, with which the book before us, is interspersed, betray the hand of a master and are valuable, to say the least, as suggesting to the scholar topics for examination.

We would next refer to the extensive use made of parallel passages, or in the German phrase *Grundstellen*. This reaches further than the discovery of casual perhaps superficial similarity in expression, to the assumption of a dependence of one writer upon another whether in thought or language. The inspired books forming at once the literature of his nation and the symbols of his faith, rooted themselves deeply in the memory and the heart of the religiously instructed Hebrew, and were most intimately associated with his whole inward life. He derived from them to a large extent his thoughts and modes of conception; and their familiar language naturally and often involuntarily presented

itself to him as the aptest vehicle of his ideas. Add to this, that the prophetic writings must be expected in a very particular manner to betray this influence of a preceding revelation, since the organ and bearer of divine communications must surrender himself entirely to the agency of God upon his mind, partly mediate through the scriptures already existing, partly immediate but still connecting itself with the existing word. Each new revelation adopted within itself the old, or attached itself upon it, in conformity with the process of gradual developement, which God was conducting. This unison seals that revelation, which has come through the medium of many different individuals, as nevertheless the work of one and the same divine spirit. It is not strange then if we find that later writers borrow expressions from those that preceded them, take up their thoughts and enlarge upon or vary them according to their immediate purpose, and often where they make no express citation yet allude to particular passages in such a manner as to show that they had them in their thoughts. Hengstenberg has done an eminent service in showing from the example of the Pentateuch how this dependence on former books of scripture pervades all that succeed them, and what extensive and valuable use may be made of the fact for purposes of exposition. Delitzsch has laboured very ardently and successfully in this line. He perhaps presses a resemblance sometimes which is not very obvious, or assumes a dependence where none existed; but we would rather have the results of an exploration which discovered too much than of one which discovered too little. We cannot but express our conviction, that this is an important and comparatively untrodden field for Biblical investigation, and one which promises rich results. There has indeed been no lack of so-called collations of parallel passages, and the margins of some of our Bibles have been literally crammed with them; and yet all is to very small purpose, for it has been done with little judgment and with no fixed principles. There is a great work here, which remains to be done, both in the Old Testament and in the New, not only for the elucidation of particular passages, but by a slow and laborious induction to trace the organic connexion of scripture and the

relation which each of the inspired writers sustains to every other and to the grand scheme of revelation, and indirectly to shed light upon the nature of inspiration itself.

In his exposition Delitzsch pursues the system of rigid translation, which since the publication of Winer's Grammar of the New Testament has been constantly winning favour with the learned. The true plan of eliciting an author's meaning is to render word for word with the utmost possible exactness. We must assume that when he uses the future he intends that and not the past; when he uses the definite article he does not intend the indefinite; when he says 'for,' he does not mean 'but;' when he says 'or,' he does not mean 'and.' We must interpret what he says, not what we think he ought to have said. Unless this strict system be adopted, an opening is left to foist in or explain away any thing whatever, and no limit can be set to the abuses which will ensue. As Trench, the recent commentator upon the parables, has somewhere said in sentiment if not in words, give the language of the inspired writers with all strictness, and their theology will take care of itself. In his exposition, too, our author adheres strictly throughout to the text in its present form, and steadfastly opposes all those arbitrary tinkerings and alterations, which are so ready a resort to some commentators in every difficulty. What a confidence he reposes even in the points, may be seen from the following passage, p. 202. "How is the enigma to be resolved that the punctuator shows (as always elsewhere) the deepest insight into the relation of these words to the preceding, as well as into their meaning, whilst the Targums, Talmud, and Midrash have wholly lost the key and vent the silliest stuff? The tradition which the Targumist had at his command reaches back certainly beyond the Christian era, and yet we are to believe the punctuation of the text to be a work of the school at Tiberias! One, who is acquainted with the expositions of scripture in the Targum and Talmud, will scarcely think possible such a fixing of its sense by written signs at a time when scriptural interpretation had long been converted by the Midrash into the plaything of a capricious fancy."

Few data remain to us for settling the date of Habakkuk's

prophecy; of his life we have none but apocryphal accounts. From ch. i. 5, it appears that the same generation which heard the prediction of the Chaldee invasion should witness its fulfilment. The corruption complained of, ch. i. 2-4, is described in too general terms to furnish a criterion of the period referred to; indeed there is nothing further from which a hint can be gathered unless it be that the subscription to chapter iii, in the last clause of verse 19, implies that it was not during a suspension of the temple service. Delitzsch principally relies in the determination of this question upon a combination of Hab. ii. 20 with Zeph. i. 17, entering into an extremely ingenious and well conducted argument to show that the former is the original passage and the latter built upon it; whence he concludes that Habakkuk must have preceded Zephaniah and could not have written later than the reign of Josiah (Zeph. i. 1;) that he could not have written before his reign, is settled by Hab. i. 5; and from various circumstances it is probable that this prophecy was delivered shortly after the reformation in Josiah's twelfth year. The premises for this last argument are altogether too narrow, however, for any but a German mind to build on them with great confidence. And we are disposed to adopt his conclusion less because we are carried along by the stringency of the proof, than because we see no sufficient reason for departing from the presumption, furnished by the position of the book in the collection of the minor prophets, that Habakkuk preceded Zephaniah (Zeph. i. 1) and followed Micah and Nahum (Mic. i. 1). We do not look upon this as a point of very great moment, however, or one on which any thing of consequence depends, in whatever way it is settled. And we should not feel much difficulty in conceding to Hitzig and Maurer the date for which they contend, in the sixth year of Jehoaikim, if they had but a better reason for their belief. But we can never sanction such a ground as that which they urge, viz: that the prediction of the advance of the Chaldees could not have been made before they had commenced their march and the result was already plain to ordinary foresight, any more than we can follow Hirzel in the assumption of a vaticinium post eventum and date it after all had taken place. These writers should, for consistency's

sake, have fixed its composition after the destruction of Babylon, if not after the yet future conversion of the world, (ch. ii. 14)

The form of this whole prophecy is striking from its dramatic character, in which the speakers are alternately the Prophet and God, and future events are not so much predicted as portrayed. There is first an address to God by the prophet, i. 2-4, then the Lord's reply, verses 5-11; the prophet again speaks to God, verses 12-17, to himself ii. 1; the Lord again replies, ii. 2-20. This last reply, which sums up in five emphatic woes the fate of Babylon, is the real centre, the marrow of the whole prophecy, the burden from which it takes its name i. 1, to which what preceded was introductory, as presenting its justification; and it is followed by chap. iii. an impassioned psalm, more nearly approaching in its character to the compositions of the days of David than any thing else to be found in the writings of the prophets, in which we hear the echo from the depths of the prophet's heart or from the heart of the church to the revelation now received.

The book opens somewhat abruptly with the prophet's earnest complaint to God respecting the violence, injustice and oppression, which was prevailing around him, and from which he (either the prophet personally, or the pious portion of the people in whose name he speaks) had long suffered without the prospect of deliverance. This violence is not that of the Chaldean invasion already begun, but is in conformity with the usual course of prophecy in which a statement of the sin precedes the enunciation of the judgment. That the disorders consequent on the invasion of the Chaldees are subsequently described in similar terms (verses 9, 13), proves only that in the punishment of Israel, there was observed that law of divine recompense, which assimilates the penalty to the transgression, a law which should take effect subsequently on the Chaldeans likewise (ch. ii.) It is the corruption prevailing in Judah and described by other prophets of this period in similar terms, which is here intended. In answer to the prophet's complaint, the Lord makes known to him, and not only to him but to the people, the astonishing and incredible judgment, which he had decreed and which should be executed in their

days. Already (in prophetic vision) it was appearing in sight, and they are called to look out upon the heathen world and behold breaking forth thence upon them the impetuous and resistless Chaldeans, in the speed and the ease of their advancement to universal conquest. Transported now to the scene just depicted, it, the ideal present, affects the prophet as deeply as in verses 2-4, he had been affected by the actual present. And beholding these fierce invaders in the wide havoc they were making, their treachery, their massacres, their proud impiety, with a holy indignation and a wrestling faith he pleads with Israel's everlasting covenant-keeping and holy God, whether he will not put a speedy stop to these iniquities and devastations which threaten to engulf his people. His prayer uttered, the prophet stands with silent attention upon his watch-tower to learn what answer God will give; not that we have here any locality to which he outwardly repairs, but as men ascend to some high point that they may see far off in the distance, so he in spirit to gather the first indication of the divine will or catch the earliest glimpse of the coming future. He received a vision, which he is commanded to write and to make it plain upon the tables, viz. those which he would naturally use for the purpose; not tablets standing in some conspicuous position of the city, whereon matters of great consequence might be recorded for public information (Ewald); for of the existence of vacant tablets for the purpose we have no evidence; nor tables of stone, which is a needless supposition, and which the length of the vision to be recorded (not verse 4 simply, which would not require *tables*, but verses 4-20) renders improbable. The command to write it was not a merely symbolical one, to be performed only in vision and designed to set forth the great importance of the things communicated (Hengstenberg,) but intended to be literally obeyed. It should be written so plainly, that they who read it might run rapidly over it, impeded by no obscurity. The reason why it should be committed to writing, was that the period for its accomplishment, though certain, was remote, that it might meanwhile confirm the faithful in a confident expectation of the event. And thus we come to the main prediction of the book; that in i. 4-11 was one of judgment upon Israel, and

was introductory to this, which is one of destruction to their foes, of mercy to them. Its opening verse (v. 4) condenses in its two clauses this its double aspect, and has in both a backward as well as a forward reference; it introduces the answer to the question in i. 17, and contains already an intimation of what the full answer will be. The Chaldean is not indeed expressly named in the first clause; but the person spoken of in the answer cannot well be any other than the one respecting whom the question was propounded. It is, as it were, the divine assent to the promises, verses 15, 16, on which the prophet grounded his inquiry, that his easy and resistless victories had led to arrogant self-exaltation. "Behold, lifted up, not upright (or not straight, level) is his soul in him." This is indeed so, as the prophet had assumed, and this assertion judicially from the mouth of God is of itself enough to indicate the doom he must expect, a conclusion which is riveted by what immediately follows. The second clause, although in form the annunciation of a general truth, derives a speciality of meaning from its connexion with what precedes. The 'just' is the same that, i. 4, suffered from the wicked of his own people, and, i. 18, on the breaking in of the well merited chastisement upon the people generally was again made the prey of the unrighteous Chaldees; and the declaration that we shall live by faith,* is the divine sanction to the confiding trust expressed, i. 12, 'we shall not die;' this finds its confirmation too, in the succeeding verses inasmuch as the fall of the ungodly contains an implicit assurance of the life of the just, and the future establishment and glory of the kingdom of God is positively declared, v. 14. The next verse v. 15, continues the description of the Chaldee punishment. His impious self-exaltation we have already had, v. 4; here his drunkenness, his pride, his insatiable lust of conquest; and then the song put into the mouth of the nations from v. 6, onward, with its five stanzas containing each a separate woe, takes these up in the reverse order, vs. 6-8, insatiable conquest; vs. 9-11, and vs. 12-14, pride displayed in his build-

*Our author's earnest and able defence of this passage, in the sense in which it is several times cited by the Apostle Paul, cannot be here transcribed, but deserves at least this passing notice.

ings; vs. 15-17, vs. 18-20 impiety and idolatry (comp. i. 11). This regularity is not perhaps from preconceived plan, nor with any design of making thus a division of the subject logically exact; but in the natural flow of thought it connects itself with that last said, and returns by successive steps back to the point, whence it set out.

This song is addressed to the Chaldee, the king of Babylon and in him his people, not to some individual king in particular as Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-Merodach or Belshazzar; much less partly to one of these, partly to the king of Judah, Jehoiakim or some one else; but to the king of Babylon absolutely. It differs from the passage (Isa. xvi. 4, etc.,) to which in many respects it bears a marked similarity, inasmuch as that is a song of triumph exulting over the divine judgment as already accomplished, while this denounces it as impending. That was to be spoken by Israel when freed from his hard bondage; this is put into the mouth of all the nations still under the yoke of his grasping domination; and that not as unbelievers, but evidently according to the intention of the prophet (vs. 13, 14, 20) as believers, unless we suppose an incongruity in the song with the persons uttering it; they are the true Israel consisting of the faithful in Israel, according to the flesh and among the Gentiles. And these are in fact the only ones, who can properly be opposed to this universal monarchy; all else is amalgamated in it. It is the kingdom of this world oppressing the kingdom of God; and the destruction of the former and the establishment of the latter are certain. This grand idea lies at the basis of the song; and yet it is throughout prophetic not of general truths merely, but of the particular fate of the Chaldees, delineating as it does even to minute details and in a manner which is surprisingly confirmed by history, the sins by which they should work their downfall. While behind the fall of the Chaldees lies in conformity with the usual structure of Old Testament prophecy, the glory of the Messianic times. For every great monarchy, by which the people of God were subdued and oppressed, was to the prophets the world's empire absolutely, that great colossal kingdom, whose overthrow should make way for the coming in of the latter-day glory. It awakens in their minds the dis-

inction of the kingdom of God and the kingdom of this world. Each is identified with its representative in the present : and no distinction is made, no detail is given of the various forms in which this ungodly power really identical in character should successively appear. Daniel is the first to whom it was given to see distinguished the four great empires of the world in their chronological succession. In the prediction before us, the prophet's eye looking upon Babylon identifies it as a part with t' e whole of what is in spirit and in destiny most intimately connected with it; and in its fall he sees the fall of all that opposes the kingdom of God. This great ungodly power must be removed out of the way, in order to the introduction and complete establishment of the kingdom of God. Its fall was one of the many successive crises, which should occur in the progress of that grand event; one great step toward its accomplishment. He hurries at once away from the destruction of Babylon to the latter-day glory, which looms up beyond it as the brightness of the sun breaking in over the dark mountains that gird the horizon. As in perspective, he sees them lying together before him without having revealed to him the interval by which they are actually separated, or being enabled to take any thing like a bird's eye view of the events that intervene. The prophet has not omniscience; he can only declare the future so far as God has been pleased to make it known to him. And he has chosen to make it known, not in that way in which it might most completely gratify those who with a vain curiosity would pry into the future, but in that in which it might best accomplish its design as a divine message of comfort, instruction, or warning to those to whom it was sent. We are not to expect in prophecy a daguerreotype likeness, so to speak, of the future, complete in every detail, with all the proportions and adjustments of events, precisely as history shall record them. It is rather an outline sketch. If now we place this and the fulfilment side by side, we shall find that with all the incompleteness there is no inaccuracy in the draught, but for every line drawn in the prediction, there is what precisely corresponds to it in the event; we shall find individual events here and there hinted at in the prediction or unambiguously expressed, which whether they

were more or less distinctly defined in the consciousness of the prophet, yet inasmuch as they precisely reappear in the history are certainly within the scope of the spirit of the prophecy, included under its comprehensive expressions, or to be classed as particulars under its general ideas. The exposition of a prophecy ought to be distinguished from the illustration of the same prophecy by history. The former develops altogether without respect to the fulfilment what is properly contained in the words themselves according to the grammatical and logical compass of their ideas, without specifying within the range thus marked out what are the precise details or the exact particulars in which the accomplishment is to be looked for. The latter makes use of history as a commentary upon the prophecy, throwing back upon it the fresh light which history sheds, thus illuminating what before was dark, specifying the general, making definite what was indefinite, resolving what was enigmatical, without in all this foisting in any foreign element into the prophecy. History is the evolution of prophecy; prophecy the embryo of history. The contents of both are in substance the same; only in one we have the bud, in the other its flowers and fruit.

The first stanza (vs. 6–8) of this parabolical, poetical, and enigmatical passage, as the three epithets applied to verse 6 describe it, contains the woe against Chaldee for his insatiable ambition. “Woe to him that increaseth that which is not his:” or (for the words are suggestive of this meaning also,) “that which shall not be for his own good.” ‘How long,—not as an exclamation, but as a question; and that not in the sense, how long shall he possess them? or, how long until he will be satisfied? but how long shall he be allowed to do so undisturbed? The woe implies that a bound shall be put to the grasping spirit of the Chaldee. How long? asks, with horror at his conduct, when that bound shall be. And the negative question of v. 7, equivalent to a strong affirmation gives the reply made by the speaker to himself, ‘suddenly.’ ‘And to him that ladeth himself with a mass of pledges!’ The plunder of the nations and their rich booty, with which he loads himself, appear as pledges exacted by some unmerciful usurer (*Deut. xxiv. 10*) and which

he shall one day be forced to surrender to their rightful owners. He is heaping up a load to crush himself. Besides this strict etymological sense of the passage, the words are so framed as to suggest another; and that this was intentional, our author feels himself warranted to assume from the song being styled enigmatical at the outset, which naturally leads to the suspicion of a double sense, one obvious, one concealed; are its plain legitimate meaning, the other easily offering itself as lying beneath it; a characteristic again exemplified, *vs.* 7, 16. The sound of the word whose proper meaning is pledges, would to a Hebrew ear spontaneously divide itself into two words 'cloud of mire' (Eng. ver. thick clay.) These goods unrighteously obtained bring him no substantial profit. They resemble in their worthlessness the vile mire of the steets, which he figures as raised up in one vast cloud of foulness to discharge its burden upon him and bury him beneath it.

The executioners of the divine vengeance which have long been quietly preparing shall suddenly awake, as it were, from sleep to assail him. The characterizing of the enemies of Babylon as those 'that shall bite thee,' as though they were maddened vipers, may awaken some surprise. The occasion was given by the figure of the previous verse. The usual name of usury is 'that which bites,' a derivative from this very word, i. e., bites off from the property of him who must pay it. The word here used has not grammatically the sense of lenders, nor creditors, nor debtors, all of which have been attributed to it, nor indeed any other, but simply that of biting. And yet to a Hebrew it naturally suggests the idea of its derivations; and awakens the reflection that as the Chaldees have like hard-hearted creditors, by taking illegal increase (interest) and exacting unjust pledges, stripped the nations of their goods, a time will come for demanding back this unrighteous plunder from them with usury. Abarbenel remarks on this verse, the Medes and Persians are here meant; for they, after having been formerly subjected to the Babylonish empire, and reigned over by Nebuchadnezzar and his descendants, rose up and awoke in the days of Belshazzar, like the waking of sleepers or the rising of the dead.

The spoiler of many nations shall by God's just retaliation be made in turn their spoil. The blood that he has shed and the violence he has done to land and city—not Palestine and Jerusalem alone, which are nowhere specially mentioned, nor is anything peculiarly Israelitish mentioned in the whole prophecy, but in all the earth,—shall thus be visited upon himself.

The second and third stanzas (vs. 9–11, 12–14,) denounce woe upon the pride that displayed itself in the splendid buildings and magnificent structures, those showy fruits of extortion and bloodshed, for which Babylon became famous. If living witnesses were wanting to his guilt, the very wood and stones of his superb edifices became his accusers, either as having been plundered themselves, or as being compelled to serve a plunderer and to behold his deeds of rapine and injustice. Vs. 12–14 is not the language of the stone and the beam, but a new woe co-ordinate with the preceding, only the palace erecting, (v. 9,) is here exchanged for towns and cities; (the beautifying of Babylon may be and doubtless is principally intended, but the expressions themselves are not limited to that) and instead of the Chaldee as before being the builder himself, captive nations are represented as toiling in his service. They are labouring not 'in the fire,' (Eng. ver.) but 'for the fire,' i. e. rearing that which the fire shall consume, and 'for very vanity,' i. e. erecting what shall come to nought. And that all this must perish is assumed by the truth long ago revealed (Numbers xiv. 21) that the glory of the Lord shall fill the earth; if so, the glory of the Chaldees must first vanish; this opposing power, which is regarded by the prophet as having absorbed every other, and is viewed in the full stature of that kingdom of evil of which during its period it was the chief earthly representative, must be put down.

The fourth stanza (vs. 15–17) connects itself with the charge of Drunkenness in the first clause of v. 5, which is not figurative but literal, and both the crime and its punishment were signally united in the fact attested by profane as well as by sacred history, of the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, while the whole city was in a drunken debauch. Here first the idea

receives its figurative turn; and we have painted the double picture of the Chaldee handing the wine to the nations that he may feast his eyes on their shame as they lie in the weakness of their intoxication—a lively image of the disgrace and weakness of conquered states—and then the Chaldee compelled to drink himself as his turn comes round of the cup, which the Lord's avenging right hand shall extend to him. Comp. Jer. xxv. 15 and elsewhere. The literal sense, which some assume of their bringing captive princes forth from the dungeons to their banquets, and making them drunken and the objects of derisive treatment, besides being in itself greatly inferior to the former, does not agree so well with what follows, where the same punishment is announced under another figure and then the same sin charged upon them in literal terms. The Lebanon and its beasts (v. 17) are not figures for Palestine and its inhabitants. But his violence done the very trees and beasts (Isa. xiv. 8, Jer. xxvii. 6) provokes a retribution; the same violence returns upon himself. The fall of Lebanon's lofty trees sets forth his fall; the terror of its beasts frightened from their coverts is an emblem of the terror, which shall pursue the frightened fugitives of Babylon. A judgment such as this shall come upon him, because of the blood he has shed, and the violence, with which he has filled the earth.

The first four woes have been repeating under different forms of speech with ever growing vehemence the one thought of the tyranny and the oppression of the Chaldees; and the fourth by taking up at its close a sentence of the first marks off this portion as in a manner complete in itself. Then the fifth stands singly as an equipoise to all the rest, descriptive of his idolatry as his crime of crimes, and one which directed immediately against God, demands not as those a retribution executed by the hands of man, but that Jehovah, before whose majesty not Chaldea only but the whole earth is challenged to be still as at the coming of her Lord, should from his holy temple in the skies be himself the executioner of judgment. The dumb idols on which the Chaldee vainly relies, so far from delivering those, who invoke them, from judgments

merited by their other sins, bring a new and heavier woe upon them.

With the second chapter closes the first part of the book. In answer to the first complaint of the prophet the Chaldean invasion was revealed to him, and the new complaint which this occasioned has now been answered by a revelation of the overthrow of that ungodly empire,—the overthrow of the kingdoms of this world and the establishment of the kingdom of God. No cause of complaint remains; every difficulty is explained, every doubt quieted; the troubles of the present are more than balanced by the consolations of the future. The third chapter is provided with a separate title and subscription of its own, and is thus shown to be in a manner complete in itself; while at the same time both its place in the book, and the intimate connexion of its contents with what precedes, declare it to be an integral portion of the prophecy. Though it would have been strange if at the time when the dissecting knife was all the rage with German critics, and every groundless suspicion was sufficient to prove any book of the Bible to be a jumble of fragments, there had not been some to discover that all antiquity, and Jewish tradition, and every thing else had been at fault in annexing this chapter to Habakkuk's prophecy, and that its position there was the work of some negligent scribe, or blundering bookbinder.

This closing chapter contains a lyric recapitulation as it were of all that precedes. It presents the total of the impressions made upon the prophet's soul, it is the utterance of the feelings produced by both the divine communications which he had received. 'I heard thy speech and was afraid;' a fear originated in the past but continuing in the present. This is not the awe felt at the magnificent display of God's presence about to be described, but fear excited by the prospect of predicted evil,—not that in chap. 2, which describes the overthrow of the enemies of God's people and can awaken no emotions other than those of thankfulness and joy, but that in i. 5–11, the near troubles of Judah in the irruption of the Chaldees. In his fear of these approaching calamities in which he seems to himself to be already in anticipation involved, he feels that he is in an extremity, which calls for divine interposition.

And as the recollection of God's ancient deeds on behalf of suffering Israel comes over him, he ejaculates the prayer, 'Lord revive thy work,'—not exactly perform, or call into being some new effect, but reproduce, call back again to life thy work, repeat in this new hour of need thy ancient doings on Israel's behalf. 'In the midst of the years, not midway between the creation and the end of the world as Bengel and his school understood it, who referred this passage to the advent of Christ and laid it at the basis of their chronological system—nor within a few years (Gesenius), nor, in the midst of these years of trouble, which would involve a logical inaccuracy as that which happens *in the midst* of years of trouble, must have years of trouble on each side of it. But the future stretches out before him a boundless succession of years. In these occurs the chastisement of Judah by the Chaldees, and he prays that within these too God would repeat his mighty deliverances. In the midst of the years make known, not here in the sense of giving information, but make the operations of thy power and grace, which thy people once knew, matter of a present experience. In the wrath that chastises remember the mercy which has so often saved.

A question here arises about the majestic descent of the Lord, which follows, (vs. 3–15), is it history or prophecy? does it belong to the past or the future? The comparison of Deut. xxxiii. 2, Judg. v. 4, 5, Ps. lvii. 15–20,—the mention of Teman, Paran, Midian, places lying in the wilderness or on the coast of the Red Sea, and the evident allusion to historical events in some of the verses might at first sight incline us to refer this whole description to the past as an animated recital of the wonders God had wrought in former times. We shall soon be convinced, however, that it is quite impossible to understand it as a summary narration of distinct and separate events in Israelitish history. Those interpreters, who have attempted this, have involved themselves in inextricable perplexity and in perpetual contradiction with each other. The most forced interpretations are resorted to to find historical allusions where none are apparent, or to bring into some order events thrown together in wonderful confusion; and after all there are some verses in which the idea of any reference to

particular events has to be given up. Thus the Targum refers, vs. 3-5, to the descent upon Sinai, v. 6 to the flood and the dispersion which took place at the tower of Babel, v. 7 to the deliverance from Chushan-rishathaim by Othniel and from the Midianites by Gideon, v. 9 to the bringing of water from the rock, v. 10 again to the revelation on Sinai, v. 11 with great apparent reason and yet, when the context is considered, most unreasonably to the standing still of the sun and moon in the time of Joshua, vs. 14, 15 to the passage of Israel through the Red Sea; vs. 8, 12, 13 are understood generally without reference to any particular events. Rosenmüller refers the whole to the Exodus from Egypt, except vs. 7, 11, in which he follows the Targum. Hesselberg finds in v. 8 the drowning of the Egyptians, vs. 9, 10, Noah's flood, v. 11 the stoppage of the sun by Joshua. Burk finds in vs. 3-7 a cycle of events from the time of Moses to the Judges, in vs. 8-15, another cycle from Moses to the kings; v. 14 he refers to the slaying of Goliath. Roos finds one regular chronological succession from first to last; in v. 10 he explains the mountains to be kingdoms, and the overflowing of the water to be Israel's entrance into Canaan. We may say of the interpreters, who hold this view generally, what Delitzsch says in one place of Cocceius, they shake their kaleidoscope and then see whatever they choose. The view finds its best refutation in the miserable success of its advocates in every attempt to carry it consistently out.

Pressed by the difficulties which beset this scheme, Ewald has undertaken to refer the whole to one single event,—the revelation of God at the Red Sea. He disposes the whole thus: vs. 3-5 God commences his advance; vs. 6-8 moves north-westwardly to the Red Sea; v. 9-12 the phenomena before the deliverance; vs. 13-15 the destruction of Pharaoh and his host. But the advance from Sinai presupposes the giving of the law; many things in the description have to be explained as extravagant hyperbole unworthy of the prophet; and the chief fact, which ought to be made most prominent, the passage of Israel and the drowning of Pharaoh, is scarcely more than hinted at.

If this passage then is to be understood historically, it can

only be in one way, and that is by assuming it to be a condensation into one single picture of whatever God has done for Israel in the past. Traits are borrowed from the more prominent individual events here and there, and then combined in one complex representation; all interval of time and chronological succession is lost sight of and the whole of the wonders are embraced in a single spectacle as one great wonder. Just as in Ps. xviii., David throws together all the particular dangers and deliverances of his past life under the idea of one grand peril and one miraculous rescue. The prophet will then be considered as standing and looking back upon the past. All the mighty deeds, which God had wrought, present themselves before him in one united prospect. He sees nothing for itself, but as it stands connected with the entire series of which it forms a part. He describes nothing individually, but gives us the combined effect of the whole seen at once. His language now and then takes its form or its colouring from this or that particular event, which is prominently before his eye, but it is with no intention of describing any individual event precisely; his thoughts are not occupied about any one.* This would be in fact just such a view of the past as the prophets are accustomed to take of the distant future, and finds in that perhaps its best exemplification. If this passage were to be understood as descriptive of the past, this mode of viewing it would be recommended both by its own structure and by the analogy of other similar passages.

There are reasons, however, which constrain us to decide against the historical and in favour of the prophetic sense. And first and mainly, the tense of the opening verb. This cannot be rendered 'God came,' Eng. ver., but 'shall come' or in the sense of an action beginning in the present and continued in the future 'is coming.' This is the usual prophetic phrase for a future divine intervention. That this is followed in the description by preterites used interchangeably with futures will not surprise any one, who is acquainted with the

* *‘Poetae nihil est diuturnum. Canplecti amant et tanquam semel factum unum sub adspæctum ponere poetae multorum annorum res gestas, præsertim dudum præteritas’.* Maurer.

idiomatic use of the Hebrew tenses. This constant interchange is usual in graphic description of what is taking place before the eyes, or of what whether past or future is conceived of with the vividness of an event now in progress, and it makes advancing stages of the action with a peculiar liveliness of manner, which is incapable of being adequately transferred to any occidental language. It is in such cases, however, the first verb that governs the whole, and characterizes the entire description as belonging to the region whether of the past or of the future. The prophetic view also agrees better with the structure of the entire chapter. These verses historically understood can only be recollections on which the prophet dwells to assure himself of an answer to his prayer, v. 2. But then it is disproportionately long compared with both the other portions of the chapter; and the subordinate is not only in contrariety to the laws of taste but to the natural utterance of feeling erected into the most prominent. On the other hand, if it be prophetic, it is itself the answer to the prayer which precedes and the ground of the triumphant joy which follows. There are expressions, too, in the course of it, which a closer inspection would show to be more easily intelligible on the prophetic view, if they would in the other case be intelligible at all. To these grounds may be added, that the prophet, even where he had plainly in his eye events in the past, and actually adopts from earlier sacred writers, their language describing them invariably and with evident design, avoids every expression which would be individual in its character and applicable only to the event in the past.

He finds in the past the type of the future; and borrows from the ancient works of God and from the descriptions of them contained in the earlier scriptures the strokes and the colouring for his picture of a corresponding future. He presents us with the picture of a grand descent to judgment, which should combine in itself all that was fearfully majestic and all that was gracious in every previous revelation of God for judgment and for mercy, a deliverance the antitype of that from Egypt which should yet so far outshine as positively to eclipse it (Jer. xxi. 14). It is in consequence of this reproduction of the past in the future that we find in the Revela-

tion those who have gotten the victory over the great enemy standing beside the sea of glass with harps in their hands, and singing the song of Moses the servant of God; it is Ex. xv. over again on a grander scale. It is for this same reason that in the chapter before us the Lord is represented as coming from the scene of his ancient wonders. He commences his majestic march from Teman and from Paran, and in his progress fills the nations that line the shore of the Red Sea with dismay. Possibly too, our author adds, there is a deeper reason for it than this, that in prophetic view the region between Palestine and Egypt shall actually be the scene of a grand final overthrow of nations, which here in conformity with the customary mode of prophetic representation appears as coincident with the overthrow of the Chaldeans.

God will have mercy upon Israel and that by coming in judgment on their foes. This judgment shall first touch the Chaldeans, and there can be no doubt that in the prophet's own mind they are the immediate object of this judicial theophany; nor that by the wicked, v. 13, the king of Babylon is primarily meant, and by the invading troops, v. 16, his armies. But this special judgment expands itself before the eye of the prophet into a universal judgment. The march of God is not, as we should expect if to punish the Chaldees was its exclusive object, in the direction of Babylon; but it is located in the district between Egypt and Idumea, whence it spreads its effects over the whole earth with its inhabitants. The Chaldee Empire, as that from which immediate danger was apprehended, certainly stands in the foreground; yet not as the Chaldee Empire but as the World's Empire absolutely, which must be cast down that Israel may be redeemed. And it is for this reason that the picture lacks all traits, which would have *individual or exclusive reference to the Chaldeans*. The kingdom of this world in its ever enduring hostility to the kingdom of God has since the fall of the Babylonish Empire changed its name and the form of its manifestation, but not its essence nor its spirit. Its fall has been gradually preparing in a number of catastrophes, which stand in the relation of *prodrani* to the *acme*, and at the final consummation it will be fully accomplished. This ultimate overthrow the prophet

here depicts by giving to the special judgment upon the Chaldees the intensity of a universal judgment upon all nations and combining into the focus of one grand world-embracing catastrophe, the rays of past and future preliminary judgments. His view is on the one hand limited, in that he has the Babylonish Empire before him without being able to distinguish those that lie behind it in their succession. On the other it is so extended that by the aid of inspiration he can see in the fall of Babylon the fall of the Empire of Evil, and from the proximate can look to the remotest future. This gives the prophecy an import for all times.

In consequence of this intermingling of what is in actual fact sundered by long intervals of time, that which in an exclusive description of the judgment on Chaldees would be purely emblematic obtains in the light of subsequent prophets and of the book of Revelation a deep actuality of meaning. The judgment on the Chaldee, the fall of his royal house has taken place but not amid the convulsions of nature which are here described. These are by a kind of prolepsis woven into the representation of special judgment, inasmuch as it is preliminary, it is as it were the prelude to a final catastrophe, which shall ensue amidst such commotions of heaven and earth. All that in special judgments can be understood only at least chiefly as emblematical of events, partly political, partly such as take place in the invisible and spiritual world, shall in the final consummation be outwardly and literally realized to the full extent of its meaning. The entire history of the world is prognostic of its end; all individual judgments are links in that chain of development which reaches to the final judgment; they all prefigure what shall in the final catastrophe display itself when the outward shall be in perfect correspondence with the inward and the material with the spiritual both in intensity and extent. And herein lies the justification of the prophet, when combining as he does the impending special judgment in one with the final judgment, or it may be in his own mind actually identifying them, he describes the former in such terms, as if we undertake to sunder what the prophet has blended, are applicable to the special judgment only in an

emblematic sense, but belong to the final judgment in its strictest and most literal signification.*

The same characteristic we find in all the prophets. Isaiah chap. xiii. the judgment upon Babylon; but this expends itself in v. 9, etc., to a day of judgment, which shall embrace the earth and all the sinners that are upon it. The figures there as here are not barely allegorical emblems, still less (which would be unworthy of the prophet) hyperbole or fancy; but they in the most literal manner mean, what according to the strict import of the words they denote: for in the vision he sees close behind the judgment upon Babylon, and coalescing with it the final judgment upon the world itself. This incorporating of features from the universal into particular judgments sometimes finds place even in cases where except in such sudden glimpses the latter are *exclusively* described. See for a remarkable instance of this kind, Joel ii. 10, 11, where in a description of a devastation by locusts, language is used, which recurs iv. 15, 16, in the judgment of all nations.

The judgment announced in chap. i. as about to burst upon Judah had led the prophet to pray (iii. 2) that God would repeat on their behalf some such marvellous deliverance as he had wrought of old. And now (v. 3) in answer to his prayer, God comes to free his people and to punish their foes. The figure of the rising sun lies at the bottom of the majestic description, which follows. The divine glory breaks in over Teman and Paran, the region of ancient wonders, not as though the divine advance began at the first of these points and proceeded thence to the other, but the entire horizon which they bound is illuminated at the same instant and God comes from both at once. and now, as *Selah* intimates, the singers pause, while the instrumental accompaniment takes up the grand thought now announced,—‘God is coming,’—and dwells upon it in a round of jubilate and elevated strains. In an instant his glory has

* The two leading peculiarities of prophetic representation are thus admirably stated by Crusius in his *Hypomnemata*—*Res quae prophetae praedicunt, plerumque sistuntur complexe, ita ut in universo suo ambitu summatim, spectentur, vel κατὰ τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα* h. e. secundum id quod res erit ubi ad fastigium suum pertigerit, non item adduntur partes singulae, nec successive graduum consecutio, aut periodorum temporis distinctio, etiam ubi de remotis vel per tempore longe dissita divisim dicitur.

already covered the heavens, and the earth is full of his praise,—not the acclamations of its inhabitants rendering praise; the effects of the theophany appear first (v. 6) and these are terror not praise,—but that which is deserving of praise, a synonym of glory. ‘And there is brightness like the light,’ i. e. of the sun. First there was a glory spread over the horizon; next it flashes up over the sky and fills the earth with its radiance; now the concentrated brilliance, from which all this light had proceeded rises into view. Beams of light, by a frequent oriental figure here called horns, stream from him on either hand. And there—in the midst of his brightness—is the hiding of his power; this transcendently glorious appearance is not God himself, but the veil which he has thrown around his omnipotence. Pestilence and burning diseases (Eng. ver. marg.) the frequent instruments of his wrath, are here personified as attendants preceding and following the Lord of life and death. Quite a number of interpreters have adopted the notion that all theophanies must be squared to the scheme of an advancing storm; and the one before us has not escaped the same fate, and as might be expected the strangest mal-interpretations have followed. Here all is light and brightness, not clouds and tempest. And even in those representations, it is never a mere storm, that is depicted, but always something extraordinary and supernatural to which a natural storm bears only a partial analogy. For although nature is itself a revelation of God, yet it becomes so in a more immediate and remarkable manner, when God appears for judgment and nature serves on the one hand as the instrument of his vengeance, while on the other it mirrors forth his majesty or sympathizes with what man endures.

Thus far the sun-rise of the Theophany, so to speak. The brightness that veils God though it has risen into view, is yet afar only filling the world with the beams of its distant glory. Now it comes into closer contact with the earth and its inhabitants. He stands and—not, measures the earth (though the verb might easily have this sense) whether with reference to the division of Canaan among the tribes, or to a future division of the territory of their enemies among his people or in the sense of measuring with his eyes i. e. to survey—but,

shakes the earth, but he simply treads upon it and it quivers. He looks and makes the nations quake. Everlasting mountains—not symbols of nations or kings, but in the literal sense—burst asunder, not as obstacles to be removed out of the way of God's advance, but from fright which they are represented as sharing in common with man. Perpetual hills sink, as all that is lofty must before the Almighty. The everlasting ways ascribed to him are not mountain-tops considered as the road over which God comes, but literally goings of eternity or remote antiquity are his, he goes forth now as he did when he appeared of old. By the mountains here Delitzsch understands the dark granite mountains of Seir, as those lay nearest the scene of the theophany; and to the epithet everlasting he gives the geological sense, which certainly suits Seir very well, of primitive as opposed to stratified, mountains whose formation goes back to the time of the original creation not the work of subsequent deposition and upheaving. Cusham (perhaps the same as Cush or Ethiopia) and Midian, nations bordering on the Red Sea and in the immediate neighborhood of this magnificent descent are singled out in their terror, not by way of contrast to others who do not share it, but as an instance of what is universal.

The language now suddenly changes from the form of narration in which the prophet has been describing what he saw to that of direct address. The apparition grows more and more distinct. The Lord has come forth from the brilliancy in which he was hid, equipped as a victorious warrior with chariot and horse. The sea and rivers (Delitzsch supposes the Nile and Astaboras of Ethiopia) are seen in fearful agitation (an evident allusion to the miraculous passage opened through the Red Sea and the Jordan.) And the prophet, too much excited by his desire to know the object of this terrific display, of which he is not made aware till v. 13, to remain longer a quiet beholder earnestly asks, if they are the objects against which God's wrath is directed. Against rivers has there been kindled, O Lord, against the rivers thine anger? against the sea thine wrath? that thou art riding upon thy horses, thy chariots of salvation. Being bared bare is thy bow,—he is seen stripping from it its covering that it may be

ready for use,—sworn the arrows by thy word,*—the command of God has bound them as by oath to execute their commission, they shall not fail to strike wherever they are aimed. This completes the draught of Jehovah as a conquering hero; the singers hush (*Selah*) while the instruments prolong loud notes of reverential praise. The address begun v. 8 still continues, Thou art cleaving the earth with rivers. The bursting forth of streams from the bowels of the earth is another accompaniment of that majestic appearance, of which it had been asked if it was in wrath against the sea. All nature is seized with consternation at the sight of the advancing deity. Mountains writhe distracted, deluging rains sweep by, the ocean roars, its waves dash against the sky, the sun and moon affrighted shrink back from view into their habitation,—the same from which they came forth when they rise (*Ps. xix. 5*), and into which they enter when they set, but into which they now suddenly from the midst of heaven withdraw themselves, not because overpowered with superior brightness, but terror stricken—at the light of thine arrows that are flying, at the bright flashing of thy spear. The spear and arrows of God are lightnings, not as natural phenomena accompanying a supposed storm, but as the weapons of his wrath. In indignation thou art marching through the earth, in anger thou art threshing the nations. And now the sudden certainty breaks in upon the prophet that this display of fearful majesty, which has filled the world with wild dismay, and before which he has just seen the nations beaten like dust and chaff is not directed against all nations without exception. Thou hast gone forth for the salvation of thy people, to save thy anointed,—an epithet not of Judah but of their king, and that not any individual king as Josiah, Jehoiakim, etc., but the king absolutely; and as the view of the prophet is complex embracing the full realization of the idea as well as its present imperfect mani-

* This clause, the second of the two before *Selah* in v. 9, though consisting of but three words is one of the most difficult in the whole book as may be supposed from its having been interpreted in more than a hundred different ways. Our author's discussion of it in which we cannot of course follow him here presents an extremely beautiful specimen of exegetical skill. We have given above the translation which he adopts without assuming to decide whether it be absolutely the best. The sense of the English version is that all this God is doing to fulfil his word and oath given to the tribes of Israel.

festation, Christ the last and most glorious successor of David on the throne is not excluded. That the Davidic king including even the greatest of David's sons should be an object of divine assistance is a representation found elsewhere in the Old Testament, Zech. ix. 9, Ps. xxii., and need create no difficulty.

The accomplishment of this work of deliverance is now set forth in three distinct figures. First, the house of the wicked is dashed to pieces; head, neck and foundation are all torn away and not a vestige is left remaining. Next, the ranks of the enemy are made to turn their arms against each other, and to perish by their own weapons. Thou hast pierced through with his own darts the head of his hosts, (literally, inhabitants of villages and unwalled places,) which come like a whirlwind to scatter me, exulting secure of their prey like a robber lying in wait for some poor defenceless wanderer. The prophet sees the deliverance, but he sees too the danger that must precede it; and this as the nigher more powerfully affects his mind. With a trembling heart he beholds the advancing hosts as they rush on certain of Israel's destruction, and the similarity of peril to that in which Israel was when pursued by Pharaoh and the forces of Egypt gives rise to the third figure. The enemy follow Israel flying through the sea with its heaped up waters. God marches after them riding on his horses and chariots of salvation, v. 8. That Israel is saved and that their enemies are destroyed is not added. Just at the moment of intense expectation the figure is broken off. Israel's peril is seen; his deliverance is certain but it lies yet in the future and this leaves room for human dependency. The same fear, which oppressed the prophet at the outset v. 2, returns again upon him. A distant deliverance does not extinguish his alarm at the approaching calamity. I heard,—not God's majestic approach, for that was presented to the eye rather than the ear, and was besides to his people an occasion not of terror but of joyful expectation because its object was their rescue,—but the same that he had heard with similar feelings before v. 2, viz. the prediction in chap. 1 of a speedy judgment upon Judah. I heard and all within me (both physical and spiritual) trembled; at the voice my lips quivered;

rotteness enters into my bones (paralyzing all my strength,) and I tremble where I stand, that I must quietly wait for the day of trouble, for his coming up against the people who shall invade them in troops. It is the being obliged to await this righteous inevitable chastisement which gives rise to the feelings just expressed. The next verse expands the idea of the day of trouble by giving the consequences of the invasion; it is a prophetic picture of the desolation of the holy land by the wars with the Chaldeans and in part also, for the prophet does not chronologically separate them, its mournful condition during the Babylonish exile. But the confidence of faith triumphs over all, and with the exultation of victory the psalm closes.

ART. IV.—*Essays of Sir W. Jones and H. T. Colebrooke, Esq.*, published in the 1st, 5th, 7th and 8th vols, of the Asiatic Researches.

2. *Vedanta Sara*, translated by Rev. W. Ward. 1st vol. of Ward's "View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindus."
3. *Account of Indian Philosophy*, 1st and 4th vols. of "Ritter's History of Ancient Philosophy."
4. *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, by H. H. Wilson, LL.D., F. R. S. Boden Sanscrit Professor, Oxford, Calcutta, Bishop's College Press. 1846.
5. *Two Lectures on the Religious Practices and Opinions of the Hindus*; delivered before the University of Oxford, on the 27th and 28th of February, 1840, by H. H. Wilson, M. A., Boden Professor of Sanscrit, etc. Oxford, 1840.
6. *Calcutta Review*, Nos. VI, VII, and VIII, respectively for June, September and December, 1845.
7. *North British Review*, No. II, August 1844.
8. *Friend of India*, a weekly newspaper edited by J. Marshman, Esq., Serampore. Vols. of the years 1845 and 1849.*

* The writer makes the acknowledgment once for all that he is indebted to these sources for the materials of which his article is compiled.

Dr. Duff said with truth, that as in the history of the physical world chaos precedes the cosmos, so it is ever in the moral world that a moral chaos precedes the divine generation of the new spiritual order of the kingdom of heaven. It lies in the very idea of a creative energy that it may compass the end immediately—for what we call means are but the articulations of the one power which comprehends the end from the beginning. But in the design of Jehovah in all his works of creation and providence, the end proposed is not so much the attainment of certain results in the physical universe, and in his system of government, but principally the revelation of his own infinite wisdom, power, and goodness to his intelligent creatures, in forms suited to their comprehension—and for this end an explicit evolution of the method of his works is essential. In that sublime command, Let there be light, and in its immediate fulfilment, we have the revelation of a power whose sublimity may well excite adoration, and which in fact constitutes the ultimate ground to which we refer every exhibition of power, but which utterly transcends our sphere in kind as well as degree, and therefore cannot enlighten us as to its own nature, nor as to the intelligence by which it is determined. It is only when God works in, and (as men say) through a system of means infinitely multiplied and various, holding all in balance and directing all to his own ends, that we can trace and adequately appreciate the divine wisdom and the provisions of the divine goodness.

In the original generation of a new order in this physical world for the habitation of man, and the higher races of animals and vegetables provided for his use, we know, that when the Spirit brooded over the face of the waters, although the earth was without form and void, the energy exerted was nevertheless not an unconditioned creation—for it appears from the record itself that it was conditioned by the preëstablished laws of matter. Thus also is the work of the regenerating gospel in the bosom of any particular nation, not an unconditioned new creation ; for beyond the universal conditions of human nature, there are always present those of preëxisting civilizations, systems of faith, social and religious institutions, as well as contemporary political relations. All these, in as far

as they are merely natural, will be assumed by the ordinating Spirit and wrought into the new creation, but, in as far as they are the results of the adverse powers of darkness, they will be utterly extirpated and cast out.

In this physical world, when the power of life is withdrawn from any organization, there is not always a disintegration of form, as is witnessed by the fossil remains of ancient strata, but the component elements always assume a relation of fixed equilibrium, which only a new life can invade and disturb. Stagnation is the result and evidence of death. When any form of life invades a sphere thus stagnant, the old equilibrium is instantly broken up, and there at once commences an action and reaction of, what appears to us, warring forces, the constant flux of elements thrown out of the sphere of chemical affinity in order that they may be brought into the higher sphere of vital harmony. This is of course true in a far higher sense in the spiritual regeneration of a community of men, for here not only a new, but a higher life is introduced, which has not only to subordinate to itself past and lower developements, but to meet and destroy essentially opposing powers. This has always been the fact, and always in proportion to the previous civilization, and the authority of preëxisting institutions among any people. Here the first effect of the preaching of the gospel is to break up the old stagnation, and to excite the most intense and apparently opposing action. The zealots of the old system are aroused to new energy, and cast about for new weapons of defence; and above all the passions of men are excited in new directions, and the most various and conflicting forms of opinion are generated by the contact of the old with the new. A period of transition ever gives birth to monsters, abnormal growths, which belong neither to the old nor the new order, which, as they are not born of law, cannot be referred to law, but which bear unequivocal witness that the old things are passing away, and behold all things are becoming new.

The phenomena attending the introduction of the gospel into India are probably more marked and instructive than in the case of any other modern nation,—for its preceding history and character, and from the manifold and mastering in-

fluences now brought to bear on it from without. Here in a continent, isolated by oceans and mountain chains from the rest of the world, and in the body of one of the most populous communities on the earth, that most comprehensive system of heathenism, reaching from the highest esoteric refinement to the lowest exoteric grossness, brought over from the central region of Iran in the infancy of the race, by the cunning and tyrannous Brahman tribe, has had for more than three thousand years full sway in moulding all the forms of society, and in determining the entire moral habits and religious life of the people. Whatever may have been the character or degree of their intercourse with western nations; however much their political system may have been broken, and however often their territory may have been invaded and its sovereignty assumed by foreign tribes of a different faith, it is certain that until the beginning of the present century no foreign leaven had penetrated the mass of the nation, or had in any essential degree modified either their opinions or social and religious forms and habits. To this day are the writings of their ancient sages received as the fountain of all religious light and all secular knowledge—the education of their youth is still conducted in all respects according to the directions of the *Dharma Shāstra*, in the chapter on education—and all the relations of society, and the duties and business of life are defined and directed according to the Institutions of their most ancient law-givers, of whom *Manu* the grandson of Brahm, who spoke in the beginning of time, is the first and greatest. But it has pleased Providence, in connection with the radical and all-embracing revolutions which are in these days, under the maturing developments of a Christian civilization, taking place in the constitution of society and in the relations of nations, to bring even this ancient people within the general system, and to subject them to the moulding influence of the most intimate intercourse with Christian nations. Not only has the British Empire the political supremacy in India, but in all the Company's territory, the details of the police in the most remote districts are superintended by the English magistrate in person. The service of government, and an extending commercial intercourse has, especially in the large seaports,

created an ever increasing demand for the knowledge of European science and the English language. This innovation, which at first was met with the most bigoted prejudice, has since become a fashion, and the sons of Rajahs and Nawabs, who may be raised above the motives of interest, are in Bengal seeking an English education as a necessary accomplishment. Thus are the government schools, established in all the principal cities of their territories, and the far more effectively conducted schools of the missionaries every where introducing a new leaven; and in some centres of concentrated influence, as Calcutta, they have already revolutionized whole classes. In Calcutta—for we wish to be understood as confining our attention to the Bengal presidency—these schools find a most powerful correlative agency in a very active periodical press, conducted by European and native editors of all parties both in English and the vernacular.

Our appreciation of the great work which has been accomplished by these agencies will be enhanced when we remember that missionaries were not admitted into the Company's territory until after 1813, and that the present system of English schools supported by government, was not fully introduced before 1835. After the Company's establishment in India assumed a political character, and their agents began to recover from the surprise of their almost magical successes, the policy of training for the service of government a superior class of native subordinates by a more efficient system of education than the country then afforded, became evident to all. But at the same time so great was the sense of the insecurity of their tenure of power, that the most extravagant fear of exciting the religious and national prejudices of the natives gave character to their whole policy. They never conceived the glorious aim of communicating to their subjects the inestimable boon of the knowledge of true science and true religion: their plan comprehended only the restoration and more active dissemination of Hindu and Mahomedan science and literature.

On the occasion of the renewal of the Company's charter, in 1793, the friends of humanity and religion, of whom the most prominent leaders were Mr. Charles Grant and Mr.

Wilberforce, made the most earnest efforts to induce the Imperial Parliament to make provision for a more efficient system of education, and to authorize the promulgation of Christianity among their Indian subjects by European missionaries. These endeavours however at that time resulted in no positive order favourable to their wishes, although an impression was made upon the public mind, which gradually strengthening, attained the desired end at the next renewal of the charter in 1813. From that time missionaries have had free entrance, and Parliament then required the Company to appropriate a ~~a~~ laq of rupees, or \$50,000 annually, for the promotion of education among the natives. No application however was made of this appropriation until 1823, when a *General Committee of Public Instruction* was formed at Calcutta, with full powers of administering this money and the entire educational scheme. But it was not until 1835, under lord William Bentick, and in a great measure through the enlightened and zealous exertions of C. E. Trevelyan, Esq., that the system of using the learned Oriental languages as the medium, and in great part the matter of instruction was done away, and the glorious sun of English literature and science rose full into the Hindu horizon.

Up to 1835, the pupils in all government schools were encouraged to cultivate native literature by numerous scholarships and prizes—but since that date these have all been done away, and the encouragement turned in favour of English studies. English classes have been added to their original Oriental institutions, as the Calcutta Madrisa, and new English Colleges have been formed at Delhi, Agra, Benares, Murshedabad, and other principal cities, and preëxisting institutions founded by native liberality, as the College at Hoogly, and Hindu College at Calcutta have been adopted into the government scheme. And in all applications for office under government in any department, preference is now given to those who have made the largest acquirements in the English language and Western science. But in the face of the powerful competition of government patronage and rich endowments, the schools of the several missionary bodies, from their greater moral vitality, and the superior talent of the teachers, have

not only been more successful in their results, but actually more popular; and are exerting a wider as well as a deeper influence. The Church Mission have theirs—the Established Church of Scotland theirs—the Baptist Society theirs—the London Society theirs, for which the Rev. Dr. Boaz has lately secured a splendid endowment—and above all, the acknowledged model of all, the school of the Free Church of Scotland, numbering for years past a thousand pupils.

As might be supposed, all these agencies, political and commercial, educational and religious now brought to bear upon this ancient community—differing so much as they do in principle among themselves, yet all making correlative aggression upon the entire system of Hindu faith and manners—thus bearing not only upon the external territories of that system but upon its inmost centre and essential life—have made the most profound impression upon classes the most exposed to their influence, and have generated intense intellectual excitement, exhibiting itself in very various results. It must not be supposed that this leaven has so far penetrated the mass, that the lower orders of society are positively much affected. Yogis seeking absorption in Brahm through a course of the most extravagant self-torture may still be seen in the public stations attracting the wonder and obeisance of crowds of old women and doting men; entire classes, as Qulís, artisans, small shop keepers, still wear the mark of the Beast upon their foreheads; pujás are celebrated in all form, and festival days are punctually observed; and the streets of Calcutta at present probably exhibit the same and as general evidences of a reigning superstition as ever before. But it is notoriously different among the educated classes. Some it is true with the maddening presentiment of approaching destruction cling even more desperately to the old faith, and like owls and bats are yet more blind because of the new light. But liberal sentiments are everywhere active, and everywhere prevail. They find expression and a scope for action through the medium of the press, and in numerous debating societies. It is of course known that the entire system of government education is wholly secular. All religious instruction, and as far as possible all notices of religion are carefully excluded. But as

the Hindu system embraces the most monstrous errors in physics and history as well as in theology, any kind or degree of true knowledge at once assumes an attitude of antagonism to it, and sets the seal of imposture upon the whole. While therefore some, who have been only to a superficial extent affected, have taken the alarm, have been thrown into a more conscious and active opposition, and now constitute the most prominent leaders of the conservative or orthodox Hindu party, the great mass of the more thoroughly educated on the contrary are thoroughly convinced of the silliness and vileness of the existing faith and religious practices of the people. This entire latter class, embracing various and dissimilar elements, passes under the generic designation of "Young Bengal"—in truth a chaotic gulf, the grave of an old, and womb of a new world.

The orthodox Hindu party is represented, its interests advocated, and all its movements as a party controlled and directed by the *Dharma Shabha*, literally *Holy Assembly*. This society was instituted in 1829, in opposition to the *Brahma Shabha* of the Vedantists, for the objects of preserving the existing Puranic system of mythology and idol-worship, in opposition to all foreign influences whatever, and especially to the pretended internal reform of the Vedantic philosophers. It soon increased greatly in numbers and power, and exerted for a long time a controlling influence in the native society. It still exists, and retains potentially all its elements of influence, although the energy and activity which characterized it under the exciting circumstances to which it owed its origin have given place to the native apathy, and want of any positive principle of union, so preëminently characteristic of the Hindu of this age. In its more active days it carried on an excited controversy on all the great interests in debate, through the press and in every sphere of society. It desperately opposed any liberal innovation, as the abolition of the rite of Satî, or burning widows with the corpse of their husbands, and more lately those most honourable orders of an enlightened government, which truly form a prominent epoch in the moral renovation of India, abolishing the tyrannous native law which inflicted the forfeiture of all hereditary property upon converts renoun-

cing the religion of their birth. The organ of the Dharma Shabha from the beginning has been the Churndrika, which still retains its place in the native periodical literature of Calcutta, under the management of its first editor Bhobany Churn Banerjea—one of the most active members of the Shabha.

To return however to the innovating classes which constitute Young Bengal, we find among them, as we should naturally expect the most endless diversity. A class, very small as compared with the whole, graduates of the mission schools, or those who have received illumination from other more accidental sources have been convinced of the truth of Christianity, and more or less openly profess their faith in it. These may be seen, four or five in a group every Sunday at all the Christian churches. The great mass however of the educated have by no means gone so far. Most indeed have no earnest care for any religion. Rejoiced to be freed from the hard service of their old superstition, they have changed their liberty into licentiousness and add foreign vices to those inherited from their fathers. These men for the most part conform to all the superstitious rules of their caste, so far as they are not too irksome, some to avoid persecution, others for the love of the fun and licentious pleasure connected with their religious rites, and their most comprehensive distinguishing marks, are an irreverent contempt of all sacred things, card playing, beef-eating, and wine-drinking, at their club houses in Bow bázár, or in private apartments in the English hotels. This class of universal skeptics and scoffers are armed with all the weapons of both the Indian and European schools of infidelity. The works of Tom. Paine have in time past been sent to Calcutta by the ship load from America, and with the kindred works of Volney and Gibbon have always found there a ready market.

Among the more studious and respectable of the educated natives there are two general classes. Those who have been most thoroughly imbued with English literature, and whose training in the forms of Western civilization has been most complete, have without reserve renounced all faith as well in the esoteric philosophy as in the popular mythology. They have declared themselves to be be-

lievers in one God, but to be not fully satisfied that he had made any revelation of himself other than the universal one in nature and the heart of man. They do not however assume the attitude of skeptics in opposition to any positive creed, but of simple seekers for the truth. The organs of this party at the first were the *Inquirer* and *Gyananeshun*, the former in English, the latter in Bengali, both conducted by native editors. The highly educated and able editor of the former, Krishna Mahana Banerji, was with a number of others of like standing, convinced of the truth of Christianity through the instrumentality of Rev. Dr. Duff as a public lecturer on the evidences of revealed religion, and having been hopefully converted, has since become a highly respected minister of the government establishment. This party is at present represented by the Theophilanthropic Society, whose position, as having renounced idolatry and the divisions of caste, and as searching for further illumination, is said by the able editor of the *Friend of India* to be fitly set forth in that passage of Paul's speech at Athens. "God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is the Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands, neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed anything, seeing he giveth to all life and breath, and all things: and hath made of one blood all the nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek the Lord if haply they might feel after him and find him, though he be not far from any one of us."

But there is another party, embracing many of the most respectable though less thoroughly anglicised of the educated natives, who, while they are as much convinced as the others of the debasing vileness of the popular superstitions, and the utter falsehood of the entire system of historical and theological myths, nevertheless shrink from entirely rejecting the religion of their fathers. The rejection of their national religion appears to them equivalent to the rejection of their nationality. These consequently, while denying the authority of the *Puránas* and later books, which abound most in gross materialistic cosmog-

anies, infrahuman incarnations and monstrous mythic heroes, and inculcate idolatry in its most naked form—have sought in the monotheism and fragmentary teaching of spiritual truth scattered through their older books, and enshrined in the adyta of their philosophical systems, a means of reconciling their new enlightenment with their old profession. The particular system of Hindu philosophy which they profess is the vedantic, the most popular and influential in Eastern India. Ram Mohun Roy, the first and greatest of these reformers, was determined to the choice of this particular system, not because it is the most pure and furthest removed from the popular idolatry, but because he was best acquainted with it, and because it was the most available for his purpose. This party of Vedantists is now very extended and influential, embracing however men of very various degrees of honesty of purpose and intellectual illumination. Some are truly what the name imports, disciples of Vyása, philosophical pantheists; most however holding their opinions rather on the authority of reason than revelation. Others like Ram Mohun Roy himself, are simple Deists, who believe that the Koran of Mahomet, many portions of their Shástras, and the Gospel of Jesus alike teach much truth, and are so far all alike revelations of the God of truth. They prefer, however, for themselves to derive their own designation from the system taught by one of their own national sages, and to hold the truth which belongs alike to all, in the form in which they are able to glean it from their own most ancient books. These men are spreading through the country in every direction, and are wherever they go, in proportion to their individual honesty and earnestness of character, discouraging the popular superstitions. It is of very frequent occurrence for Bengálís, as they are travelling through the North Western Provinces, to call upon our Missionaries at the several stations there, and to introduce themselves to them as Vedantists, as if that profession brought both parties on somewhat of a common ground, at least relatively to the popular idolatry. And it is of these, their doctrinal basis, and their attitude as a sect, that it is the design of this article principally to speak. What then is Vedantism? And who are the Vedantists?

Hindu literature has been classified under three great periods—that of the Vedas, the original and supreme scriptures, received alike by all sects, and regarded as the normal source of all knowledge, referred by scholars to the twelfth or fourteenth or sixteenth century before Christ—that of the great heroic poems, the Rámáyana of Valmiki, and the Mahábhárata of Vyása, marking a transition stage of this ancient faith, mediating between the nature worship of the Vedas, and the degenerated hero-worship of the Puránas—and lastly, the period of commentaries upon the original scriptures, characterized by the deification of mythical personages, the multiplication of actual divine existences from the figurative personifications of the primitive worship, and the invention of idolatrous symbols and rituals. These latter are the work of ever multiplying and diverging sects, and consequently of canonical authority only in the estimation of their respective sections. The Vedas are represented as essentially one and eternal, coeval with the breath of Brahmá the creator, and infinite in volume. The supreme ruler, however, communicated as much as was necessary for the divine illumination of the human race, to Krishna Dwaipáyana, who compiled the existing four Vedas—Rik, Yajush, Sáma and Atharva—and delivered one to each of his principal disciples, thence receiving the titular name of Vyása, the compiler, by which he is most commonly designated. Prof. Wilson fixes his era at the thirteenth century before Christ. These writings, with the exception of the last Veda, exist in an original rude dialect of the Sanscrit, which preceded its classical maturity, and are consequently read with extreme difficulty by the most accomplished Sanscrit scholars, and at the present day are studied by very few even of the most learned Brahmans. Each Veda consists of two parts, the one practical and ritual, the other doctrinal and argumentative. The entire collection of hymns and prayers of any Veda, is called its Sanhitá—the doctrinal parts appended to the former, and consisting of precepts, arguments, theological and philosophical aphorisms, are called the Bráhmaṇa. These are regarded by scholars to be of much later date than the ritual, which has become practically obsolete, and of a less homogeneous character; they were

grafted upon the primitive scriptures by Brahmans of various philosophical opinions, in order to secure for them a co-ordinate divine authority. The Upanishads are theological and philosophical tracts appended to the Vedas, of comparatively modern origin, and of very various doctrinal character, for the most part however teaching the spiritual pantheism of the Vedantic philosophy, and forming the scriptural basis upon which that school rests the divine authority of its doctrine. The religion of these original scriptures consisted essentially in the recognition of one God, yet not sufficiently apprehending him as a person distinct from his creation, but rather directing worship to him mediately in his attributes personified, and the visible manifestations of his power in the elements and order of the physical universe. Colebrooke, the highest authority in all subjects connected with Indian science and law, says "The real doctrine of the whole Indian scriptures is the unity of the deity, in whom the universe is comprehended; and the seeming polytheism, which it exhibits, offers the elements, and the planets and stars as gods." Dr. H. Wilson, Boden Professor of Sanscrit, Oxford, and since the death of Colebrooke occupying the first rank in this department of Oriental learning, says, "The elements were worshipped as types and emblems of the divine power, for there can be no doubt that the fundamental doctrine of the Vedas is monotheism." "It is true (preface to the *Rik Veda**) that the prevailing character of the ritual of the Vedas is the worship of the personified elements; of Agni or fire; Indra or the firmament; Váyu, the air; Varuna, water; of Aditya, the sun; Soma, the moon; and other elementary and planetary personages. It is also true that the worship of the Vedas is for the most part domestic worship, consisting of prayers and oblations offered—in their own houses, not in temples—by individuals for individual good, and addressed to unreal presences not to visible types. In a word the religion of the Vedas was not idolatry." The three principal personages of Hindu mythology are barely mentioned in the Vedas; but there they are represented only as personifications of the attributes in

* See a very learned article on the "Sacred Literature of the Hindus," *North British Review*, August, 1844.

action of the one indivisible Supreme—Brahmá of his creative, Vishnu his sustaining, Siva his destroying, or, what in Hindu philosophy is the same, his regenerating energy. But the literal incarnation of the deity is said to be asserted in no genuine passage, and the worship of deified heroes forms no part of their system. This latter, which has given birth to the whole mythological scheme of modern Hinduism, and in the later Puránas and Tantras has degenerated into the grossest idolatry, first found articulate expression in the great heroic poems of the second period of Indian literature. The two most popular objects of worship at present in all India, with the exception of several female deities, are the incarnations of the God Vishnu in the persons of Rama and Krishna. “The history of these two incarnations gives to the adoration paid to them every appearance of Hero-worship. They are both of royal descent and were both born on earth like true knights errant to destroy fiends, giants, and enchanters, and rescue helpless maids and matrons from captivity and violence. Poetry exaggerated their exploits, and mythology deified the performers.”* Rama is the hero of the great poem Rámáyana, and Krishna of the Mahábhárata. After the Vedas and heroic poems, the sacred writings of the Hindus, embracing the whole cycle of their sciences, are classified under the heads of the six Angas, or bodies of learning, and the Upangas or inferior bodies of learning, and the Tantras. The Angas treat respectively of astronomy, and of the grammar, prosody, the signification of difficult words and phrases, the proper tone and manner of reading, and the details of the ritual of the Vedas. The Upangas comprise the philosophical Shástras, the Dharma Shástra, or Institutes of law, and the Puránas, legendary and mythological treatises. These books are the actual scriptural authorities of the Hinduism of the present day, the primitive and simple ritual of the Vedas having become entirely antiquated and superseded by these more modern compilations. Although their ancient laws ordain that the first period of the youth of all twice born men, i. e. of the three higher castes, shall be spent in learning the text and interpretation of the scriptures, yet in these degenerate days

* Prof. Wilson's “Two Lectures before the University of Oxford.”

even the Brahmans, whose exclusive function it properly is to learn and expound them, with extremely few exceptions, never see any portion of the text, except the little that is contained in manuals and breviaries of very recent compilation. These are considered sufficient for all services, and are read by the priest as mere formulas, with reference only to the sound.

The Puránas, although the signification of the name itself is *the old*, and claiming for themselves the very highest antiquity, have been conclusively proved by Prof. Wilson to be in their present form of quite modern origin, the oldest not dating farther back than the ninth century of our era, and the latest not being more than two or three hundred years old. He describes them however as containing many fragments of a much greater age, and as representing that stage of Hinduism which immediately succeeded the great mytho-heroic poems, from which these writings very much derived their character. They differ from the Vedas essentially, in ceasing as a whole to be the scriptural rule of the entire Hindu faith. They have an essentially sectarian character, advocating the claims of one or the other deity, or individualized manifestation of the one God, to the exclusion of the rest, and are received or rejected by the several sects of Vaishnavas, Saivas, Saktas, as they advocate or oppose the exclusive worship of their respective gods. The worship of the elements as the visible signs of God's power has given place to the worship of heroes, who were probably historical characters, and who were deified by being represented as incarnations of that one God himself Brahmá, Vishnu, Siva are no longer set forth as personifications of the energy in action of the supreme Brahm, but as Brahm himself incarnate. His marvellous exploits in this character are recounted, hymns are written in his praises, rites are instituted for his worship, symbols are designated as monuments of his advent, and as objects fitted to direct and stimulate the worship of his less intelligent followers. But it must be remembered that even to the last the fundamental monotheism of the ancient faith was never lost in their recognized literature. The particular divine beings, which the Puránas severally exalt, are always represented, not as co-ordinate gods, but as the One, who can know no fel-

low—the one universal soul individualized, revealing himself for the apprehension of men, in a personal and always anthropomorphic form. Wherever this is not distinctly kept in view, and several co-ordinate divine individualities are recognized, they are absolutely divine only as all other persons and things are divine, since Brahm is every thing and every thing is Brahm. As individuals their divine power and immortality is only relative to the weakness and ephemeral life of man. When the cycle of a hundred years of Brahmá is fulfilled, he himself, the myriads of gods, and the divine sages will be merged as indistinguishable parts into the one indivisible universal soul from which they emanated.

Prof. Wilson describes the Tantras as coming next to the Puránas in the degenerating scale, and the principal authorities for whatever is most gross and demoralizing in the existing religious rites. Although they are written in the classical language they have not found admission to the usual lists of the several classes of Indian scripture, nor have they been generally known to European scholars. They are, for the most part, the rule of faith and ritual of the various Sakta sects, or worshippers of the female deities, who were originally the personified energy of the supreme God, or of the several mythological characters, and represented as originating with the deity, and co-existing with him as his bride and part of himself. It is from these books and these sects that the most cruel and obscene rites have originated, which though extensively popular refuse to confess themselves in open profession, and lurk under the name and insignia of less abominable superstitions. Under this head are to be classed the bloody sacrifices offered to Káli, the barbarities and indecencies perpetrated at the great Durgá Pujá, and the world famous Churuk Pujá or hook swinging festival.

In no respect has the Indian mind been more prolific than in the number and variety of philosophical schools which it has originated. These have been distinguished as orthodox, i. e., conformable in their results to the normal divine revelation—or the reverse—but no adequate ground for such a classification can be found in the internal character of the systems themselves, since some of those reputed orthodox by no means recog-

nise the system of the universe taught in the scriptures, and consequently the reason of the distinction must be sought in extrinsic circumstances. The fact is that the most extreme latitude of speculation has been allowed as long as it confined itself to the sphere of the abstract, and did not intrude upon the province of positive institutions, nor the authority of the received canon. Every system therefore which repudiated the Vedas, and the distinctions of caste, with the supremacy of the Brahmans—as above all the Buddhist—was branded as atheistical, and followed by the most zealous opposition, while the Sánkhyā, which, although of more than doubtful theistical character, presents a complacent front to the positive monuments of the national faith, has been generally, though not always, received among the orthodox. It is usual to enumerate under the head of Upangas, or inferior bodies of learning, six philosophical Darshanas. Three of these are said to sustain the relation of principal respectively to one of the others, which was subsequently attached to it by way of supplement, or deduced by way of consequent from it. Taking therefore the name of the principal for the designation of the pair, we have the Sánkhyā, the Nyáyika, and the Mínánsá. There are two principles which characterize all these schemes alike, and which consistently run through the whole. The first is the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, and the second the maxim that ‘*ex nihilo, nihil fit*’—that the effect must not only potentially but essentially be contained in the cause. The idea of absolute creation therefore lies entirely without their mode of thought, which admits only of generation, an explicit evolution of that which from the first was implicitly in the principle. These systems are chiefly differenced therefore by the number and character of these ultimate self-existing principles from which they develop the existing forms and phenomenal order of the universe. The Sánkhyā is a dualistic scheme, characterized by the pointed opposition which it maintains between spirit and matter—both uncreated—spirit conscious, intelligent, but capable neither of action nor production—matter unconscious unintelligent, but ever producing, by a blind formative energy evolving itself from its primitive condition of transsensible subtlety, through a scale of elements

becoming more and more gross and palpable, and their manifold combinations, and thus with the myriad individual spirits which in its circling flow it bears upon its bosom—as bubbles float among the ripples of an eddy—produces all the phenomena of the existing world. With all this, spirit has nothing to do, it is a spectator only, and ‘stranger in the world.’

The Nyáyika is also a dualistic system, although it is not so prominently characterized as the Śāṅkhya by the opposition asserted between spirit and matter. The first portion is said to be principally occupied with discussing the laws of reasoning and the sources of knowledge, the latter portion assumes the existence of eternal indestructible atoms, which in their infinite combinations produces the phenomenal world, being impelled in their mutual attractions and repulsions by the power, and directed in their combinations by the intelligence of a separate and coördinately eternal Supreme Spirit.

These are in the proper sense of the word philosophies—that is speculative schemes, acknowledging indeed, but not moulding themselves upon the dogmas of traditionary and canonical authority. The Mimáṃsá, on the other hand, which is chronologically posterior to the others, appears to have arisen from a desire to give a scientific development and justification to the dogmatical aphorisms of the Vedas, and to reconcile the apparent materialistic character of the frequent assertions that Brahm is the world, with absolute spiritualism. This system therefore is preëminently the orthodox, making constant reference to the text of the Vedas, and principally founded upon the Upanishads or supplementary doctrinal tracts. It is divided like the other systems into two sections—the Purva Mimáṃsá, or prior investigation, occupied with practical and ethical disquisitions arising immediately from the interpretation of the scriptures—and the Uttara Mimáṃsá, or posterior investigation, called usually the Vedānta, or philosophic resolution of the end or scope of the Vedas. The reputed author of the system is the same Vyása before referred to as the compiler of the primitive scriptures and the author of the Mahábhárata and Puráṇas.

The Vedānta is preëminently non dualistic, a pure spiritual

pantheism. It asserts the existence of but one principle from which the whole system of the universe is evolved, of but one essence, whether self-existent or created, and that an infinite un compounded spirit, the supreme Brahm. Vyāsa declares that not only the essence of God may not be apprehended by the senses, but that the finite understanding can make no approach to a just comprehension of the mode of his existence. And consequently their definition of the Supreme does not attempt logical self-consistency, for they first describe his being by a list of negative predicates so comprehensive as to exclude every possible positive conception, and then inconsistently enough assert that light, truth, wisdom and almighty power are his essence. It is a pre-established assumption, which conditions every scheme of Indian philosophy and theology, that all modes of passion and action are incidents only of the passing phenomenal world, and therefore conditions only of imperfect being. Consequently in their endeavour after the realization of ideal perfection every form of these must be denied, while at the same time the potential existence, at least, of every positive excellence must be ascribed. These must be taken together, like every other effort of the human mind to conceive, and of human language to express the conditions of infinite being, not as defined positions, but rather as the projection of certain lines of direction, which, like the lines of a truncated pyramid, indicate a point of solution high in the inaccessible spheres above us. He is affirmed to be incorporeal, immaterial, without beginning or end, without cause and incapable of change—secondless, without a fellow, and without any external conditions of a coördinately self-existent substance—uncompounded, without parts or qualities—impassible, without affections, motives, or purpose—*incomprehensible*. Nevertheless he is all-knowing, all-powerful, the material as well as efficient cause of all, pervader, sustainer, controller of all, in his essence infinite light, wisdom and power.

Though they thus taught that simple spirit is the sole principle of all things, the older vedantists did not deny the objective reality of the objects of sensuous perception. The phenomenal world is real because it is a veritable emanation from

the essence of Brahm—and therefore the ground of these phenomena is not a material nature as the other schools assert, but in some ineffable manner they are simulations of form and mode by spirit, which, according to their definition, is incapable of mode. These modes, which are the conditions of the phenomena, are not in Brahm—he is neither long or short, swift or slow, hot or cold, and yet there is nothing in the world but Brahm. He is all that appears, yet that which appears is not Brahm, “as the crystal may assume any colour, and yet all the while remains essentially colourless.” He is said to be both the potter and the clay, for to suppose him to be merely the fashioner of an independently existing substance, would be to make the ever-blessed Lord beholden to another. It is declared that it is not beyond analogy that the effect should be phenomenally different from, and even opposite to its cause—as various vegetables grow out of the same soil, insensible hair and nails from the sentient body, and living worms from inanimate matter, and even from corruption the process of death. As the spider spins out its thread from its own substance, and draws it into itself again, so has the supreme Spirit from eternity caused the procession of an infinite series of worlds from his own essence, and their absorption again into the source whence they emanated. Yet the procession of all things out of God follows an order of gradual evolution, the more palpable from the more subtle. From the divine spirit immediately proceeded ether, from ether air, from air fire, from fire water, and from water earth—and from the various combinations of these the gross elements and all the objects of sense are formed.

Individual souls on the contrary are not emanations from the universal soul, but parts of him—“as the vacuum between the separate trees of a forest and universal space are one, so Brahm and individuated spirits are one.” The relation they sustain is said not to be that of servant and master, subject and ruler, but of part and whole. It is a doctrine common to all these systems, that the individual understanding, which combines and analyzes phenomena and judges of the relation of means to ends, and the self-consciousness, which individualizes the soul, and teaches it to say—I do, I suffer—are not

intrinsic faculties of spirit itself, but entirely extrinsic to it, a product on the contrary of external nature. The Sāṅkhya says that these are an emanation from the formative material principle of things—the Nyáyika that they are the resultant of a certain composition of atoms—the Vedānta that they are emanations from the universal soul, yet related to him not as the individual souls of men, which are simple parts of him, but as the other emanations of the phenomenal world. The five elements, before enumerated, in their combination form the five senses, through which we receive impressions from the external world, and the five organs of action, through which we react again upon the world,—these are not the members of the gross body of flesh, but of interior subtle bodies, which act through the external organs as their vehicles. The individuated soul then, beside the gross body in which it is incarnate, is ensheathed in three subtle bodies—the first is the understanding united with the senses, constituting that body which is made up of knowledge—the second is the self-consciousness, the individualizing power, causing the soul to regard itself as in fact a doer and sufferer in the world—and the third sheath is composed of the two former with the organs of action. These like a sphere of repulsion invest the soul, individualizing it from the universal spirit of which it is a part, and deceiving it both as to its own separate agency, and as to the real character of external phenomena, it draws it within the ever-involving toils of nature. These subtle bodies, investing the soul at the first origin of its separate existence, attend it through all its incarnations, whether infrahuman, human or superhuman, and are dissolved only when the part is resolved into the whole, when the individual is absorbed in the universal soul.

As long, however, as the soul continues under their influence it must continue under a delusion both as to itself and the world. As the mirage, and a chord mistaken for a snake, have an objective reality, so are all the phenomena of the world real, but the soul is under a delusion as to their true nature, not discerning that all is the mere sport of Brahm, and that he is the real cause of the acts, which the self-consciousness appropriates to itself. This is the origin of the

doctrine of the later writers of this sect, that all is *Máyá*—illusion—which they figuratively describe as the energy of Brahm, coëxisting with him, and constituting the material cause of the universe, while he himself is the efficient cause. The meaning of this is that although the facts of consciousness, and of the objective world are real, yet to the understanding looking through the senses, and to the self-consciousness they are a pure illusion—the one assuming them to be just what they appear, and the other referring action and sensations to itself as subject—while all is in reality only the essence of Brahm, yet so manifested as to reveal in no manner his true nature; as the red rays of the sun piercing through a fog do not discover the true colour of their source. So although all the phenomenal world is only Brahm, yet the soul that would know him must look elsewhere, for “this is only Brahm’s play.”

It is this delusion which entangles the soul in nature, and which causes it, as one gross body dies, to migrate to another—the present condition, and stage of being of any individual being determined by the merit or demerit contracted in previous stages. Since therefore this delusion, ever more and more involving the soul in nature, and beclouding it with the passions of sense, is the parent of all evil, and the cause of endless transmigration, the great end of all religion is to deliver the soul from its power, that by the knowledge that all action, and passion, and change are extrinsic to itself, it may be forever freed from them. For this end two methods are indicated—the one imperfect, for the mass of mankind, the other perfect, for the truly wise. In the first the common mass by the strict fulfilment of all the relative duties of life, by obedience to the Brahmans, the worship of the gods, and the punctual observance of ceremonial forms, may accumulate such a stock of merit in this world, that in the next life the individual shall be born—still invested and individualized by the subtle bodies—in the heaven of the particular deity (hypostatised Brahm) which he had worshipped on earth, and there enjoy the felicity of his communion for a longer or shorter period, until the merit is exhausted—when he must be again born into some form of flesh, and commence anew a round of

transmigrations. This is the point of divergence of the whole exoteric system.

But he that would be entirely and forever free from the power of illusion and the Metempsychosis, can find such freedom only in the true science of the Vedanta. He must so abstract himself from the senses, so deny the delusive notices of the understanding and self-consciousness, and so meditate on the being of Brahm, as the All, that he shall at last attain to an abiding realization of Brahm in all; so that his own acts and feelings are to him only the pulses of the universal life, and so that he perceives only Brahm in all the changing phenomena of the external world; as before a fixed abstracted gaze the superficial reflection of external forms upon a lake fades away, and the colourless water only is perceived. Thus may the truly wise continue to live in the world, yet in the most absolute sense not of it. He must still remain until the consequences of former births have expended themselves, which however affect him no longer, but pass by him "like an arrow in its flight"—and then the gross flesh being laid aside, and the subtle investitures of the soul being dissolved, its individuality shall be lost by its absorption into the one who is the all—the bubble has burst into the air, the drop has dissolved in the sea.

In answer to the question, What is Vedantism? the late Dr. Yates gave an account of the above philosophical system in the *Calcutta Review*; but t^his account answers very imperfectly to the second question, Who are the Vedantists of Young Bengal? What is the true position of these, who, while they assume the attitude of reformers, still arrogate to themselves par excellence this most orthodox title of ancient Hinduism? This doctrine as taught in the schools of Vyása had been received as the most orthodox esoteric scheme ages before any illumination from a foreign source had penetrated the native horizon. But, as before remarked, since this new light has arisen, hundreds, while constrained to repudiate the whole mythological system and idolatrous ritual, have through national pride, and with the flexibility characteristic of their indefinite creed, sought to derive from, or at least engraft upon their primitive scriptures, the more enlightened and spiritual views they have received from their

conquerors. Some of these are in fact pantheists, and consequently in the strict sense of the word Vedantists, but by far the most are simple deists, who have adopted the word Vedant, rather in its etymological than its technical sense—the end and scope of the teaching of the Vedas, their oldest and purest scriptures, in opposition to the Puránas and Tantras, later and less genuine compositions. These primitive scriptures are said to contain many passages asserting the being of but one God, and discouraging idolatry. Prof. Wilson has translated the following among others. “There is in truth but one deity, the Supreme Spirit.” “Adore God alone, know God alone, give up all other discourse.” “The Vedant says, ‘It is found in the Vedas, that none but the Supreme Being is to be worshipped, nothing excepting him should be adored by a wise man.’” “The fools who think God is in images of earth, stone, metal or wood, practising austerities, obtain only bodily pain but do not secure the highest peace.” And even in the Bagavat Gíta, an episode of the Mahábhárata, one of the great mytho-heroic poems, such texts as the following occur: “The idiots who forsaking me, the God animating all things, worship images, only spill ghrí on ashes.” It was by this class of passages that Ram Mohun Roy the most prominent originator of the reform movement, and others of like mind, justified their declaration that the original and genuine canon of the Hindu faith taught as absolute a monotheism, and as spiritual a worship, and was as utterly opposed to the popular Polytheism and idol-worship, as either Christianity or Mahommedanism. Simple deists themselves, some of them perhaps cared as little for the Vedas as for the Koran or the Gospel, but upon this basis of internal reformation they hoped to attack the popular delusions with infinitely more authority, and consequent advantage than would be possible from any exterior ground.

As Ram Mohun Roy was the prototype of an increasing class—none the less because he was in the full flower and matured fruit what most are only in the germ, nor because he excelled all as much in the truthfulness and energy of his moral nature, his entire emancipation from prejudice and in his universal philanthropy, as in the power of his intellect or the greatness of his acquirements—it is a subject of great

interest to determine what in fact was his religious creed, and the object of his efforts as a reformer. While yet a boy he had been sent to receive under the tuition of the learned Maulavis, of Patna, a Persian and Arabic education. It was from this source that he received his first religious enlightenment, and captivated with the simplicity and beauty of the monotheism of the Koran, contracted an ever growing disgust for the popular superstitions of his country. He had also been thoroughly instructed by the Pandits of Benares, in the sacred language and literature of his own nation, and he subsequently attained to the highest eminence as a Sanscrit scholar and theologian. He afterwards acquired the Hebrew and Greek, as well as a practical use of the English, and in their original tongues read the Old Testament with a Jewish Rabbi, and the Gospels with some Christian Divine in order to satisfy himself as to the amount of truth taught in them. Although he was never convinced of their being in any specific sense a divine revelation, yet he very much admired the spiritual excellence of their precepts. He published in 1820, a work entitled, "The Precepts of Jesus the guide to Peace and Happiness." In his preface he says, "This simple code of religion and morality is admirably calculated to elevate men's ideas to high and liberal notions of one God—and to regulate the conduct of the human race in the discharge of their various duties to God, themselves and society." When he left India on his embassy to England, where he died, he said to some of his friends that when he died the professors of all the different religions would claim him, but that in truth he was neither Hindu, Mahomedan nor Christian. As from the study of the Koran at Patna, when he was yet a boy, he was confirmed in his faith in one spiritual and holy Creator, Preserver and Judge of all, while he altogether rejected the claims of Mahomet to the prophetic office, and all that distinguishes his doctrine from natural theism, so he appears never through his whole life to have altered or advanced his creed. He ever was a firm, and increasingly devout believer in what is called among us natural religion. He called his press, from which most of his writings were issued, 'The Unitarian Press'—but that term was assumed in opposition to

polytheism, and not in the sense of Christian humanitarian, as with us. In the early years of his life he appears to have been chiefly alive to the impious and degrading character of idol-worship, but as he grew older, and saw springing up around him a new race, who had learned to despise the superstition of their fathers only to deny all religion, he became more and more impressed with the danger of the opposite and growing evil of universal skepticism. He was therefore ever most careful to oppose no religion which was based upon the few and simple doctrines which alone he held essential, and the enlightened and devout worshippers of the one God, of every name he loved as brethren. It is recorded of him by a friend who knew him well that—"He often deplored the existence of a party that had sprung up in Calcutta, composed principally of imprudent young men, some of them possessing talent, who had avowed themselves sceptics in the widest sense of the term. He described it as partly composed of East Indians, partly of Hindu youth, who from education had learned to reject their own faith without substituting any other. These he thought more debased than the most bigoted Hindu, and their principles the bane of all morality."

In perfect consistency with his disposition to embrace all religions which are purely theistical in doctrine, and spiritual in precept and ritual, was the whole method of his attempt to reform the superstition of his benighted countrymen. It was neither his policy nor was it consistent with his principles to denounce Hinduism root and branch. He had the interest both of a native of Hindustán, and of a scholar in the more ancient scriptures, and more elevated doctrines concerning God and man, from which the present gross idolatry of his people had degenerated. His design was therefore to lead them back to the fountains by translating their scriptures into the vernaculars. He is charged however with having attributed to the Vedas, much of what he had learned from other sources, and thus of having inculcated an altogether one-sided view of the Vedant system—as was indeed natural for him a believer in a personal God, and an admirer of the Gospels, and no Pantheist. He said himself—"The ground I have taken in all my controversies was not of opposition to Brah-

manism, but to a perversion of it; and I endeavoured to show that the idolatry of the Brahmans was contrary to the practice of their ancestors, and the principles of the ancient books and authorities which they profess to revere and obey." He published most of his controversial tracts and translations at his own expense, and circulated them gratuitously among the people. He commenced with a translation of the Vedānt into Bengālī, which he afterwards retranslated into Hindustānī, and again into English in 1816, His own preface to this work states very distinctly his design in this series of translations.

"In pursuance of my vindication, I have to the best of my abilities, translated this hitherto unknown work, as well as an abridgment thereof into the Hindustānī and Bengālī languages; and distributed them free of cost among my own countrymen, as widely as circumstances have possibly allowed. The present is an endeavour to render an abridgment of the same into English, by which I expect to prove to my European friends, that the superstitious practices, which deform the Hindu religion, have nothing to do with the pure spirit of its dictates.

"I have observed, that both in their writings and conversation many Europeans feel a wish to palliate, and soften the features of Hindu idolatry: and are inclined to inculcate that all objects of worship are considered by their votaries, as emblematical representations of the Supreme Divinity. If this were indeed the case, I might perhaps be led into some examination of the subject; but the truth is, the Hindus of the present day have no such views of the subject, but firmly believe in the real existence of innumerable gods and goddesses, who possess, in their own departments, full and independent power; and to propitiate them, and not the true God, are temples erected, and ceremonies performed. There can be no doubt however, and it is my whole design to prove, that every rite has its derivation from the allegorical adoration of the true Deity; but at the present day, all this is forgotten; and among many it is even heresy to mention it. . . . I have therefore been moved to make every possible effort to awaken my countrymen from their dream of error; and by making them acquainted with their scriptures, enable them to contemplate, with true devotion, the unity and omnipresence of nature's God."

In like manner Ram Mohun Roy published for gratuitous distribution translations in Bengālī and English of a number of Upanishads and other selections from the Vedas, and with indefatigable perseverance maintained the aggressive in the violent controversy which he had excited in that until now stagnant world. He was denounced not only as heretic but as atheist, yet this rage of opposition only the more evidenced his power—he was soon surrounded by disciples, and the founder of a

sect. In 1828 he instituted the Brahma Shabha, in opposition to which the party of orthodox Hindus instituted the Dharma Shabha, before alluded to. These two congregations became not only the seminaries of their respective opinions, but also the centres of an excited controversy, which then penetrated and moved the entire community, and which has not yet spent itself, but awaits only the voice of another prophet to break in a tempest on a wider sphere, and with ever accumulating resources. The Brahma Shabha, from the first, has held regular meetings for worship every Wednesday evening. The favourite portions of the Vedas are read and expounded, and the religious and ethical doctrines of the sect are advocated in discourses in the vernacular before audiences composed of all castes and religions. In a number of the *Friend of India*, July 5th, 1849, we find an apologetic account of this institution as it exists at present from a native correspondent. "Here passages from the holy Veda are recited and expounded by the ministers, (Pandits of Benares) and discourses and sermons are read and delivered glorifying the great God and his attributes; then the young gentlemen altogether in a sweet low tone, pray heaven to forgive them the trespasses they have done, when divine songs are sung and the service ends. The members of this Samaj, or Young Bengál, have entered into a covenant never to worship any idol, nor perform any idolatrous ceremony; they have likewise bound themselves to abstain from using spirituous liquors, or other intoxicating drugs, on penalty of being excommunicated from the Samaj. A monthly publication is issued from the Samaj, edited by its members, in which are published essays and discourses on moral and religious subjects, such as the existence of the Deity, death and the immortality of the soul, together with passages selected from the Ved, and is widely circulated both among Old and Young Bengál." The "Reformer," Ram Mohun Roy's original paper, still continues to be issued by a native editor with great ability in the English language. The monthly journal alluded to in the above extract, as the organ of the Brahma Shabha, is the *Tuttubodhinee Putrika*, or *Advocate of Spiritual Knowledge*, edited both in Bengálí and English. A mission-

ary correspondent of the Calcutta Christian Herald, Dec. 1845, in a very interesting review of the native press of that city, says of this journal that, "It advocates Ram Mohun Roy's one-sided view of the vedant. What it finds not in purely native sources, it borrows without acknowledgement from Christianity. It is at once interesting and instructive to see how such as are so far enlightened by education as to reject the absurd abominations of the Puránic idolatry, would perforce find in Hindu theology—a materializing pantheism—something beyond monstrous physics or a debasing metaphysics—are compelled to have recourse, like the equally disingenuous anti-christian philosophers and transcendentalists of the West, to that very Christianity which they repudiate, yet from which they must after all, consciously or unconsciously, borrow all that is truly rational in principle, pure in sentiment, or good in practice." In like manner they are represented as more and more imitating the Christians in their habits of life and modes of worship. Distinctions of caste are not regarded, set sermons are preached, and the audience bow the head and cover the face in prayer, or when the scriptures are read.

The Hindu Theophilanthropic Society has since been instituted by enlightened native gentlemen, of the same general views as their illustrious countryman, who have been roused to a sense of the imminent danger to the best interests of their nation arising from the very general prevalence of atheism among that new race growing up under the influence of an English education from which all religion has been eliminated. They have themselves defined their object to be the search after and dissemination of religious truth, and their motive as arising from "a conviction irresistably forcing itself upon every reflective mind, that the great work of India's regeneration cannot be accomplished without due attention to her moral and religious improvement." The editor of the *Friend of India* speaks of these men as apparently diverging from the vedantist party, "although they yet linger in a fond regard for the sacred language of their country, and would fain find some portions of its shástras they might cling to."

In the fall of 1836, Rev. Dr. Howard Malcom of the United

States attended a meeting of the Brahma Shabha with the Rev. Mr. Lacroix of Calcutta as interpreter. He described the audience as very small, the number of regular attendants never being over thirty, and from this he forms his very disparaging estimate of the "boasted reformation" of Ram Mohun Roy. But it is evidently exceeding unfair to measure him or his work by his success simply as the founder of a sect. That specifically was never his object. His great aim was, by introducing his countrymen to a knowledge of their older and purer scriptures, to dissuade them from polytheism and idolatry, which he asserted to be an innovation of priestcraft, and to lead them to the knowledge and service of the one only living and true God. And, considering all things, he was, even in his own life time, eminently successful, and his writings still remain, and every year bear their testimony to a greater number. Hundreds read his books in their own vernacular who have never been brought under any mode of English influence, and hundreds have been won to the faith and practice of his doctrine who have never seen the Brahma Shabha.

In the words of the Calcutta Reviewer of 1845, "The life of Ram Mohun Roy was commensurate with one of the most important and stirring periods in the annals of this country. It embraces the commencement of that great social and moral revolution through which she is now silently but surely passing. When Ram Mohun Roy was born, darkness, even the darkness of ignorance and superstition, brooded over his fatherland. When he died, the spirit of inquiry was abroad in high places, and was triumphantly exploding antiquated errors. He lived to see a line of demarcation, which, since his death, has been considerably deepened, strongly drawn among the Hindus between the enlightened few and the benighted many. Ram Mohun Roy was the author of a great religious schism, which is destined to spread and widen. No native before had been enlightened and bold enough to open the eyes of his countrymen to the monstrous absurdities of their national creed. He was the first who thundered into their ears—which had for ages been accustomed to the invocation of montras, and her-

metically sealed against all true religion—the great truth that ‘God is One and without a second.’ But as yet we have only seen the dawn of a better and more promising era.”

This article would indeed have been written in vain if the impression is not left distinct and actuating in the reader's mind, that, under the providence of God, and the new relations established among the nations of the earth, a great change is now working in all the elements of the Indian community which most eminently involves the responsibility of the Church, as the instrument of God in evangelizing the world. The Church of Christ is a special power, commissioned with the Gospel, and endowed with the Spirit, and so ordained to inform mediately with its own life, and to assume into its own economy the unfixed elements of the ever changing and disintegrating forms of the world of spiritual death. But this special work of the Church is embraced in, and must ever be conditioned by, the wider working of God in providence. This preparatory and coördinate work of God in providence does not consist chiefly in merely opening a wide door of access—as of late has been so much spoken of in the case of China—but when, by his all efficient inworking and all embracing direction of the merely natural principles of human society, in the fulness of his own time, he causes a new and foreign civilization to break in upon an old and effete world, disintegrating the old, and setting the elements free to take on new associations, and to create new forms, it is then eminently, and then only that he gives opportunity to the Church to inform the moral chaos with its own divine life, and direct the nascent elements in their inevitable combinations. In this view no other missionary field in the world so imperatively demands the immediate and energetic action of the Church as India. The question is not whether we will preach the Gospel to the millions of the present generation, or leave our children to preach to the millions of the next—the providence of God leaves no such alternative. The Church may indeed withhold her hand, but human society will no more stay its inevitable progress, than the stars their course in the heaven. A nation of polytheists may give birth to a nation of atheists—but those who come after us

may for ages expect in vain such another opportunity, as has in our age, for the first time since the dispersion from Babel, been afforded to the Church, of giving character to the forming stage of a radical moral revolution involving the entire mass of the Indian nation.

ART. V.—*Conscience and the Constitution.* By Moses Stuart.

THE past year has been one of great anxiety for the peace and union of our country. The danger, though greatly lessened, cannot be considered as entirely passed. There is still great dissatisfaction both at the north and south with regard to what are called "the compromise measures," adopted by Congress at its late session. We hope and believe that the great body of people in every part of the Union are disposed to acquiesce in those measures, and to carry them faithfully into effect. Still the agitation continues. At the South there is in the minds of many, a sense of injustice and of insecurity; and at the North not a few have conscientious objections to one at least of the peace measures above alluded to. This difficulty is not to be obviated by mutual criminations. The South will not be pacified by calling their demands for what they deem justice, treasonable; nor the North by denouncing their opposition to the fugitive slave bill as fanaticism. Both parties must be satisfied. The one must be shown that no injustice is designed or impending; and the other must be convinced that they can with a good conscience submit to the law for the delivery of fugitive slaves.

Every candid man must admit that the violent denunciation of slave-holders, in which a certain class of northern writers habitually indulge, it is not merely irritating and offensive, but in a high degree unjust and injurious. It is an evil of which the South have a right to complain. But it is to be considered that it is an evil incident to our free institutions, and cannot be prevented without destroying the liberty

of speech and of the press. It is an evil for which secession or separation of the Union is no remedy, but would prove a great aggravation. It is moreover not the offence of the North but of a small class of northern men. It is no more to be imputed to the whole people, than similar disparaging and injurious representations emanating from southern men against northern institutions, are to be imputed to the whole South. Though therefore we admit the injustice of the denunciations in question they are not a grievance which ought to disturb the peace of the country.

Again, candid men must admit that the South has a right to complain of the facilities afforded for the escape of slaves, and the difficulties thrown in the way of their recapture. But this is an injustice which the North has, by the action of their representatives in congress, shown every disposition to abate. And it moreover an evil, which as Mr. Clay remarked in his place in the Senate, is almost exclusively confined to the border slaveholding states.

The great ground of complaint, however, at the South, so far as we can understand, is that the equilibrium between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding states in the Senate, has been destroyed by the admission of California into the Union. A certain class of southern politicians seem to think that justice requires that there should be perfect equality in the senatorial representation between the two sections of the country; and consequently that the South should have the half of all new territory acquired, and that whenever a free state is admitted to the Union provision should be made for the admission of a slaveholding state to counterbalance it. This demand we are satisfied cannot appear reasonable to the great majority of the people. It is equivalent to a demand that one-third of the population should have a representation equal to the remaining two-thirds. Justice surely does not require this in a republic whose fundamental principle is that representation should be in proportion to the population. Nor does the security of the South require this arrangement. A retrospect of the history of our congressional proceedings, proves that there is neither the disposition nor the power on the part of the North to interfere with the rights of the South.

It is an established law in all free governments that a compact minority holds the balance of power, and controls the action of the government. The South has long been in the minority, and yet our history clearly shows that their influence has always predominated in our general councils. They have had a majority of the leading offices of the government, and of the members of the Supreme Court. They have determined all the great questions of our foreign and domestic policy. This must continue to be the case; for the causes which have determined this course of action are permanent. In Pennsylvania the Germans, though not one-third of the inhabitants of that state, have for generations had the balance of power in their hands and given character to its politics and policy. We are satisfied that a calm examination of the past, and a careful consideration of the principles which control the action of the government, and especially the limited nature of its powers, must convince the South that they are in no danger of suffering injustice from the North, and that the evils incident to all human institutions, and especially to the confederation of so many states differing so much and so variously from each other, would be aggravated a thousand fold by a dissolution of the Union. Men might as well prescribe decapitation for the head-ache, as the destruction of the confederacy as a cure for the present difficulties. No human mind can estimate and no human tongue express the evils to be anticipated to the prosperity, the morals, the religion of the country, and to the hopes of the world from such a catastrophe as the breaking up of this confederacy. It is no wonder then that the remote fear of such an event has roused the whole country, and called forth from the pulpit, the press, and the forum so many addresses to the wisdom, patriotism, and brotherly-love of the people.

There is no more obvious duty, at the present time, resting on American Christians, ministers and people, than to endeavour to promote kind feelings between the South and the North. All fierce addresses to the passions, on either side, are fratricidal. It is an offence against the gospel, against our common country, and against God. Every one should endeavour to diffuse right principles, and thus secure right feel-

ing and action, under the blessing of God in every part of the land.

If the South has no such grounds of complaint as would justify them before God and the human race, whose trustees in one important sense they are, in dissolving the Union, how is it with the North? Are they justifiable in the violent resistance to the fugitive slave bill, which has been threatened or attempted? This opposition in a great measure has been confined to the abolitionists as a party, and as such they are a small minority of the people. They have never included in their ranks either the controlling intellect or moral feeling at the North. Their fundamental principle is anti-scriptural and therefore irreligious. They assume that slaveholding is sinful. This doctrine is the life of the sect. It has no power over those who reject that principle, and therefore it has not gained ascendancy over those whose faith is governed by the word of God.

The real strength of the abolitionists as a party may be estimated from its representatives in our national councils. Two or three Senators and a dozen or less members of the House of Representatives are all it can boast of. We have ever maintained that the proper method of opposing this party, and of counteracting its pernicious influence was to exhibit clearly the falsehood of its one idea, viz: that slaveholding is a sin against God. To this object we have devoted several articles in the preceding numbers of our journal. The discussion has now taken a new turn. It is assumed that the law of the last Congress relating to fugitive slaves is unconstitutional, or if not contrary to the constitution, contrary to the law of God. Under this impression many who have never been regarded as abolitionists, have entered their protest against the law, and some in their haste have inferred from its supposed unconstitutionality or immorality that it ought to be openly resisted. It is obvious that the proper method of dealing with the subject in this new aspect, is to demonstrate that the law in question is according to the constitution of the land; that it is not inconsistent with the divine law; or, admitting its unconstitutionality or immorality, that the resistance recommended is none the less a sin against God. We do not

propose to discuss either of the two former of these propositions. The constitutionality of the law may safely be left in the hands of the constituted authorities. It is enough for us that there is no flagrant and manifest inconsistency between the law and the constitution; that the first legal authorities in the land pronounce them perfectly consistent; and that there is no difference in principle between the present law and that of 1793 on the same subject in which the whole country has acquiesced for more than half a century. We would also say that after having read some of the most laboured disquisitions designed to prove that the fugitive slave bill subverts the fundamental principles of our federal compact, we have been unable to discover the least force in the arguments adduced.

As to the immorality of the law, so far as we can discover, the whole stress of the argument in the affirmative rests on two assumptions. First, that the law of God in Deuteronomy, expressly forbids the restoration of a fugitive slave to his owner; and secondly, that slavery itself being sinful, it must be wrong to enforce the claims of the master to the service of the slave. As to the former of these assumptions, we would simply remark, that the venerable Prof. Stuart in his recent work, "Conscience and the Constitution," has clearly proved that the law in Deuteronomy has no application to the present case. The thing there forbidden is the restoration of a slave who had fled from a heathen master and taken refuge among the worshippers of the true God. Such a man was not to be forced back into heathenism. This is the obvious meaning and spirit of the command. That it has no reference to slaves who had escaped from Hebrew masters and fled from one tribe or city to another, is plain from the simple fact that the Hebrew laws recognised slavery. It would be a perfect contradiction if the law authorized the purchase and holding of slaves, and yet forbid the enforcing the right of possession. There could be no such thing as slavery, in such a land as Palestine, if the slave could recover his liberty by simply moving from one tribe to another over an imaginary line, or even from the house of his master to that of his next neighbour. Besides, how inconsistent is it in the abolitionists in

one breath to maintain that the laws of Moses did not recognise slavery, and in the next, that the laws about the restoration of slaves referred to the slaves of Hebrew masters. According to their doctrine, there could be among the Israelites no slaves to restore. They must admit either that the law of God allowed the Hebrews to hold slaves, and then there is an end to their arguments against the sinfulness of slave-holding; or acknowledge that the law respecting the restoration of slaves referred only to fugitives from the heathen, and then there is an end to their argument from this enactment against the law under consideration.

The way in which abolitionists treat the scriptures makes it evident that the command in Deuteronomy is urged not so much out of regard to the authority of the word of God, as an *argumentum ad hominem*. Wherever the scriptures either in the Old or New Testament recognise the lawfulness of holding slaves, they are tortured without mercy to force from them a different response; and where, as in this case, they appear to favour the other side of the question, abolitionists quote them rather to silence those who make them the rule of their faith, than as the ground of their own convictions. Were there no such law as that in Deuteronomy in existence, or were there a plain injunction to restore a fugitive from service to his Hebrew master, it is plain from their principles that they would none the less fiercely condemn the law under consideration. Their opposition is not founded on the scriptural command. It rests on the assumption that the master's claim is iniquitous and ought not to be enforced.* Their objections

* In the New York Independent for January 2, 1851 there is a sermon delivered by Rev. Richard S. Storrs, Jr., of Brooklyn, Dec. 12, 1850, in which his opposition to the fugitive slave bill is expressly placed on the injustice of slavery. He argues the matter almost exclusively on that ground. "To what," he asks, "am I required to send this man [the slave] back? To a system which . . . no man can contemplate without shuddering." Again, "Why shall I send the man to this unjust bondage? The fact that he has suffered it so long already, is a reason why I should not. . . . Why shall I not HELP him, in his struggle for the rights which God gave him indelibly, when he made him a man? There is nothing to prevent, but the simple requirement of my equals in the state; the parchment of the law, which they have written." This is an argument against the constitution and not against the fugitive slave law. It is an open refusal to comply with one of the stipulations of our national compact. If it has any force, it is in favour of the dissolution of the union. Nay, if the argument is sound it makes the dissolution

are not to the mode of delivery, but to the delivery itself. Why else quote the law in Deuteronomy which apparently forbids such surrender of the fugitive to his master? It is clear that no effective enactment could be framed on this subject which would not meet with the same opposition. We are convinced, by reading the discussions on this subject, that the immorality attributed to the fugitive slave law resolves itself into the assumed immorality of slaveholding. No man would object to restoring an apprentice to his master; and no one would quote scripture or search for arguments to prove it sinful to restore a fugitive slave, if he believed slaveholding to be lawful in the sight of God. This being the case we feel satisfied that the mass of the people at the north, whose conscience and action are ultimately determined by the teachings of the Bible, will soon settle down into the conviction that the law in question is not in conflict with the law of God.

But suppose the reverse to be the fact; suppose it clearly made out that the law passed by Congress in reference to fugitive slaves is contrary to the constitution or to the law of God, what is to be done? What is the duty of the people under such circumstances? The answers given to this question are very different, and some of them so portentous that the public mind has been aroused and directed to the consideration of the nature of civil government and of the grounds and limits of the obedience due to the laws of the land. As this is a subject not merely of general interest at this time, but of permanent importance, we purpose to devote to its discussion the few following pages.

Our design is to state in few words in what sense government is a divine institution, and to draw from that doctrine

of the union inevitable and obligatory. It should, therefore, in all fairness be presented in that light, and not as an argument against the law of Congress. Let it be understood that the ground now assumed is that the constitution cannot be complied with. Let it be seen that the moralists of our day have discovered that the compact framed by our fathers, which all our public men in the general and state governments have sworn to support, under which we have lived sixty years, and whose fruits we have so abundantly enjoyed, is an immoral compact, and must be repudiated out of duty to God. This is the real doctrine constantly presented in the abolition prints; and if properly understood we should soon see to what extent it commends itself to the judgment and conscience of the people.

the principles which must determine the nature and limits of the obedience which is due the laws of the land.

That the Bible, when it asserts that all power is of God, or that the powers that be are ordained of God, does not teach that any one form of civil government has been divinely appointed as universally obligatory, is plain because the scriptures contain no such prescription. There are no directions given as to the form which civil governments shall assume. All the divine commands on this subject, are as applicable under one form as another. The direction is general; Obey the powers that be. The proposition is unlimited; All power is of God; i. e. government, whatever its form, is of God. He has ordained it. The most pointed scriptural injunctions on this subject were given during the usurped or tyrannical reign of military despots. It is plain that the sacred writers did not, in such passages, mean to teach that a military despotism was the form of government which God had ordained as of perpetual and universal obligation. As the Bible enjoins no one form, so the people of God in all ages, under the guidance of his Spirit, have lived with a good conscience, under all the diversities of organization of which human government is susceptible.

Again, as no one form of government is prescribed, so neither has God determined preceptively who are to exercise civil power. He has not said that such power must be hereditary, and descend on the principle of primogeniture. He has not determined whether it shall be confined to males to the exclusion of females; or whether all offices shall be elective. These are not matters of divine appointment, and are not included in the proposition that all power is of God. Neither is it included in this proposition that government is in such a sense ordained of God that the people have no control in the matter. The doctrine of the Bible is not inconsistent with the right of the people, as we shall endeavour to show in the sequel, to determine their own form of government and to select their own rulers.

When it is said government is of God, we understand the scriptures to mean, first, that it is a divine institution and not a mere social compact. It does not belong to the category of vo-

luntary associations such as men form for literary, benevolent, or commercial purposes. It is not optional with men whether government shall exist. It is a divine appointment, in the same sense as marriage and the church are divine institutions. The former of these is not a mere civil contract, nor is the church as a visible spiritual community a mere voluntary society. Men are under obligation to recognise its existence, to join its ranks, and submit to its laws. In like manner it is the will of God that civil government should exist. Men are bound by his authority to have civil rulers for the punishment of evil doers and for the praise of them that do well. This is the scriptural doctrine, as opposed to the deistical theory of a social compact as the ultimate ground of all human governments.

It follows from this view of the subject that obedience to the laws of the land is a religious duty, and that disobedience is of the specific nature of sin, this is a principle of vast importance. It is true that the law of God is so broad that it binds a man to every thing that is right, and forbids every thing that is wrong; and consequently that every violation even of a voluntary engagement is of the nature of an offence against God. Still there is a wide difference between disobedience to an obligation voluntarily assumed, and which has no other sanction than our own engagement, and disregard of an obligation directly imposed of God. St. Peter recognises this distinction when he said to Ananias, Thou hast not lied unto men but unto God. All lying is sinful, but lying to God is a higher crime than lying to men. There is greater irreverence and contempt of the divine presence and authority, and a violation of an obligation of a higher order. Every man feels that the marriage vows have a sacred character which could not belong to them, if marriage was merely a civil contract. In like manner the divine institution of government elevates it into the sphere of religion, and adds a new and higher sanction to the obligations which it imposes. There is a specific difference, more easily felt than described, between what is religious and what is merely moral; between disobedience to man and resistance to an ordinance of God.

A third point included in the scriptural doctrine on this

subject is, that the actual existence of any government creates the obligation of obedience. That is, the obligation does not rest either on the origin or the nature of the government, or on the mode in which it is administered. It may be legitimate or revolutionary, despotic or constitutional, just or unjust, so long as it exists it is to be recognised and obeyed within its proper sphere. The powers that be are ordained of God in such sense that the possession of power is to be referred to his providence. It is not by chance, nor through the uncontrolled agency of men, but by divine ordination that any government exists. The declaration of the apostle just quoted was uttered under the reign of Nero. It is as true of his authority as of that of the Queen of England, or of that of our own President, that it was of God. He made Nero emperor. He required all within the limits of the Roman empire to recognise and obey him so long as he was allowed to occupy the throne. It was not necessary for the early Christians to sit in judgment on the title of every new emperor, whenever the pretorian guards chose to put down one and put up another; neither are God's people now in various parts of the world called upon to discuss the titles and adjudicate the claims of their rulers. The possession of civil power is a providential fact, and is to be regarded as such. This does not imply that God approves of every government which he allows to exist. He permits oppressive rulers to bear sway, just as he permits famine or pestilence to execute his vengeance. A good government is a blessing, a bad government is a judgment; but the one as much as the other is ordained of God, and is to be obeyed not only for fear but also for conscience sake.

A fourth principle involved in the proposition that all power is of God is, that the magistrate is invested with a divine right. He represents God. His authority is derived from Him. There is a sense in which he represents the people and derives from them his power; but in a far higher sense he is the minister of God. To resist him is to resist God, and "they that resist shall receive unto themselves damnation." Thus saith the Scriptures. It need hardly be remarked that this principle relates to the nature, and not to the extent, of the power of the magistrate. It is as true of the lowest as of the

highest: of a justice of the peace as of the President of the United States; of a constitutional monarch as of an absolute sovereign. The principle is that the authority of rulers is divine, and not human, in its origin. They exercise the power which belongs to them of divine right. The reader, we trust will not confound this doctrine with the old doctrine of "the divine right of kings." The two things are as different as day and night. We are not for reviving a defunct theory of civil government; a theory which perished, at least among Anglo-Saxons, at the expulsion of James II. from the throne of England. That monarch took it with him into exile, and it lies entombed with the last of the Stuarts. According to that theory God had established the monarchical form of government as universally obligatory. There could not consistently with his law be any other. The people had no more right to renounce that form of government than the children of a family have to resolve themselves into a democracy. In the second place, it assumed that God had determined the law of succession as well as the form of government. The people could not change the one any more than the other; or any more than children could change their father, or a wife her husband. And thirdly, as a necessary consequence of these principles, it inculcated in all cases the duty of passive obedience. The king holding his office immediately from God, held it entirely independent of the will of the people, and his responsibility was to God alone. He could not forfeit his throne by any injustice however flagrant. The people if in any case they could not obey, were obliged to submit; resistance or revolution was treason against God. We have already remarked that the scriptural doctrine is opposed to every one of these principles. The Bible does not prescribe any one form of government; it does not determine who shall be depositories of civil power; and it clearly recognises the right of revolution. In asserting, therefore, the divine right of rulers, we are not asserting any doctrine repudiated by our forefathers, or inconsistent with civil liberty in its widest rational extent.

Such, as we understand it, is the true nature of civil government. It is a divine institution and not a mere voluntary compact. Obedience to the magistrate and laws is a religious

duty; and disobedience is a sin against God. This is true of all forms of government. Men living under the Turkish Sultan are bound to recognise his authority, as much as the subjects of a constitutional monarch, or the fellow citizen of an elective president, are bound to recognise their respective rulers. All power is of God, and the powers that be are ordained of God, in such sense that all magistrates are to be regarded as his ministers, acting in his name and with his authority, each within his legitimate sphere; beyond which he ceases to be a magistrate.

That this is the doctrine of the scriptures on this subject can hardly be doubted. The Bible never refers to the consent of the governed, the superiority of the rulers, or to the general principles of expediency, as the ground of our obligation to the higher powers. The obedience which slaves owe their masters, children their parents, wives their husbands, people their rulers, is always made to rest on the divine will as its ultimate foundation. It is part of the service which we owe to God. We are required to act, in all these relations, not as men-pleasers, but as the servants of God. All such obedience terminates on our Master who is in heaven. This gives the sublimity of spiritual freedom even to the service of a slave. It is not in the power of man to reduce to bondage those who serve God, in all the service they render their fellow-men. The will of God, therefore, is the foundation of our obligation to obey the laws of the land. His will, however, is not an arbitrary determination; it is the expression of infinite intelligence and love. There is the most perfect agreement between all the precepts of the Bible and the highest dictates of reason. There is no command in the word of God of permanent and universal obligation, which may not be shown to be in accordance with the laws of our own higher nature. This is one of the strongest collateral arguments in favour of the divine origin of the scriptures. In appealing therefore to the Bible in support of the doctrine here advanced, we are not, on the one hand appealing to an arbitrary standard, a mere statute-book, a collection of laws which create the obligations they enforce; nor, on the other hand, to "the reason and nature of things" in the abstract, which after all is only our

own reason ; but we are appealing to the infinite intelligence of a personal God, whose will because of his infinite excellence, is necessarily the ultimate ground and rule of all moral obligation. This, however, being the case, whatever the Bible declares to be right is found to be in accordance with the constitution of nature and our own reason. All that the scriptures, for example, teach of the subordination of children to their parents, of wives to their husbands, has not its foundation, but its confirmation, in the very nature of the relation of the parties. Any violation of the precepts of the Bible, on these points, is found to be a violation of the laws of nature, and certainly destructive. In like manner it is clear from the social nature of man, from the dependence of men upon each other, from the impossibility of attaining the end of our being in this world, otherwise than in society and under an ordered government, that it is the will of God that such society should exist. The design of God in this matter is as plain as in the constitution of the universe. We might as well maintain that the laws of nature are the result of chance, or that marriage and parental authority have no other foundation than human law, as to assert that civil government has no firmer foundation than the will of man or the quicksands of expediency. By creating men social beings, and making it necessary for them to live in society, God has made his will as thus revealed the foundation of all civil government.

This doctrine is but one aspect of the comprehensive doctrine of Theism, a doctrine which teaches the existence of a personal God, a Spirit infinite, eternal and unchangeable, in his being, wisdom, power, justice, holiness, goodness and truth ; a God who is everywhere present upholding and governing all his creatures and all their actions. The universe is not a machine left to go of itself. God did not at first create matter and impress upon it certain laws and then leave it to their blind operation. He is everywhere present in the material world, not superseding secondary causes, but so upholding and guiding their operations, that the intelligence evinced is the omnipresent intelligence of God, and the power exercised is the *potestas ordinata* of the Great First Cause. He is no less supreme in his control of intelligent agents. They indeed

are free, but not independent. They are governed in a manner consistent with their nature ; yet God turns them as the rivers of waters are turned. All events depending on human agency are under his control. God is in history. Neither chance nor blind necessity determine the concatenation or issues of things. Nor is the world in the hands of its inhabitants. God has not launched our globe on the ocean of space and left its multitudinous crew to direct its course without his interference. He is at the helm. His breath fills the sails. His wisdom and power are pledged for the prosperity of the voyage. Nothing happens, even to the falling of a sparrow, which is not ordered by him. He works all things after the counsel of his will. It is by him that kings reign and princes decree justice. He puts down one, and raises up another. As he leads out the stars by night, marshalling them as a host, calling each one by its name, so does he order all human events. He raises up nations and appoints the bounds of their habitation. He founds the empires of the earth and determines their form and their duration. This doctrine of God's universal providence is the foundation of all religion. If this doctrine be not true, we are without God in the world. But if it is true, it involves a vast deal. God is everywhere in nature and in history. Every thing is a revelation of his presence and power. We are always in contact with him. Everything has a voice, which speaks of his goodness or his wrath ; fruitful seasons proclaim his goodness, famine and pestilence declare his displeasure. Nothing is by chance. The existence of any particular form of government is as much his work, as the rising of the sun or falling of the rain. It is something he has ordained for some wise purpose, and it is to be regarded as his work. If all events are under God's control, if it is by him that kings reign, then the actual possession of power is as much a revelation of his will that it should be obeyed, as the possession of wisdom or goodness is a manifestation of his will that those endowed with those gifts, should be revered and loved. It follows, therefore, from the universal providence of God, that "the powers that be are ordained of God." We have no more right to refuse obedience to an actually existing government

because it is not to our taste, or because we do not approve of its measures, than a child has the right to refuse to recognise a wayward parent; or a wife a capricious husband.

The religious character of our civil duties flows also from the comprehensive doctrine that the will of God is the ground of all moral obligation. To seek that ground either in "the reason and nature of things," or in expediency, is to banish God from the moral world, as effectually as the mechanical theory of the universe banishes him from the physical universe and from history. Our allegiance on that hypothesis is not to God but to reason or to society. This theory of morals therefore, changes the nature of religion and of moral obligation. It modifies and degrades all religious sentiment and exercises; it changes the very nature of sin, of repentance and obedience, and gives us, what is a perfect solecism, a religion without God. According to the Bible, our obligation to obey the laws of the land is not founded on the fact that the good of society requires such obedience, or that it is a dictate of reason, but on the authority of God. It is part of the service which we owe to him. This must be so if the doctrine is true that God is our moral governor, to whom we are responsible for all our acts, and whose will is both the ground and the rule of all our obligations.

We need not, however, dwell longer on this subject. Although it has long been common to look upon civil government as a human institution, and to represent the consent of the governed as the only ground of the obligation of obedience, yet this doctrine is so notoriously of infidel origin, and so obviously in conflict with the teachings of the Bible, that it can have no hold on the convictions of a Christian people. It is no more true of the state than it is of the family, or of the church. All are of divine institution. All have their foundation in his will. The duties belonging to each are enjoined by him and are enforced by his authority. Marriage is indeed a voluntary covenant. The parties select each other, and the state may make laws regulating the mode in which the contract shall be ratified; and determining its civil effects. It is, however, none the less an ordinance of God. The vows it includes are made to God; its sanction is found

in his law ; and its violation is not a mere breach of contract or disobedience to the civil law, but a sin against God. So with regard to the church, it is in one sense a voluntary society. No man can be forced by other men to join its communion. If done at all it must be done with his own consent, yet every man is under the strongest moral obligation to enter its fold. And when enrolled in the number of its members his obligation to obedience does not rest on his consent ; it does not cease should that consent be withdrawn. It rests on the authority of the church as a divine institution. This is an authority no man can throw off. It presses him everywhere and at all times with the weight of a moral obligation. In a sense analogous to this the state is a divine institution. Men are bound to organize themselves into a civil government. Their obligation to obey its laws does not rest upon their compact in this case, any more than in the others above referred to. It is enjoined by God. It is a religious duty, and disobedience is a direct offence against him. The people have indeed the right to determine the form of the government under which they are to live, and to modify it from time to time to suit their changing condition. So, though to a less extent, or within narrower limits, they have a right to modify the form of their ecclesiastical governments, a right which every church has exercised, but the ground and nature of the obligation to obedience remains unchanged. This is not a matter of mere theory. It is of primary practical importance and has an all-pervading influence on national character. Everything indeed connected with this subject depends on the answer to the question, Why are we obliged to obey the laws ? If we answer because we made them ; or because we assent to them, or framed the government which enacts them ; or because the good of society enjoins obedience, or reason dictates it, then the state is a human institution ; it has no religious sanction ; it is founded on the sand ; it ceases to have a hold on the conscience and to commend itself as a revelation of God to be revered and obeyed as a manifestation of his presence and will. But, on the other hand, if we place the state in the same category with the family and the church, and regard it as an institution of God, then we elevate it into a higher sphere ;

we invest it with religious sanctions and it become pervaded by a divine presence and authority, which immeasurably strengthens, while it elevates its power. Obedience for conscience sake is as different from obedience from fear, or from voluntary consent, or regard to human authority, as the divine from the human.

Such being, as we conceive, the true doctrine concerning the nature of the state, it is well to enquire into the necessary deductions from this doctrine. If government be a divine institution, and obedience to the laws a matter resting on the authority of God, it might seem to follow that in no case could human laws be disregarded with a good conscience. This, as we have seen, is in fact the conclusion drawn from these premises by the advocates of the doctrine "of passive obedience." The command, however, to be subject to the higher powers is not more unlimited in its statement than the command, "children obey your parents in all things." From this latter command no one draws the conclusion that unlimited obedience is due from children to their parents. The true inference doubtless is, in both cases, that obedience is the rule and disobedience the exception. If in any instance a child refuse compliance with the requisition of a parent, or a citizen with the law of the land, he must be prepared to justify such disobedience at the bar of God. Even divine laws may in some cases be dispensed with. Those indeed which are founded on the nature of God, such as the command to love Him and our neighbour, are necessarily immutable. But those which are founded on the present constitution of things, though permanent as general rules of action, may on adequate grounds, be violated without sin. The commands, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy, are all of permanent authority; and yet there may be justifiable homicide, and men may profane the sabbath and be blameless. In like manner the command to obey the laws, is a divine injunction, and yet there are cases in which disobedience is a duty. It becomes then of importance to determine what these cases are; or to ascertain the principles which limit the obedience which we owe to the state. It follows from the divine institution of government that its power

is limited by the design of God in its institution, and by the moral law. The family, the church and the state are all divine institutions, designed for specific purposes. Each has its own sphere, and the authority belonging to each is necessarily confined within its own province. The father appears in his household as its divinely appointed head. By the command of God all the members of that household are required to yield him reverence and obedience. But he cannot carry his parental authority into the church or the state; nor can he appear in his family as a magistrate or church officer. The obedience due to him is that which belongs to a father, and not to a civil or ecclesiastical officer, and his children are not required to obey him in either of those capacities. In like manner the officers of the church have within their sphere a divine right to rule, but they cannot claim civil authority on the ground of the general command to the people to obey those who have the care of souls. Heb. xiii. 17. As the church officer loses his power when he enters the forum; so does the civil magistrate when he enters the church. His right to rule is a right which belongs to him as representing God in the state—he has no commission to represent God either in the family or the church; and therefore, he is entitled to no obedience if he claims an authority which does not belong to him. This is a very obvious principle, and is of wide application. It not only limits the authority of civil officers to civil affairs, but limits the extent due to the obedience to be rendered even in civil matters to the officers of the state. A justice of the peace has no claim to the obedience due to a governor of a state; nor a governor of a state to that which belongs to the President of the Union; nor the president of the Union to that which may be rightfully claimed by an absolute sovereign. A military commander has no authority over the community as a civil magistrate, nor can he exercise such authority even over his subordinates. This principle applies in all its force to the law-making power. The legislature can not exercise any power which does not belong to them. They cannot act as judges or magistrates unless such authority has been actually committed to them. They are to be obeyed as legislators; and in any other capac-

ity their decisions or commands do not bind the conscience. And still further, their legislative enactments have authority only when made in the exercise of their legitimate powers. In other words, an unconstitutional law is no law. If our congress, for example, were to pass a bill creating an order of nobility, or an established church, or to change the religion of the land, or to enforce a sumptuary code, it would have no more virtue and be entitled to no more deference than a similar enactment intended to bind the whole country passed by a town council. This we presume will not be denied. God has committed unlimited power to no man and to no set of men, and the limitation which he has assigned to the power conferred, is to be found in the design for which it was given. That design is determined in the case of the family, the church, and the state, by the nature of these institutions, by the general precepts of the Bible, or by the providence of God determining the peculiar constitution under which these organizations are called to act. The power of a parent was greater under the old dispensation than it is now; the legitimate authority of the church is greater under some modes of organization than under others; and the power of the state as represented in its constituted authorities is far more extensive in some countries than in others. The theory of the British government is that the parliament is the whole state in convention, and therefore it exercises powers which do not belong to our congress, which represents the state only for certain specified purposes. These diversities, however, do not alter the general principle, which is that rulers are to be obeyed in the exercise of their legitimate authority; that their commands or requirements beyond their appropriate spheres are void of all binding force. This is a principle which no one can dispute.

A second principle is no less plain. No human authority can make it obligatory on us to commit sin. If all power is of God it cannot be legitimately used against God. This is a dictate of natural conscience, and is authenticated by the clearest teachings of the word of God. The apostles when commanded to abstain from preaching Christ refused to obey and said, "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken

unto you more than unto God, judge ye." No human law could make it binding on the ministers of the gospel, in our day, to withhold the message of salvation from their fellow-men. It requires no argument to prove that men cannot make it right to worship idols, to blaspheme God, to deny Christ. It is sheer fanaticism thus to exalt the power of the government above the authority of God. This would be to bring back upon us some of the worst doctrines of the middle ages as to the power of the pope and of earthly sovereigns. Good men in all ages of the world have always acted on the principle that human laws cannot bind the conscience when they are in conflict with the law of God. Daniel openly in the sight even of his enemies, prayed to the God of heaven in despite of the prohibition of his sovereign. Sadrach, Meshech and Abednego refused to bow down, at the command of the king, to the golden image. The early Christians disregarded all those laws of Pagan Rome requiring them to do homage to false Gods. Protestants with equal unanimity refused to submit to the laws of their papal sovereigns enjoining the profession of Romish errors. That these men were right no man, with an enlightened conscience, can deny; but they were right only on the principle that the power of the state and of the magistrate is limited by the law of God. It follows then from the divine institution of government that its power to bind the conscience to obedience is limited by the design of its appointment and the moral law. All its power being from God, it must be subordinate to him. This is a doctrine which, however, for a time and in words, it may be denied, is too plain and too important not to be generally recognised. It is a principle too which should at all times be publicly avowed. The very sanctity of human laws requires it. Their real power and authority lie in their having a divine sanction. To claim for them binding force when destitute of such sanction, it is to set up a mere semblance for a reality, a suit of armour with no living man within. The stability of human government and the authority of civil laws require that they should be kept within the sphere where they repose on God, and are pervaded by his presence and power. Without him nothing human can stand. All power

is of God; and if of God divine; and if divine in accordance with his holy law.

But who are the judges of the application of these principles? Who is to determine whether a particular law is unconstitutional or immoral? So far as the mere constitutionality of a law is concerned, it may be remarked, that there is in most states, as in our own, for example, a regular judicial tribunal to which every legislative enactment can be submitted, and the question of its conformity to the constitution authoritatively decided. In all ordinary cases, that is, in all cases not involving some great principle or some question of conscience, such decisions must be held to be final, and to bind all concerned not only to submission but obedience. A law thus sanctioned becomes instinct with all the power of the the State, and further opposition brings the recusants into conflict with the government: a conflict in which no man for light reasons can with a good conscience engage. Still it cannot be denied, and ought not to be concealed, that the ultimate decision must be referred to his own judgment. This is a necessary deduction from the doctrine that obedience to law is a religious duty. It is a primary principle that the right of private judgment extends over all questions of faith and morals. No human power can come between God and the conscience. Every man must answer for his own sins, and therefore every man must have the right to determine for himself what is sin. As he cannot transfer his responsibility, he cannot transfer his right of judgment. This principle has received the sanction of good men to every age of the world. Daniel judged for himself of the binding force of the command not to worship the true God. So did the apostles when they continued to preach Christ, in opposition to all the constituted authorities. The laws passed by Pagan Rome requiring the worship of idols had the sanction of all the authorities of the empire, yet on the ground of their private judgment the Christians refused to obey them. Protestants in like manner refused to obey the laws of Papal Rome, though sustained by all the authority both of the church and state. In all these cases the right of private judgment cannot be disputed. Even where no question of religion or morality is directly concerned,

this right is undeniable. Does any one now condemn Hampden for refusing to pay "ship-money?" Does any American condemn our ancestors for resisting the stamp-act though the authorities of St. Stephens and Westminster united in pronouncing the imposition constitutional? However this principle may be regarded when stated in the abstract, every individual instinctively acts upon it in his own case. Whenever a command is issued by one in authority over us, we immediately and almost unconsciously determine for ourselves, first, whether he had a right to give the order; and secondly, whether it can with a good conscience be obeyed. If this decision is clearly in the negative, we at once determine to refuse obedience on our own responsibility. Let any man test this point by an appeal to his own consciousness. Let him suppose the President of the United States to order him to turn Romanist or Pagan; or Congress to pass a bill requiring him to blaspheme God; or a military superior to command him to commit treason or murder—does not his conscience tell him he would on the instant refuse? Would he, or could he wait until the constitutionality of such requisitions had been submitted to the courts? or if the courts should decide against him, would that at all alter the case? Men must be strangely oblivious of the relation of the soul to God, the instinctive sense which we possess of our allegiance to him, and of the self-evidencing power with which his voice reaches the reason and the conscience, to question the necessity which every man is under to decide all questions touching his duty to God for himself.

It may indeed be thought that this doctrine is subversive of the authority of government. A moment's reflection is sufficient to dispel this apprehension. The power of laws rests on two foundations, fear and conscience. Both are left by this doctrine in their integrity. The former, because the man refuses obedience at his peril. His private conviction that the law is unconstitutional or immoral does not abrogate it, or impede its operation. If arraigned for its violation, he may plead in his justification his objections to the authority of the law. If these objections are found valid by the competent authorities, he is acquitted; if otherwise, he suffers the penalty.

What more can the State ask? All the power the State, as such, can give its laws, lies in their penalty. A single decision by the ultimate authority in favour of a law, is a revelation to the whole body of the people that it cannot be violated with impunity. The sword of justice hangs over every transgressor. The motive of fear in securing obedience, is therefore, as operative under this view of the subject, as it can be under any other. What, however, is of far more consequence, the power of conscience is left in full force. Obedience to the law is a religious duty, enjoined by the word of God and enforced by conscience. If, in any case, it be withheld it is under a sense of responsibility to God; and under the conviction that if this conscientious objection be feigned, it aggravates the guilt of disobedience as a sin against God an hundred fold; and if it be mistaken, it affords no palliation of the offence. Paul was guilty in persecuting the church, though he thought he was doing God service. And the man, who by a perverted conscience, is led to refuse obedience to a righteous law, stands without excuse at the bar of God. The moral sanction of civil laws, which gives them their chief power and without which they must ultimately become inoperative, cannot possibly extend further than this. For what is that moral sanction? It is a conviction that our duty to God requires our obedience; but how can we feel that duty to God requires us to do what God forbids? In other words, a law which we regard as immoral, cannot present itself to the conscience as having divine authority. Conscience, therefore, is on the side of the law wherever and whenever this is possible from the nature of the case. It is a contradiction to say that conscience enforces what conscience condemns. This then is all the support which laws of the land can possibly derive from our moral convictions. The allegiance of conscience is to God. It enforces obedience to all human laws consistent with that allegiance; further than this it cannot by possibility go. And as the decisions of conscience are, by the constitution of our nature, determined by our own apprehensions of the moral law, and not by authority, it follows of necessity that every man must judge for himself, and on his own responsibility, whether any given law of man conflicts with the law of God or not.

We would further remark on this point that the lives and property of men have no greater protection than that which, on this theory, is secured for the laws of the state. The law of God says: Thou shalt not kill. Yet every man does, and must judge when and how far this law binds his conscience. It is admitted, on all hands, that there are cases in which its obligation ceases. What those cases are each man determines for himself, but under his two fold responsibility to his country and to God. If through passion or any other cause, he errs as to what constitutes justifiable homicide, he must bear the penalty attached to murder by the law of God and man. It is precisely so in the case before us. God has commanded us to obey the magistrate as his minister and representative. If we err in our judgment as to the cases in which that command ceases to be binding, we fall into the hands of justice both human and divine. Can more than this be necessary? Can any thing be gained by trying to make God require us to break his own commands? Can conscience be made to sanction the violation of the moral law? Is not this the way to destroy all moral distinctions, and to prostrate the authority of conscience, and with it the very foundation of civil government? Is not all history full of the dreadful consequences of the doctrine that human laws can make sin obligatory, and that those in authority can judge for the people what is sin? What more than this is needed to justify all the persecutions for righteousness sake since the world began? What hope could there be, on this ground, for the preservation of religion or virtue in any nation on the earth? If the principle be once established that the people are bound to obey all human laws, or that they are not to judge for themselves when their duty to God requires them to refuse such obedience, then there is not only an end of all civil and religious liberty, but the very nature of civil government as a divine institution is destroyed. It becomes first atheistical, and then diabolical. Then the massacre of St. Bartholomew's, the decrees of the French National Assembly, and the laws of Pagan Rome against Christians, and of its Papal successor against Protestants, were entitled to reverent obedience. Then too may any infidel party which gains the ascendancy in a state, as has

happened of late in Switzerland, render it morally obligatory upon all ministers to close their churches, and on the people to renounce the gospel. This is not an age or state of the world in which to advance such doctrines. There are too many evidences of the gathering powers of evil to render it expedient to exalt the authority of man above that of God, or emancipate men from subjection to their Master in heaven, that they may become more obedient to their masters on earth. We are advocating the cause of civil government, of the stability and authority of human laws, when we make every thing rest on the authority of God, and when we limit every human power by subordinating it to him. We hold, therefore, that it is not only one of the plainest principles of morals that no immoral law can bind the conscience, and that every man must judge of its character for himself and on his own responsibility, but that this doctrine is essential to all religious liberty and to the religious sanction of civil government. If you deny this principle, you thereby deny that government is a divine institution, and denying that, you deprive it of its vital energy, and send it tottering to a dishonoured grave.

But here the great practical question arises, What is to be done when the law of the land comes into conflict with the law of God—or, which is to us the same thing, with our convictions of what that law demands? In answer to this question we would remark, in the first place, that in most cases the majority of the people have nothing to do, except peaceably to use their influence to have the law repealed. The mass of the people have nothing actively to do with the laws. Very few enactments of the government touch one in a thousand in the population. We may think a protective tariff not only inexpedient, but unequal and therefore unjust. But we have nothing to do with it. We are not responsible for it, and are not called upon to enforce it. The remark applies even to laws of a higher character, such, e. g. as a law proclaiming an unjust war; forbidding the introduction of the Bible into public schools; requiring homage or sanction to be given to idolatrous services by public officers, &c., &c. Such laws do not touch the mass of the people. They do not require them either to do or to abstain from doing, any thing which con-

science forbids or enjoins; and therefore their duty in the premises may be limited to the use of legitimate means to have laws of which they disapprove repealed.

In the second place, those executive officers who are called upon to carry into effect a law which requires them to do what their conscience condemns, must resign their office, if they would do their duty to God. Some years since, General Maitland (if we remember the name correctly) of the Madras Presidency, in India, resigned a lucrative and honourable post, because he could not conscientiously give the sanction to the Hindu idolatry required by the British authorities. And within the last few months, we have seen hundreds of Hessian officers throw up their commissions rather than trample on the constitution of their country. On the same principles the non-conformists in the time of Charles II. and the ministers of the Free Church of Scotland, in our day, gave up their stipends and their positions, because they could not with a good conscience carry into effect the law of the land. It is not intended that an executive officer should, in all cases, resign his post rather than execute a law which in his private judgment he may regard as unconstitutional or unjust. The responsibility attaches to those who make, and not to those who execute the laws. It is only when the act, which the officer is called upon to perform, involves personal criminality, that he is called upon to decline its execution. Thus in the case of war; a military officer is not the proper judge of its justice. That is not a question between him and the enemy, but between his government and the hostile nation. On the supposition that war itself is not sinful, the act which the military officer is called upon to perform is not criminal, and he may with a good conscience carry out the commands of his government, whatever may be his private opinion of the justice of the war. All such cases no doubt are more or less complicated, and must be decided each on its own merits. The general principle, however, appears plain, that it is only when the act required of an executive officer involves personal criminality, that he is called upon to resign. This is a case that often occurs. In Romish countries, as Malta, for example, British officers have been required to do homage to the host, and on their refusal have been cashiered. An instance

of this kind occurred a few years ago, and produced a profound sensation in England. This was clearly a case of great injustice. The command was an unrighteous one. The duty of the officer was to resign rather than obey. Had the military authorities taken a fair view of the question, they must have decided that the command to bow to the host, was not obligatory, because *ultra vires*. But if such an order was insisted upon, the conscientious Protestant must resign his commission.

The next question is, What is the duty of private citizens in the case supposed, i. e. when the civil law either forbids them to do what God commands, or commands them to do what God forbids? We answer, their duty is not obedience, but submission. These are different things. A law consists of two parts, the precept and the penalty. We obey the one, and submit to the other. When we are required by the law to do what our conscience pronounces to be sinful, we cannot obey the precept, but we are bound to submit without resistance to the penalty. We are not authorized to abrogate the law: nor forcibly to resist its execution, no matter how great its injustice or cruelty. On this principle holy men have acted in all ages. The apostles did not obey the precept of the Jewish laws forbidding them to preach Christ, but neither did they resist the execution of the penalty attached to the violation of those laws. Thus it was with all the martyrs, they would not offer incense to idols, but refused not to be led to the stake. Had Cranmer, on the ground of the iniquity of the law condemning him to death, killed the officers who came to carry it into effect, he would have been guilty of murder. Here is the great difference which is often overlooked. The right of self-defence is appealed to as justifying resistance even to death against all attempts to deprive us of our liberty. We have this right in reference to unauthorized individuals, but not in reference to the officers of the law. Had men without authority entered Cranmer's house and attempted to take his life, his resistance, even if attended with the loss of life, would have been justifiable. But no man has the right to resist the execution of the law. What could be more iniquitous than the laws condemning men to death for the worship of God.

Yet to these laws Christians and Protestants yielded unresisting submission. This an obvious duty flowing from the divine institution of government. There is no power but of God, and the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. Thus Paul reasoned. If the power is of God, it cannot be rightfully resisted; it must be obeyed or submitted to. Are wicked, tyrannical, pagan powers of God? Certainly they are. Does not he order all things? Does any man become a king without God's permission granted in mercy or in judgment? Was not Nero to be recognised as emperor? Would it not be a sin to refuse submission to Nicholas of Russia, or to the Sultan of Turkey? Are rulers to be obeyed only for their goodness? Is it only kind and reasonable masters, parents, or husbands who are to be recognised as such? It is no doubt true that in no case is unlimited authority granted to men; and that obedience to the precepts of our superiors is limited by the nature of their office, and by the moral law; but this leaves their authority untouched, and the obligation to submission where we cannot obey, unimpaired.

Have we then got back to the old doctrine of "passive obedience" by another route? Not at all. The scriptural rule above recited relates to individuals. It prescribes the duty of submission even to unjust and wicked laws on the part of men in their separate capacity; but it does not deny the right of revolution as existing in the community. What the scriptures forbid is that any man should undertake to resist the law. They do not forbid either change in the laws or change in the government. There is an obvious difference between these two things, viz: the right of resistance on the part of individuals, and the right of revolution on the part of the people. This latter right we argue from the divine institution of government itself. God has revealed his will that government should exist, but he has not prescribed the form which it shall assume. In other words he has commanded men to organize such government, but has left the form to be determined by themselves. This is a necessary inference. It follows from the mere silence of scripture and nature on this

subject, that it is left free to the determination of those to whom the general command is given. In the next place, this right is to be inferred from the design of civil government. That design is the welfare of the people. It is the promotion of their physical and moral improvement; the security of life and property; the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of those who do well. If such is the end which God designs government to answer, it must be his will that it should be made to accomplish that purpose, and consequently that it may be changed from time to time so as to secure that end. No one form of government is adapted to all states of society, any more than one suit of clothes is proper to all stages of life. The end for which clothing is designed, supposes the right to adapt it to that end. In like manner the end government is intended to answer, supposes the right to modify it whenever such modification is necessary. If God commands men to accomplish certain ends, and does not prescribe the means, he does thereby leave the choice of the means to their discretion. And any institution which fails to accomplish the end intended by it, if it has not a divine sanction as to its form, may lawfully be so changed as to suit the purpose for which it was appointed. We hold therefore that the people have by divine right the authority to change, not only their rulers but their form of government, whenever the one or the other, instead of promoting the well-being of the community, is unjust or injurious. This is a right which, like all other prerogatives may be exercised unwisely, capriciously, or even unjustly, but still it is not to be denied. It has been recognised and exercised in all ages of the world, and with the sanction of the best of men. It is as unavoidable and healthful as the changes in the body to adapt it to the increasing vigour of the mind, in its progress from infancy to age. The progress of society depends on the exercise of this right. It is impossible that its powers should be developed, if it were to be forever wrapt up in its swaddling clothes, or confined as a mummy. The early Christians submitted quietly to the unjust laws of their Pagan oppressors, until the mass of the community become Christians, and then they revolutionized the government. Protestants acted in the same way with their papal rulers. So did our

forefathers, and so may any people whose form of government no longer answers the end for which God has commanded civil government to be instituted. The Quakers are now a minority in all the countries in which they exist, and furnish an edifying example of submission to laws which they cannot conscientiously obey. But should they come, in any political society, to be the controlling power, it is plain they would have the right to conduct it on their own principles.

The right of revolution therefore is really embedded in the right to serve God. A government which interferes with that service, which commands what God forbids, or forbids what he commands, we are bound by our duty to him to change as soon as we have the power. If this is not so, then God has subjected his people to the necessity of always submitting to punishment for obeying his commands, and has cut them off from the only means which can secure their peaceful and secure enjoyment of the liberty to do his will. No one, however, in our land, or of the race to which we belong, will be disposed to question the right of the people to change their form of government. Our history forbids all diversity of sentiment on this subject. We are only concerned to show that the scriptural doctrine of civil government is perfectly consistent with that right; or rather that the right is one of the logical deductions from that doctrine.

We have thus endeavoured to prove that government is a divine institution; that obedience to the laws is a religious duty; that such obedience is due in all cases in which it can be rendered with a good conscience; that when obedience cannot be yielded without sinning against God, then our duty as individuals is quietly to submit to the infliction of the penalty attached to disobedience; and that the right of resistance or of revolution rests only in the body of people for whose benefit government is instituted.

The application of these principles to the case of the fugitive slave law is so obvious, as hardly to justify remark. The great body of the people regard that law as consistent with the constitution of the country and the law of God. Their duty, therefore, in the premises, whether they think it wise or unwise, is perfectly plain. Those who take the opposite view

of the law, having in the great majority of cases, nothing to do with enforcing it, are in no measure responsible for it. Their duty is limited to the use of peaceable and constitutional means to get it repealed. A large part of the people of this country thought the acquisition of Louisiana; the admission of Texas into the union by a simple resolution; the late Mexican war; were either unjust or unconstitutional, but there was no resistance to these measures. None was made, and none would have been justifiable. So in the present case, as the people generally are not called upon either to do, or to forbear from doing, anything their conscience forbids, all resistance to the operation of this law on their part must be without excuse. With regard to the executive officers, whose province it is to carry the law into effect, though some of them may disapprove of it as unwise, harsh, or oppressive, still they are bound to execute it, unless they believe the specific act which they are called upon to perform involves personal criminality, and then their duty is the resignation of their office, and not resistance to the law. There is the most obvious difference between an officer being called upon, for example, to execute a decision of a court, which in his private opinion he thinks unjust, and his being called upon to blaspheme, or commit murder. The latter involves personal guilt, the former does not. He is not the judge of the equity or propriety of the decision which he is required to carry into effect. It is evident that the wheels of society would be stoppt if every officer of the government, and every minister of justice should feel that he is authorized to sit in judgment on the wisdom or righteousness of any law he was called upon to execute. He is responsible for his own acts, and not for the judgments of others, and therefore when the execution of a law or of a command of a superior does not require him to sin, he is free to obey.

Again, in those cases in which we, as private individuals, may be called upon to assist in carrying the fugitive slave law into effect, if we cannot obey, we must do as the Quakers have long done with regard to our military laws, i. e. quietly submit. We have no right to resist, or in any way to impede the operation of the law. Whatever sin there is in it, does

not rest on us, any more than the sin of our military system rests on the Quakers.*

And finally as regards the fugitives themselves, their obvious duty is submission. To them the law must appear just as the laws of the Pagans against Christians, or of Romanists against Protestants, appeared to those who suffered from them. And the duty in both cases is the same. Had the martyrs put to death the officers of the law, they would in the sight of God and man have been guilty of murder. And any one who teaches fugitive slaves to resort to violence even to the sacrifice of life, in resisting the law in question, it seems to us, is guilty of exciting men to murder. As before remarked the principle of self-defence does not apply in this case. Is there no difference between a man who kills an assassin who attempts his life on the highway, and the man who, though knowing himself to be innocent of the crime for which he has been condemned to die, should kill the officers of justice? The former is a case of justifiable homicide, the other is a case of murder. The officers of justice are not the offenders. They are not the persons responsible for the law or the decision. That responsibility rests on the government. Private vengeance cannot reach the State. And if it could, such vengeance is not the remedy ordained by God for such evils. They are to be submitted to, until the government can be changed. How did our Lord act when he was condemned by an oppressive judgment, and with wicked hands crucified and slain? Did he kill the Roman soldiers? Has not he left us an example that we should follow his steps: who did no sin,

* The doctrine that the executive officers of a government are not the responsible judges of the justice of its decisions, is perfectly consistent with the principle advanced above, viz., that every man has the right to judge for himself whether any law or command is obligatory. This latter principle relates to acts for which we are personally responsible. If a military officer is commanded to commit treason or murder, he is bound to refuse; because these acts are morally wrong. But if commanded to lead an army against an enemy he is bound to obey, for that is not morally wrong. He is the judge of his own act, but not of the act of the government in declaring the war. So a sheriff, if he thinks all capital punishment a violation of God's law, he cannot carry a sentence of death into effect, because the act itself is sinful in his view. But he is not the judge of the justice of any particular sentence he is called on to execute. He may judge of his own part of the transaction; but he is not responsible for the act of the judge and the jury.

neither was guile found in his mouth ; who, when he was reviled, reviled not again ; when he suffered, he threatened not ; but committed himself unto him that judgeth righteously. On this principle did all his holy martyrs act ; and on this principle are we bound to act in submitting to the laws of the land, even when we deem them oppressive or unjust.

The principles advocated in this paper appear to us so elementary, that we feel disposed to apologize for presenting them in such a formal manner. But every generation has to learn the alphabet for itself. And the mass of men are so occupied with other matters, that they do not give themselves time to discriminate. Their judgments are dictated, in many cases, by their feelings, or their circumstances. One man simply looks to the hardship of forcing a slave back to bondage, and he impulsively counsels resistance unto blood. Another looks to the evils which follow from resistance to law, and he asserts that human laws are in all cases to be obeyed. Both are obviously wrong. Both would overthrow all government. The one by justifying every man's taking the law into his own hands ; and the other by destroying the authority of God, which is the only foundation on which human government can rest. It is only by acting on the direction of the Divine Wisdom incarnate : "Render unto Cesar the things that are Cesar's, and unto God the things that are God's," that these destructive extremes are to be avoided. Government is a divine institution ; obedience to the laws is commanded by God ; and yet like all other divine commands of the same class, there are cases in which it ceases to be obligation. Of these cases every one must judge for himself on his own responsibility to God and man ; but when he cannot obey, his duty is to submit. The divinely appointed remedy for unjust or oppressive legislation is not private or tumultuous opposition, but the repeal of unrighteous enactments, or the reorganization of the government.

What, however we have had most at heart in the preparation of this article, is the exhibition of the great principle that all authority reposes on God ; that all our obligations terminate on him ; that government is not a mere voluntary compact, and obedience to law an obligation which rests on the

consent of the governed. We regard this as a matter of primary importance. The character of men and of communities depends, to a great extent on their faith. The theory of morals which they adopt determines their moral character. If they assume that expediency is the rule of duty, that a thing is right because it produces happiness, or wrong because it produces misery, that this tendency is not merely the test between right and wrong, but the ground of the distinction, then, the specific idea of moral excellence and obligation is lost. All questions of duty are merged into a calculation of profit and loss. There is no sense of God; reason or society takes his place, and an irreligious, calculating cast of character is the inevitable result. This is counteracted in individuals and the community by various causes, for neither the character of a man nor that of a society is determined by any one opinion; but its injurious influence may nevertheless be most manifest and deplorable. No man can fail to see the deteriorating influence of this theory of morals on public character both in this country and in England. If we would make men religious and moral, instead of merely cute, let us place God before them; let us teach them that his will is the ground of their obligations; that they are responsible to him for all their acts; that their allegiance as moral agents is not to reason or to society, but to the heart-searching God; that the obligation to obey the laws of the land does not rest on their consent to them, but to the fact government is of God; that those who resist the magistrate, resist the ordinance of God, and that they who resist, shall receive unto themselves damnation. This is the only doctrine which can give stability either to morals or to government. Man's allegiance is not to reason in the abstract, nor to society, but to a personal God, who has power to destroy both soul and body in hell. This is a law revealed in the constitution of our nature, as well as by the lips of Christ. And to no other sovereign can the soul yield rational obedience. We might as well attempt to substitute some mechanical contrivance of our own, for the law of gravitation, as a means of keeping the planets in their orbits, as to expect to govern men by any thing else than the fear of an Infinite God.

SHORT NOTICES.

ART. VI.—*God Sovereign, and Man Free*: or the Doctrine of Foreordination and Man's Free Agency, stated, illustrated, and proved from the Scriptures. By N. L. Rice, D. D., Pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church, Cincinnati. John D. Thorpe, Printer.

"The following volume," says the author, "is designed clearly to state the doctrine as held by Calvinists; and to prove it true, both by its *facts*, and by the direct testimony of God's word." The work is divided into two parts. In the first the effects of this doctrine are considered, and the appeal is made to Augustine—to the Reformers—to the Puritans, &c. Certainly, vital piety has in every age of the church, been intimately connected with the belief of this doctrine. The intimate connection of fore-ordination with that of a particular Providence is next clearly shown; and no Christian can doubt of the importance of this doctrine to vital piety. It is clearly proved from the attributes of God, that he must have a plan for all his works, and this must be eternal and unchangeable. The objections usually made to this doctrine are ably answered. The author demonstrates very satisfactorily, that difficulties which attend this doctrine, and the reconciling it with the free agency of man, are by no means peculiar to the Calvinistic theory, but adhere with all their force to the Arminian scheme; nay, are much more intractable on that scheme than on ours.

The second part treats of the doctrine of Election, as taught in the Holy Scriptures. The author commences by answering popular objections, which he does with much ingenuity and clearness. Then the proofs of the doctrine from scripture are exhibited perspicuously and forcibly. This treatise, we think, will do much good, especially in the way of obviating unfounded prejudices against the doctrine. Dr. Rice's excellence as a writer is not so much in the originality of his conceptions, as in their clearness. His views of Christian doctrine are tinctured with no extravagance, or novelty. He seizes his subject with a strong, comprehensive grasp, and

expresses his opinions in a concise and perspicuous style. Dr. Rice's polemical writings, as far as we have observed, are characterized by fairness and candour; and are free from the *odium theologicum* which is so apt to be imbibed by polemical writers. We would remark here, that books published in the Great Valley seldom cross the mountains, so as to be accessible to eastern readers. It is only by accident, that we have got a sight of this volume. We think that some arrangement should be made by which the lucid productions of western minds might be rendered useful to the inhabitants of the Atlantic states.

A Pastor's Sketches ; Or a Conversation with serious Inquirers respecting the Way of Salvation. By Ichabod S. Spencer, D. D., Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. Published by M. W. Dodd, Brick Church Chapel. 1851.

We have read these Sketches with stirring interest. The cases brought to view are generally very striking, and some of them deeply affecting; and they are, for the most part, so various in character, as to prevent tedium by sameness, which is often the effect of religious diaries. We do not remember ever to have met with a book exactly similar to this of Dr. Spencer. The first impression which it made on our minds was one which doubtless was not in the view of the writer; that is, admiration of the talent, tact, fidelity, and diligence of the pastor. The aspiration naturally arose, "Oh, that all pastors were such!"

These sketches, in our opinion, will be highly useful to young pastors; who frequently enter on their public work with very little acquaintance with casuistical divinity. They may be well read in theology and church history, but in the science of the human heart under the influence of religious impressions of various kinds, they are not adepts. We have often felt compassion for young ministers, who have just emerged from the schools, and have had little opportunity of knowing the varieties of human character, when we have seen them placed as shepherds over a large flock. And when their own experience has been shallow and obscure, they are poorly

qualified to direct distressed and inquiring souls in the right way. Such young pastors are sometimes so sensible of their own deficiency in this respect, that when any unusual seriousness occurs among their people they send for some revivalist, and give up the concern into his hands. We are acquainted with more than one case in which the effect of this course was that the pastor was in a short time separated from his flock. No pastor has a right to commit his flock to the direction of a teacher, whom they have not chosen to be their guide. He ought in his own church to be the bishop, and to have the direction and superintendence of all measures employed, and of all doctrines inculcated; for he is the responsible person, and his responsibility he cannot devolve upon another. Every faithful narrative of cases of distressed consciences, must be valuable to young pastors; they are like the cases of various bodily diseases reported by physicians, and which are sought for with so much avidity by young practitioners of the healing art. We have often been struck with the superior zeal and self denial of medical above theological students, in regard to this matter. They not only search for cases reported in books, but they resort to examinations and dissections which must be very repulsive to the senses, in order that they may acquire the requisite skill in the treatment of morbid affections of every kind. It would be a favourable omen, if we could see our theological students actuated by a similar ardour in finding out the moral diseases of the mind; and especially making themselves acquainted with the spiritual maladies by which the people of God are often afflicted; in many cases suffering long for want of a wise counsellor, who accurately understands their case.

Such pastoral sketches as these cannot but be very helpful to young pastors, whether they shall think it expedient to adopt the precise measures and counsels here detailed or not; and we are of opinion that this volume may be very useful to pastors of ten or twenty years' standing, by stimulating them to make exertions for the salvation of their people, which they have hitherto neglected. It is to be feared, that the duty of addressing individuals privately and dealing solemnly with their consciences, is, in our day, much neglected, except in

seasons of revival; and as many congregations experience no such seasons, the probability is, that multitudes go through life, without ever receiving from the pastor one solemn personal admonition. The pastor may preach the truth with zeal, but he is bound to do more—he should strive to pluck sinners as brands from the burning, by going to individuals, and warning, and entreating them to be reconciled to God. The account which pastors have to give for the souls committed to them, is one of an awful kind. With many this account will not be rendered with joy but grief.

Although our opinion of the value of this work is high, there are, nevertheless a few things in the treatment of exercised souls, which we cannot fully approve. The one that struck us with most surprise was the advice given to a lady who professed that she had no belief in the existence of God or of a future state, to continue her attendance on the sacrament of the Lord's supper. This advice was given for the purpose of avoiding certain evil consequences which her withdrawing from that ordinance would probably have occasioned. But we should never do evil that good may come. See p. 300. "I enjoined her to say nothing about her religious feelings—to attend church—to go to the communion." We will not argue the point. If the impropriety of the advice does not strike every one at once, we are of opinion that reasoning would be of little service. The remarks of the author on "Unconditional submission," are, in our opinion, not exactly correct. He says, (p. 322,) "There are not a few things in the gospel, which appear to place a surrendry before faith—yielding before trusting." We are unable to find any thing in the gospel which requires any thing of the sinner prior to faith. We believe, however, that the state of mind described in the "sketch" is not uncommon in cases of real conversion. And we admit, that it precedes the conscious exercise of trust in Christ; but we are of opinion, that these feelings of submission and consequent calmness are the result of an exercise of faith in the truth of God. There is in fact, no pious exercise of mind which is not preceded by faith in the truth. Among many revivalists the word submit has become a cant word to express the duty of the awakened sinner; but it is far

better to adhere to the language of scripture. And here we would remark that the censure on waiting for certain blessings, though the idea is correct, is an unhappy use of a term often used in scripture for a diligent and patient attendance on the means of grace, in a bad sense; that is for doing nothing.

We cannot altogether agree with the remarks of the author, on the subject of the sinner's inability to repent. (p. 286). It seems to be asserted that "one grand ground of the sinner's obligation to repent" is the promised aid of the Spirit which removes every possible excuse." But is this promise made to all impenitent sinners? If not, the chief obligation to repent is in the case of such wanting. Though it is true that no sinner will ever repent, without the aid of the Holy Spirit, yet this is not the chief ground of obligation; and the command of God to an unconverted moral agent; whose inability is nothing else but his sinful nature, which never can be a reasonable excuse for disobedience.

There are some other things in the conversations of the pastor, which appear to us of doubtful propriety; but on the whole, the clearness, suitableness, and promptitude of his counsels, have given us a very high opinion of his sagacity as well as of his piety. We can, therefore, with earnestness recommend this volume to the perusal of all serious persons, and are pleased to find that it is read by many with a lively interest.

Green Pastures for the Lord's Flock. Robert Carter & Brothers, 225 Broadway, N. Y.

Here is a book, which, within a few years has gone through eight and twenty editions in London. It consists of a brief discourse preached on a text of scripture, each occupying a single duodecimo page, and accompanied with an appropriate stanza of poetry. As far as we have examined, the discourses are excellent, spiritual, evangelical and pithy, in a style pure and simple. There is a brief homily or meditation for every day in the year. This method of associating religious instruction with the successive days, is very agreeable to many minds; as appears by the popularity of Bogatzky's *Golden Treasury*, and other works of the same kind.

Truth and Error, or Letters to a Friend, on several of the controversies of the day. By the Rev. Horatius Bonar. Robert Carter & Brothers, N. Y.

Mr. Bonar is a pious and orthodox minister of the church of Scotland; and the errors to which his book is opposed, are as current in this country as in Scotland.

The Carters have also published an edition of King's Second Advent, and The Life of the Rev. Dr. Waugh, both of which works have been reviewed in this periodical.

The Principles of Geology Explained, and reviewed in their relations to Revealed and Natural Religion. By Rev. David King, LL. D. Glasgow. With notes and appendix by John Scudder, M. D., F. R. S., Prof. of Natural History to the Royal Society, Dublin. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 225 Broadway.

The religious public have heard so much about the discoveries of Geology, and the amazing antiquity of our earth, thereby demonstrated, that it is very desirable to have a popular treatise, so written as to satisfy the scruples and relieve the anxieties of serious Christians. Such a treatise is here furnished from the pen of a clergyman of an orthodox denomination, whose reputation is high as a man of learning and sound judgment. And as far as we have examined the work, we regard it as well adapted to the desired end. Dr. King brings forward the leading facts which have been brought to light by geology, and which seem to require an unreasonably long time to account for their existence. But while he exhibits various methods of accounting for the numerous strata containing fossil remains, yet it is evident that he does not believe that they can be accounted for by any theory, upon the supposition that the world is no more than six thousand years old. Such also is the decided opinion of all modern geologists; although most of them are believers in divine revelation.

In our opinion, there is no need to be much concerned about the age of the globe on which our race resides. The chronology of Moses is that of the human race, and not of the material part of the earth. All that is necessary to relieve the

sacred history from every objection on this ground is to interpret the first sentence in the Bible as stating the fact, that the heavens and the earth were created by God, without stating at what time ; and considering the six days' creation to relate to the preparation and organization of the chaotic materialism into a form and condition to suit its new inhabitants. We regret to find, however, that Dr. King adopts the opinion of Dr. J. Pye Smith, that the deluge was not universal and endeavours to explain the language of the sacred volume in consistence with this opinion, and chimes in with the stale objection of infidels respecting the want of capacity in the ark to contain all the species of land animals, and sufficient food for their subsistence for a whole year. Now, in regard to the universality of the deluge, the fact is asserted in scripture as positively and clearly as it possibly could be in words, "And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth ; and all the high hills that were under the whole heavens were covered. Fifteen feet and upwards did the waters prevail, and the mountains were covered." Gen. vii. 19, 20. If the waters were fifteen cubits above the summit of Mt. Ararat, it would have required a miracle to prevent the deluge from being universal. And if the deluge was not universal, what was the use of the ark which cost such a vast expense of time and labour ? It would have answered every purpose to have directed Noah and his family to emigrate to a part of the earth which the flood did not reach. And as the people of the earth must have been very numerous, some nations we suppose would be inhabitants of almost every region ; and those living where the deluge did not reach would be safe. At any rate some of the human family might have taken refuge in lands not covered with the waters of the flood.

As to a want of capacity in the ark to contain a pair of every species of land animals, we are surprised that a man of Dr. King's learning should bring it forward ; when it has, by learned commentators, been so often demonstrated, that the capacity of the ark was abundantly sufficient ; there was room enough and to spare.

An Essay on Jewish Circumcision and Jewish Baptism : show-

ing who are Proper Subjects of Baptism, and the Proper Mode of Baptism. By the Rev. William Calhoun, of Augusta county, Virginia. Mountain Valley, near Harrisonburg. Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons.

This is a sensible, well written essay, on the subjects and mode of Christian baptism. The author, an aged Presbyterian clergyman of Virginia, has in this treatise given a new view of the object of the rite of circumcision and its relation to baptism. He considers them to be seals of two different covenants. On this point we would express no opinion; but cordially agree with the venerable author in his general conclusions. No subject, we believe, has given rise to a greater number of theories, than that of baptism. We have long been of opinion, that the fixing accurately the definite design of this rite, or what it was intended emblematically to represent, will go far towards settling the controversy respecting the mode of administering the ordinance.

Christianity Revived in the East; or a Narrative of the work of God among the Armenians of Turkey. By H. G. O. Dwight, Missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. New York. Baker & Scribner. 1850. 12mo. pp. 290.

There is nothing light or extravagant in this entertaining volume; which relates the wonderful doings of God among the corrupt and superstitious Armenians. We have seldom read any thing more encouraging, in the history of modern missions. The very same truth which wrought the great Protestant Reformation, is here seen to be producing the same effects in Turkey. The facts here detailed, in connexion with the successes of the Nestorian Mission, give ground to hope, that it may please God, even in our days, to rebuild the desolations of many generations, and breathe life into the dead churches of the East.

The Rt. Reverend Bishop Southgate occupies a most unenviable prominence in these pages, and may congratulate himself on being in California at the time of their publication. It is here shown, that the persecuting dignitaries at Constantinople were counselled and encouraged by this prelate. He

sympathized with the patriarch, during the time of his anathemas. When the priest Vertanes was cut off, Bishop S. "did not doubt the sentence was just." He confounded the protestant Americans with "infidels and radicals." He has published his opinion, that the patriarch did not go "beyond the proper limits of ecclesiastical discipline," and that "he never met with an instance of more unjustifiable separation from a church than were the secessions which led to the act of excommunication." The best reply to all which is found in the clear, moderate, and authentic statements of Mr. Dwight, in this volume.

Letter to the Rt. Rev. Alonzo Potter, D.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Pennsylvania, in vindication of the principle of Christian Union for the propagation of the Gospel. Phila. 1850. pp. 70. 8vo.

This able pamphlet has attracted less attention than its matter and its style deserve. Its quiet severity towards Bishop Potter's positions is well maintained. We regard it as furnishing one of the most impressive arguments that we have ever read, for such union as takes place in the Tract and Sunday School Societies. It justly contends, that if Dr. Potter's views are correct, both these societies ought to be dissolved without delay.

The Identity of Judaism and Christianity. By Matthew R. Miller. New York, 1850. pp. 57. 12mo.

This tract, by one of our estimable missionaries to the Jews, contains an affectionate dealing with the sons of Israel, on some points of supposed difference between the two religions. The production shows much familiarity with the Jewish mode of thinking, and will, we trust, be useful.

An Address, delivered at Bedford, New Hampshire, on the one hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of the town, May 19th, 1850. By Isaac O. Barnes. Boston. 1850. pp. 45, 8vo.

A eulogy of Scotch Irish Presbyterianism; and from Boston! We have read this spirited address with lively emotion.

The author, descended from Scottish emigrants, is enthusiastically full of his subject, and (to use an apt citation of his own) 'warms to the tartan.' It is so uncommon to find a New Englander recognising any type of Protestantism but the Puritan, that we cannot conceal the pleasure with which we find our brother of Boston taking a clear distinction between the "spiritual democracy" of the Pilgrim Fathers, and the "Republican Presbyterianism" of his and our ancestors. The literary qualities of the address commend it to public notice. We earnestly wish that some son of Scottish Presbytery in the North would give us a history of the Londonderry Presbytery. The field is untrodden, and the material must still be abundant.

This Ministry. A Sermon preached at the opening of the Synod of New Jersey, October 15, 1850. By Symmes C. Henry. Princeton, 1850.

The preacher's text was 2 Corinthians, vi. 1. From this he proceeds to discuss the general nature and validity of this ministry, its difficulties, and its encouragements. In the course of a very serious and fervent application, the author pays a deserved tribute to the memory of the venerable Dr. Miller. There is also an affecting reference to the third of a century, elapsed since the preacher became a member of the Synod; in which he has the distinction of having served one and the same church with respect and acceptance for more than thirty years.

The Races of Men. A Fragment. By Robert Knox, M. D., Lecturer on Anatomy, and Corresponding Member of the National Academy of France. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1850.

This book is fairly beneath argument or criticism. It is a curious medley of vanity, ignorance, malice and fanaticism. At first it provoked our indignation, by the boldness and effrontery of its pretensions; but their very extravagance soon began to render them comical. It claims to originate views which are to overturn "long received doctrines, national prejudices, stereotyped delusions," &c., while any

tolerable scholar in this department is perfectly familiar with them all in the works of Virey, Courtet, Bory de St. Vincent, Edwards, La Marck, Quetelet, &c. It has not the slightest claim to originality, except for the ridiculous ingenuity, with which it carries out the more cautious follies of these infidel philosophers, into the most glaring absurdities; and sets their ingenious physiological speculations, in broad contradiction to the most authentic and unquestioned truths of history. We certainly should not have noticed this thing at all, but for two reasons. In the first place, this subject is now rendered so interesting by the important bearings of modern ethnological researches, that some of our readers might be cheated by the mere title, and by newspaper puffs, out of the market price of the book; and in the second place, we wish to express our surprise and lift up our remonstrance against such issues from a quarter so respectable as that which has given this reprint to the American public. Whatever may be the social or scientific standing of any influential publishing house, we must say, that in our judgment they merit a deliberate rebuke from the true science of the country, for reprinting so crude and wretched a performance, to say nothing of the low malignity which it vents against the Christian sentiment and enterprise of an age like the present,—and even against men, who stand in the front ranks of science, because they happen to believe that the scriptures are entitled to some respect, as authentic records; or that other races of men are capable of being Christianized, besides the Teutonic. Cuvier was an ignorant and stubborn dogmatist, whose era is now past forever. Buckland was an ingenious priest and Jesuit; and even Newton's brain was turned by Chronology.

While we are on this subject, we wish to notice a work of a very different order; which, though published two years ago, we have only recently had the opportunity of examining with care; we refer to the *Physical Atlas* of Alexander Keith Johnston of Edinburgh,—the friend, and we believe pupil, of Humboldt. This *Atlas*, is founded upon the *Physikalischer Atlas* of Prof. Berghaus of Berlin; and in its preparation, Mr. Johnston enjoyed the assistance of Sir David Brewster, the two Professors Forbes, and Prof. Nichol, besides others of

less mark. It is, as many of our readers know, one of the most costly and sumptuous productions of the modern press. It presents to the eye, in all the elegance of modern art, a comprehensive and classified summary of the splendid achievements of the gifted minds, that have been devoted with so much enthusiasm to the promotion of natural history and science. We are disappointed and pained, however, to find in it, among so much that is of sterling value, a reproduction of the low, material hypotheses of Kambst, touching the natural history and the ethnographic distribution of man, just as they appeared seven years ago in his *Ethnographic Map of Europe*. Why cannot the sturdy Christian science of England, avail itself of the enthusiastic and brilliant achievements of the continental *savans*, without adopting also their loose infidel notions? Why can they not see that these are no part of their legitimate science; and in accepting what is true, eliminate all such foreign and incongruous elements, as the obvious product of a false education, in view of the empty forms and childish puerilities, of the only religion they have ever known under the name of Christianity? Must we refer this humiliating slavery of opinion to the same cause, which leads the lower classes to ape the fashionable faults and follies of their social superiors? It is a thousand pities that so gorgeous a volume, replete with so much true science and learning, should be marred by the admixture of incongruous follies, which the authors themselves never could have sanctioned, had they known the deep and solid foundations on which the historical and lofty philosophy of the scriptures rest; that we should be gravely taught, e. g., that the religion of one part of the human race is paganism, of another popery, and of a third protestantism; or that the one is governed by absolute despotism, the other by limited constitutional monarchy, and the third by democratic institutions, solely because the first belongs to the Mongolian, or, African, the second to the Keltic, and the third to the Teutonic "species, of the genus man." "Race is every thing, literature, science, art, in a word civilization, depend upon it." "The Reformation, the principle of which was self-inquiry, which is the natural consequence of the prevalence of the reflective faculties in

man, has, on account of its very nature and spirit, been confined, and will be confined, to the nations of Teutonic origin."

We sincerely hope that the ethnological department of this great Atlas will receive attention from some one who is competent to set it upon the same level with the other parts of the work. Two ethnographic maps, one of Europe and the other of the British Islands, is out of all proportion to the other departments of modern science, as represented in its splendid folios. We are surprised moreover, that the editor has not figured the types of the different varieties of the Human Race. A well executed plate of this sort, would be a most valuable addition to our apparatus for studying this interesting and important subject. Probably, the last of the long series of battles against the inspiration of the scriptures, pitched upon the ground of the natural sciences, is to be fought upon this field: and all that the friends of Revelation ask is fairness and openness to conviction.

The Foot-Prints of the Creator: or the Asterolepis of Stromness. By Hugh Miller, author of "The Old Red Sandstone," &c. With a Memoir of the author, by Louis Agassiz. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1850. 12mo. pp. 337.

The very Preface to this book is exhilarating. After the vague but bold and confident assumptions of the works we have just been noticing, we felt as if we had escaped into the clear light and balmy air of heaven, from some dark and dismal mine, where there may be valuable treasures; but where loads of rubbish must be removed and sifted before they can be reached, and meantime no small risk be run of fire damp explosions from the flickering torch by which we have stumbled through the dark and dripping passages.

Hugh Miller belongs to the very first class of minds of this age: and in point of science, we have, in the introductory Memoir to this volume, the testimony of Sir David Brewster and Prof. Agassiz, that he has no superior living, at least in palæozoic Geology. But for the endorsement of such men, we should not dare to say all we think, of the clearness, power and beauty, of the discoveries and inductive reasonings of this

fascinating volume. The author, self-educated, having been bred to the occupation of a stone mason, writes not only with the vivacity and vigour, but also with the transparency and elegance of the most accomplished rhetoric. He was selected from the accomplished scholarship of Scotland, in the troublous times of the Disruption, to edit the *Edinburgh Witness*, the great organ of the Free Church of Scotland, in consequence of the transcendent ability displayed in an anonymous pamphlet, addressed to Lord Brougham on the Auchterarder Case, whose authorship was traced to him. There could be few more healthful, stirring educational processes than to watch the progress of the young philosopher, as he first slowly deciphered the stony alphabet, then spelled out the antique records, in the quarries of Cromarty and Moray, and finally generalized the noble scientific results, with which he has since delighted the geologists of the world.

A more complete demolition we have never seen on any subject, than that with which the author visits the infidel hypothesis of creation by an assumed law of organic development, as popularized a few years ago by the author of the work entitled *Vestiges of Creation*. Mr. Miller first grapples with the hypothesis itself and shows that the facts on which it rests, if they were all granted, do not by any legitimate reasoning substantiate the hypothesis. If the geologic records did show in their organic fossils a continuous development in its successive series, it could not follow, that these successive organisms were not separately created, any more than the successive creations of the lower orders of the present animal races, during five preceding days proves that man was not created by direct miraculous intervention on the sixth. He next proceeds to wrest the assumed facts out of the hands of the theorist. So far from animal existence originating as the theory claims, in microscopic germinal vesicles, first taking on the lowest types of animal life, from the very lowest series of fossiliferous rocks, the Cambrian system, far below the Silurian, where organic remains were supposed, till very recently, to terminate, he brings up fossil remains of a high order of fishes. In the old red sandstone, lying next above the Silurian rocks, abounding with the remains of vertebrata belong-

ing to the same family with the existing *Cestracious*, ranking in many points in the very first class of living fishes, he finds also lignites, simultaneous with the oldest fucoid remains of the early vegetable world. The record of creation graven on the rocks in unmistakable symbols, by the Creator himself, thus flatly and finally contradicts the development hypothesis. Ages on ages before such development is hypothetically assumed, the higher organisms of the upper races are found in actual being.

Having thus routed his opponents, horse, foot and dragoon, he sets himself in the coolest possible way, to erect upon the deserted battle-field, a new rampart, against which no enemy can ever hope to prevail, at least from that quarter; by establishing on incontrovertible facts the precisely opposite hypothesis, viz: that instead of a law of development, there has been in steady operation a mysterious law of degradation. The evidence of this bold and novel theory appears to be absolutely decisive at least so far as the the classes of fish and reptiles are concerned. There is no mistaking the rocky record; for the law is written in the gigantic characters of the early specimens of these kingly types of primeval organic life. The types which succeed each other, in the successive geological eras of the palæozoic world, were, as every one knows, in an ascending series of complexity and completeness; but there was no transition from one type into another; and the history of each type was a *history of degradation*, as if strangely and solemnly symbolizing and foreshadowing the degeneracy of the race which was to crown and complete the whole.

Having thus demolished the antagonistic hypothesis, and established on its ruins the very opposite theory, Mr. Miller next proceeds to demolish the authors of these scientific follies. This he does in the first place by showing that the hypothesis was in no sense their own. It was suggested in its present form, precisely a hundred years ago, in the *Telliamed* of Maillet, when as yet geology had no existence; and it was adapted to the science of his age, and long before Professor Oken made his famous discovery of the hart's skull, by Larmark in the year 1802. And in the second place, he turns into ridicule the pretensions of every one of the propounders

and leading abettors to any tolerable acquaintance with the facts and principles of geology,—the science to which it appeals for support.*

In the closing chapters of his volume, Mr. Miller closes with the atheistic and sceptical reasonings of scientifics, and points out their fallacies with a penetration and skill, such as we have seldom seen displayed. His arguments are invariably founded on incontrovertible facts, handled with discriminating and vigorous logic, and spiced with exquisite Scotch wit and humour and sometimes the keenest sarcasm, in a style that makes one feel, that with anything less than absolute certainty for his conclusion, Hugh Miller is among the last men living whom we should wish to encounter as an antagonist in argument. For learning, ability, vivacity, humour and conclusiveness, for curious research, told in most entertaining style, we know of nothing more fascinating than this volume.

History and Geography of the Middle Ages. For Colleges and Schools. Chiefly from the French. By George Washington Greene, author of the Life of General Greene, Historical Sketches, &c. Part I, History. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Philadelphia: George S. Appleton. 1851. pp. 450.

The mere exterior and superficial view of history which it was so long customary to take the whole interest of which lay in excitement of its battles, conquests and defeats, has caused the period included in this volume, to be greatly overlooked and misunderstood. The *dark ages*, as they were called by

* Our readers may form some idea of the manner in which Mr. Miller prostrates his opponents in succession, by a single blow of his brawny Scotch arm, and of the plight in which he leaves them, from the following brief extract of the passage dealt against the author of the *Vestiges*. "There are two things in especial," says he, "which the work wants,—original observation and original thought,—the power of seeing for himself and of reasoning for himself, and what we find instead is simply a vivid appreciation of the images of things, as these images exist in other minds. And hence an ingenious but very unsolid work,—full of images transferred, not from the scientific field, but from the field of scientific mind, and charged with glittering but vague resemblances, stamped in the mind of fancy; which, were they to be used as mere counters in some light literary game of story telling or character-sketching, would be in no respect out of place, but which, when passed current as the proper coin of philosophic argument, are really frauds on the popular understanding."

general consent even of the learned, slurred over the pregnant period, in which the hand of Providence was fashioning and vitalizing the embryonic forms of our present vast and influential civilization. As the comparative anatomist has learned to trace the peculiarities, and relative rank of the various races of the animal kingdom chiefly by the study of their formative history: so the thorough philosophical study of modern civilization has led its cultivators to ply their inquisition into the hidden processes of the dark and neglected period when the organisms of modern society were taking their characteristic forms, and unfolding their characteristic life for the high destiny to which the race is appointed in the purposes of God. As usual, our academic education has been lagging behind, in the keen race for literary distinction and achievement in this discriminating and philosophical study.

One reason for the continued neglect of this important age of human history, perhaps, is the want of suitable text-books. The author of the work before us, undertakes to furnish the supply; the present volume being only the first of a series, announced on the class of subjects to which it belongs. On the ground above mentioned, our sympathies are all in his favour. We think he has done well, and considering how little had been done before, remarkably well for his subject; and should rejoice to contribute our modicum of encouragement in so important an undertaking. It will be seen, however, that in our judgment, the adequate execution of his task is neither easy nor of small importance. We should protest vehemently against making such a series of books with scissors, or making them to sell. Above most others, they should be instinct with the life of genius. The author should be independent of other men's opinions; and to be so, he should be master of his subject himself. Having possessed himself of a complete knowledge of the period he should digest it into a comprehensive, consistent and philosophical hypothesis, setting in a clear light what he takes to be its true character, tendencies and results. We are not of those who think the proper ends of history answered by a detail however accurate, of the outward historical incidents of a period or a people. We hold it to be the proper and highest duty of the historian to furnish

a theory of the facts on which the highest logical analysis and synthesis have been expended. The mere novice in historical studies, of course, is incompetent to draw out their true theory; and without this half the value of history is lost. True, the historian is liable to present us with a wrong hypothesis, the result of a partial or illogical analysis; but how much more so, the reader who has access only to the partial detail of facts which his work can be made to contain. And besides, if the author should err, there are champions all armed and ready to start up from every quarter, like the knights of the middle ages, to fight the battles, and redress the wrongs of injured truth. In the second place the history of this period should take advantage of the masterly and brilliant achievements of modern ethnological science, in setting forth as clearly as possible, the origin, character and diversities and mutual relations, of the races from which the population of Europe in the middle ages sprang. This, we are painfully aware is no easy task. But much has been done: and by a laborious and faithful collation of these labours, much more might still be done by a clear-sighted historian, gifted with the faculty for the rapid comparisons and wide generalizations which such a process supposes. The details and methods of the process need not be paraded in a mere text-book like this, but the results should be there, in a form which the ripest scholar, however he might differ from them, would instantly recognise and comprehend. We press this remark for two reasons; in the first place while we are far from going the length of the low materialistic school of ethnographers, who hold that race is every thing, and literature, science, art, civilization, all depend upon it, yet we do earnestly hold that without comprehending the complex influences of race, *including* its literature, science, art, and civilization, no man can disentangle the true history of Europe in the middle ages, or comprehend the posture or prospective bearings of its present leading nations. And in the second place we think it is in this last direction that the greatest deficiencies of the work before us lie. We have not at hand the original French from which it is taken, and cannot, therefore, know how far the characteristics of this volume belong to Mr. Greene, and how far to the original author.

Roman Nights; Or the Tomb of the Scipios. By Alesandor Verri. Translated from the Italian. With Notes, and Introductory Remarks, by Henry W. Hilliard. Philadelphia: John Ball. 1850. 12mo. pp. 303.

The author of this work, holds a highly creditable rank in Italian literature; though as yet little known among ourselves. He is a man of lively fancy and fine imaginative powers. His work is an attempt to reproduce the stirring periods of Roman History and draw out from them the social, moral, and political lessons, with which they are fraught. The plan of the book, enables the author, in imaginary converse with the noble old Roman heroes at the tomb of the Scipios, to inculcate important truth under the garb of historic fiction, and also to present, in dramatic form, the inner life of the period and the men whom the author discusses. The book is interesting and to a class of readers who are anxious to possess lively general views of the more exciting incidents of Roman History, it will prove acceptable and useful.

The Christian Philosopher Triumphant over Death. A Narrative of the Closing Scenes of the Life of the late William Gordon, M. D., F. R. S. By Newman Hall, B. A. To which is added a Memoir of Dr. John D. Godman. By Thomas Sewall, M. D. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, No. 265 Chestnut Street.

“Is Christianity true?” “What does Christianity teach?” “What can Christianity effect?” These are the interesting questions which this volume proposes to answer, not by abstruse philosophical discussion, but by setting Christianity into relation with the inward experience of the human heart. The examples selected for the display of its true purport and power as revealed both in life and in death, are not taken from the ranks of the poor or the uncultivated; but they are both men of unusual refinement and distinction, both in society and science. Besides the intrinsic interest of the volume and its delightful display of the beauty, purity, and loftiness of Christian faith and Christian hope triumphing over ills of life and exulting in victory over death and the grave; the special

value of the book lies in its adaptation to awaken the consciousness, which is lying dormant in the bosom of the educated and the professional members of society, not less than the children of poverty and sorrow, that the religion of Christ possesses an adaptation to them, which creates so strong a presumption of its divine origin, as to make it both their privilege and their duty to subject its provisions to an experimental test. We have seldom met with a book, which we should place, with higher hopes of usefulness, in the hands of an intelligent physician or cultivator of science, than this simple but authentic and beautiful memoir of two men, whose names are as familiar in the departments of medicine and natural science, as they will be precious in the memory of the church of Christ.

The Paradise Lost, by John Milton. With notes explanatory and critical. Edited by Rev. James Boyd, author of *Elements of Rhetoric*, &c. New York: Baker & Scribner. 1850. 12mo.

This is the most convenient edition of the great English epic we remember to have seen; at least from the American press. We are very glad to see the poem in such a form, in the hope that it may tempt purchasers. Notwithstanding the traditionary reputation of Milton, and the copious commonplace eulogy bestowed by everybody on the *Paradise Lost*, we cannot doubt that the poem is little read, and less studied, even by those who make some pretensions to literary scholarship. We have very recently heard a young gentleman of much more than average ability and scholarship, and nearly ripe for collegiate degree, confess that he preferred the versification of Goldsmith to that of Milton. We apprehend this case is singular only in the honesty and courage of the avowal. The truth is it requires a good degree of culture, as well as a highly gifted soul, to appreciate the lofty and varied harmonies of Milton's poetry, while the commonest endowments qualify a man to compass and enjoy the simple tetrachord and the poetic rhythm of Goldsmith or Scott.

For the same reason we are glad to see the poem annotated with sufficient copiousness to make its vast and varied learning intelligible to common readers. The criticism of the

editor is chiefly after the old fashioned and English style of the Spectator; from the well known essays on Milton, in which, very large portions are introduced in the notes. The critical prefaces to the several books are taken chiefly from Sir Egerton Brydges: and all the best editors of Milton are laid under contribution for the matter of the present handsome and convenient edition.

American Education, its Principles and Elements. Dedicated to the Teachers of the United States. By Edward D. Mansfield, author of the Political Grammar, &c. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. Cincinnati: H. W. Derby & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 330.

A sound and wholesome treatise on a great, vital, and still very imperfectly apprehended, subject. We are not sure that we understand the hypothesis on which the plan of the book was formed; but we are generally pleased with the mode of treating the topics introduced by the authors. We should doubt whether he had himself any very definite or specific object in view, throughout the whole of the book. The vindication of Mathematics, Astronomy, History, Language, Literature, Constitutional Law, &c., as elements of a liberal course of education, is earnest, and generally vigorous and conclusive; but it is not clear what class of persons these discussions were especially intended to influence, and there is therefore a question as to the completeness of the book, growing out of a question as to its true object. We are very glad to find a vindication so intelligent, clear and forcible of the essential importance of religion, in every course of study with a view to education. The Bible and Christianity are set in their true place, in the process. The author follows Kant's comprehensive definition of education; "to develop in each individual all the perfection of which he is susceptible," but with a provincialism with which we have no great sympathy, he attempts to mould this comprehensive scheme of education, into a national type. American education should not differ on principle from complete education any where else. The commonplace, not to say invidious, declamation, about the freedom and dignity of American citizens, is out of place in a liberal discussion on a great general subject like this.

The Poetry of Science, or Studies of the Physical Phenomena of Nature. By Robert Hunt, author of 'Panthea,' Researches on Light, &c. First American from the second London edition. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1850.

This is another of that large and rapidly increasing class of books, which we ever welcome with great pleasure, aiming as it does, to popularize the vast brilliant discoveries and inductions of modern science. Its chief characteristic among those of its class, is that it aims to bring scientific truth before the popular mind, not so much under its utilitarian or economical aspects, as in its power of exalting the mind to the contemplation of the universe. It is a noble and lofty object; and the book is admirably adapted to effect it.

The Soldier of the Cross: A Practical Exposition of Ephesians vi. 10-18. By the Rev. John Leyburn, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1851. pp. 339.

"The object of the author is to present evangelical truth under scriptural imagery, and with a practical application to the common every day life of the Christian." The topics discussed are, The Enemy, The Evil day of conflict, The Armour, defensive and offensive; The spirit of the warfare; The victory; The call to arms. It is evident that the passage of scripture, on which this series of discourses is founded, covers almost the whole ground of practical evangelical truth. Dr. Leyburn, therefore, has had full opportunity to bring into view all the great doctrines of the gospel, and to exhibit their bearing on Christian experience. This he has done in an able and edifying manner, and produced a book eminently adapted to be useful.

The Abundance of the Sea and our National Union. Two Discourses. By Rev. W. Henry Green, Pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. Published by Request. Philadelphia: William S. Martien. 1850. pp. 48.

The former of these sermons, delivered at the ordination of Rev. Thomas H. Newton, chaplain of the American Seamen Friend's Society, is an eloquent and elevating discourse, ad-

mirably adapted to the occasion on which it was delivered. The second sermon, delivered on the day appointed for general thanksgiving, is characterized by the wisdom, moderation, and correctness of its views, and by the glow of genuine religious patriotism.

An Historical Account of the First Presbyterian Church of Princeton, N. J. Being a sermon preached on Thanksgiving day, December 12th, 1850. By William Edward Schenck, Pastor of that Church. Princeton: John T. Robinson, 1850.

This is a handsome pamphlet of seventy-seven pages; containing an exceedingly interesting, instructive and well written account of a congregation, which, from its connection in the earlier periods of its history with the College of New Jersey, is more widely known than most other churches in our country. Mr. Schenck has done a good service in the preparation of this discourse, in which he will receive the thanks of hundreds in every part of the United States who have been connected, during their college life, with the congregation whose history he has so well detailed.

Evils of Disunion. A Discourse delivered on thanksgiving Day, Dec. 12th, 1850. By Robert Davidson, D.D. Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, New Brunswick, N. J. J. Terhune & Son, 1850. pp. 15.

Dr. Davidson, in the introduction of this discourse, draws a distinction between politics and questions of great national interest, involving principles of religious duty. The former he would banish from the pulpit; the latter, he shows lies properly within its sphere. He then proceeds to demonstrate with clearness and force that the disunion of our confederacy is unconstitutional, uncalled for, and unwise.

The Method of the Divine Government, Physical and Moral. By Rev. James McCoth, A. M. Second Edition, Edinburgh: Sutherland and Knox, London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1850. pp. 530.

This work containing four Books. 1. The divine govern-

ment as fitted to throw light on the character of God. 2. Method of the divine government in the physical world. 3. The principles of the human mind through which God governs mankind. 4. The reconciliation of God and man.—We have not had time to peruse the volume since it came into our hands, and can therefore only speak of it from its reputation. It has been received with extraordinary favour in Great Britain, and has raised its author at once into fame.—The subject, the relation of God to the world, is one of the most difficult and comprehensive, in the whole compass of theology. The book has, we understand, been republished in this country by the Messrs. Carter, of New York.

Discourses, chiefly Biographical of Persons eminent in Sacred History. By David McCaughy, D.D. Late President of Washington College, Pa. Pittsburgh: 1850. pp. 404.

The venerable author of this handsome volume has given to his numerous friends and former pupils, an interesting memorial of his pulpit instructions. To the christian public generally it is commended no less by its own merits than by the high character and standing of the writer.

Memoir of Rev. Alexander Waugh, D.D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1851.

This is a reprint from the Third London edition of a very interesting piece of religious biography.

A New Method of acquiring the German Language, embracing both the Analytic and Synthetic modes of Instruction. By W. H. Woodbury. Second Edition. New York: Mark Newman & Co. Cincinnati: W. H. Moore & Co. 1851. pp. 504.

The author informs us in his preface that his design in this volume is to unite the theoretical and practical methods of instruction. It is a handsomely printed book and full of materials for a thorough study of a most important language.

THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.

APRIL, 1851.

No. II.

ART. I.—*Foreign Missions and Millenarianism.* An Essay
for the Times.

ONE half of the nineteenth century has now passed away. It has been a period of advance in almost every department of human activity. The triumphs of industry, art, and education are such, that the world is invited to send up its trophies for a general exhibition in the metropolis of England. Should this invitation be generally regarded, a grand display may be expected as the result—a display at once creditable to the age and to the distinguished author of the scheme. All nations, all classes, all customs, all inventions will be there represented: and we may justly anticipate that the effect of such a celebration will be highly propitious, not only by showing what achievements have been made, but by affording facilities of comparison and competition, (the most effective stimuli to inventive effort) which may lead to still more important discoveries hereafter.

While such occasions are very properly observed by men of the world, the Church also, we apprehend, may well, in part at least, imitate this example. She too has been advancing, and at the close of half a century of unusual prosperity, if she be not called upon to assemble her representatives for a jubilee

celebration, she may at all events pause, to survey her past history, to examine anew the foundations and prospects of her various executive departments, and to collect those salutary lessons, which fifty years of experience are so well calculated to afford.

Among the numerous points in such a survey, which merit her attention, no one is more serious or more practical in its bearings than the cause of Foreign Missions. To this subject no little attention has been given during the present century. It has, in fact, given character to the age. The attention and benevolence of the Church have been more steadily directed to it, than to any other object whatever. But although so much has been said and done, still much diversity of sentiment exists. Not to speak of the busy world, which seems to smile at the effort to evangelize the nations, as though a mere spirit of fanatical chivalry had come over the churches; the friends of the cause themselves are divided on some important points. Some think that our present plan of conducting the enterprise is mistaken, and our expectations unfounded. In their judgment we are labouring for the wrong class, to the neglect of God's ancient covenant people, who ought to be first in our efforts; and that, even supposing us to begin with Israel, the anticipated results will not be realized until the coming of our Lord to reign personally on the earth. "It is necessary that the gospel should first be spoken unto the Jew. "The present generation of Christians, like all that have preceded it, is simply a witness-bearing generation." "The church is to *feed upon no unwarrantable expectations.*" "The kingdom and the second coming are strictly associated together. This is insisted upon as indispensable to a right understanding of the subject. *The coming of the King and the setting up of the kingdom are contemporaneous.*" "Instead of gradually increasing light until 'the latter-day' glory, the Scriptures every where hold up the idea that 'darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people.'" "Instead of *increasing and complete success and comfort* 'the earth shall reel to and fro like a drunken man.'" "Then shall they see the Son of Man coming in a cloud, with power and great glory."*

* The Kingdom of God, pp. 23, 35, 52, 53, 55.

Between these views, and those commonly entertained, there is certainly a wide difference. We do not believe indeed that they are extensively held; yet they exist, in the minds too of devotedly pious men, who are also highly reputable scholars. And while we seek no controversy with these beloved brethren, yet the points of disagreement are so many, and so important, that it becomes us not only in deference to them, but in justice to the great cause at stake, to exhibit clearly what we regard as the scriptural basis of the Missionary scheme, and then to examine how far the experience of the past fifty years, and the general providences of God seem to harmonize with, and corroborate these views of Divine truth. In the exhibition of principles we shall of course take occasion to show how far they are contravened by the Millenarian theory, which in our opinion involves a far more serious departure from our standards, and from the commonly received doctrines of Christendom than is generally supposed. This is due to all concerned. If the Church is wrong, if she is pursuing a work which promises no successful issue, if she has no divine warrant both as to the end in view, and as to the means she is using to attain it, she ought to know the appalling fact. On the other hand if she is right, a plain and faithful exhibition of her principles, if it reach not those who have already gone astray, may perhaps comfort those who remain, and serve to prevent others from falling into error.

I. Our first position is, that in the missionary work of the Church the distinction of Jew and Gentile is not recognized. In proof of this we appeal at once to the words of the commission, "Go teach all nations." "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." There is no discrimination of races here. "All nations," embracing "every creature" are to be invited into the kingdom of our Lord. It is therefore a direct violation both of the letter and spirit of this commission, to say that any particular people as such, are the people to be first invited. All are before us—all are concluded under sin—all need the gospel—all who will, may be saved on precisely the same terms; and the only thing, which justifies any discrimination, is the absolute impossibility of reaching every individual. Were it possible to do so, we should each be per-

sonally guilty if we did not give the gospel literally to "every creature;" and to the utmost extent of her ability the Church is thus responsible to God. She dare not withhold the light from any immortal being. Her love and zeal must, like that of her Master, extend to all. But as she cannot now actually teach every individual, she may, in the exercise of an enlightened judgment, select such individuals or nations as in the providence of God are most inviting, and are thrown most directly upon her hands. On these principles, and on the general principle of the division of labour, there may be separate missions to distinct people, whether Mohammedans, Nestorians, Greeks, Jews, or Papists; but as to the positive obligation to establish such missions none have a special warrant. They all stand upon the same basis, *i. e.* the unlimited command to evangelize the world.

If farther proof on this point be necessary, we appeal to the vision of the Apostle Peter. What plainer or more authoritative declaration of the divine law of missions, as to the proper subjects at least, could be given than is contained in that passage? Himself a Jew, fully persuaded of their national superiority, and very unwilling to abandon the idea, that to his nation as such the benefits of the gospel were limited; yet at length declaring under the influence of light from heaven, "of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him." This is confirmed, too, by the Holy Ghost falling on them that heard the word, so that "they of the circumcision which believed were astonished, as many as came with Peter, because that on the Gentiles also was poured out the gift of the Holy Ghost." And when the Apostle, having returned to Jerusalem, told these things to the Church, "they held their peace and glorified God, saying, then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life." It is remarkable too, that after this we hear no more in the New Testament history of the Church, about the superiority of the Jews, or the exclusion of the Gentiles from Christian privileges. On the other hand, it is as plain as the noonday sun, that the apostolic missionaries (for that was the first great missionary age) con-

sidered the door alike open to all, and actually preached wherever they went, both to Jew and Gentile, that all should repent and be saved.

Now, with such a commission, and with such practical (we might say, divine) explanations of its meaning, we pause long, and ask seriously for the authority on which it is so confidently asserted, that we are wrong in placing Jew and Gentile upon the same basis in our missionary work. What is the evidence upon which our position is denied? It is found in such expressions as the following: "Much every way." "To the Jew first and also to the Gentile." "Beginning at Jerusalem;" which, however, are all capable of easy and natural explanation in perfect accordance with what has been said above. As to the first, the knowledge of God and divine things, which the Jews possessed, did give them much advantage, just as men in a Christian country have much advantage over those in a heathen land. And this is the only, and evidently the great point of advantage specified by the Apostle, when he proceeds to state his own meaning. "Chiefly because to them were committed the oracles of God." As to the second, the word 'first' may denote either order or pre-eminence. That is, the judgment or mercy of God (the things spoken of in the context) shall begin with the Jews, and be extended also to the Gentiles: or, the Jews having been more highly favoured in knowledge and privileges, shall be pre-eminently rewarded or punished according to their use or abuse of this distinction. But to make this expression teach, that the Jews were to be for ever followed up with the first offer of the gospel, which is the point for which it is so often adduced by Millenarians, is to do violence to the context, and also in direct contradiction both to one prominent object of the Apostle in writing to the Romans, and his explicit declaration in the same epistle, that "there is no difference between the Jew and the Greek, for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him." And as to the third, "beginning at Jerusalem," there were a multitude of perishing souls, both Jew and Gentile, in that great city. Being surrounded by these, who were perishing in sin, why should the Apostles keep silence? What more natural than that they should begin where they were, and where the facts of the

gospel were best known? Hence this clause may be a mere incidental direction as to the commencement of their work. Or if it be admitted that it strictly limited them to Jerusalem, it was only for the "beginning," and therefore affords no positive rule for the guidance of future generations. It was for a limited time and for a definite purpose, which is evident by the immediate injunction, "tarry ye at Jerusalem until ye be endued with power from on high." And very soon after receiving the promised unction, they went forth preaching repentance and remission of sins in his name through all nations, having begun at Jerusalem. Nor did more than three or four of them, so far as we know, spend any considerable time in labouring for the Jews, while two of these are the very ones chosen of God to make known the fact, "that the Gentiles also should be fellow heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of his promise in Christ by the gospel"—one of them being emphatically "*the Apostle to the Gentiles*;" and the other, taught by a heavenly vision not to call them common or unclean.

These expressions, therefore, do not teach that the Jews must be first in our missionary labours. They were spoken with no such design. The whole history and example of the Apostles is against such an interpretation. And here we must be permitted to remark, that few things have astonished us more than the way in which brethren opposing these views quote Scripture. In arguing this very point, Mr. Imbrie asserts that the Jews are still "the children of the kingdom," in a sense which entitles them to our first efforts; making the quotation, "*the children of the kingdom*," and italicising the language as though this passage confirmed his view; when, in fact, the only verse in the whole Bible, where the Jews are thus designated, is as follows: "The children of the kingdom shall be cast out into outer darkness!" What is there within the whole range of human conceptions, which could not be proved by such a course? He quotes also to the same point, the declaration that "to the Jew pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises," whereas the evident design of the Apostle in the whole chapter, to which these words form a soothing introduction, is to exhibit to his national brethren the unwelcome truth, that, on

account of their unbelief, they have been rejected as a people, and that now the "vessels of mercy" are "even us whom he hath called, not of the Jews only but also of the Gentiles." And again the same author* introduces the scriptural phraseology, "are beloved for the fathers' sakes," and, "the gifts and calling of God are without repentance," which would seem to show, (and which indeed is necessary to be shown upon his theory), that the Jews still occupy their former position; whereas, the Apostle, when using this language, had just finished that remarkable passage about the olive tree, (Rom. xi.,) in which it is plainly taught that they have fallen, have been broken off, and will remain in darkness "until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in," through whose mercy, "they also," (the Jews), "may obtain mercy." If there ever was an instance of catching at the mere sound and jingle of words, in utter disregard of their connexion and design, we think it is found in these quotations. The book, from which they are taken, abounds in similar misapplications, made too with such apparent fitness as to derive from that single source its chief plausibility. We believe, moreover, that in a very remarkable degree, the same characteristic pervades the class of writers to which the author of this book belongs.

II. Our second position is, that the missionary enterprise regards Christ as *now* a King, in his mediatorial character; to which also agree the words of our standards, "Christ *executeth* the office of a king in *subduing* us to himself, in *ruling* and *defending* us, and in *restraining* and *conquering* all his and our enemies." The foundation on which this doctrine rests, is the word of God. "Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion." The whole of this Psalm is built on this supposition; so also the 45th, which dwells at length on his regal character and dominions, both of which are expressly applied to our Saviour in the New Testament. The Prophet Zechariah also exclaims, "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem; behold thy King cometh unto thee: he is just and having salvation: lowly and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass." And in fulfilment of this pro-

* Kingdom of God, pp. 21, 22.

phcey, when our Lord entered Jerusalem in the manner described, "the whole multitude of the disciples began to rejoice and praise God with a loud voice, saying, Blessed be the King that cometh in the name of the Lord; peace in heaven, and glory in the highest." Were they mistaken in these ascriptions? Did they look forward through thousands of years to another period, when he should become King? We think not. That he was then King, is the plain meaning of their words. And to this agree both the admission of our Saviour before Pilate, and his claim to "*all power in heaven and on earth*"—a declaration made, too, for the very purpose of encouraging his disciples in their missionary work. In the face of such testimony, and of the notorious fact that this very assumption (as they regarded it) excited against him more odium, both among Jews and Gentiles, than almost any other of his doctrines, to assume that he is only *yet to be a King*, requires a degree of violence both to language and common sense, which it were difficult to answer in a logical way. Yet this assumption is not only made, but absolutely required by the Millenarian theory. Christ now rules as God upon his Father's throne, not his own. As Mediator, he is not King. To admit that he is, would destroy the very foundation of this future kingdom. Hence, either these brethren are wrong, or our Church and our standards disagree with the word of God in a very important particular.

III. But we proceed one step farther, and maintain that the Church in her missionary work regards Christ, the Mediatorial King, as *now occupying the throne of David*. Her authority for this is the representation given by the Apostle Peter. After that most wonderful outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, the Apostle, in explaining the matter, says: "Men and brethren, let me freely speak unto you of the patriarch David, that he is both dead and buried, and his sepulchre is with us unto this day. Therefore being a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins he would raise up Christ to sit on his (David's) throne; he seeing this before spake of the resurrection of Christ, that his soul was not left in hell, neither his flesh did see corruption. This Jesus hath God raised up, whereof we all are witnesses. Therefore BEING by the right hand of God EXALTED,

and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit, he hath shed forth this. Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God *hath made that same Jesus*, whom ye have crucified both LORD and CHRIST.”*

Here we are expressly taught that the promise, that Christ should be raised up to sit on David's throne, has received its intended fulfilment. “This Jesus hath God raised up.” For what? Evidently to sit upon his throne according to the promise. “Therefore, being by the right hand of God exalted (to what, if not to the promised throne?) let all the house of Israel know, that God *hath made him both LORD and CHRIST.*” What language could convey the idea more plainly, “*that his present exaltation is his proper Lordship or royalty, as Messiah.*” In connexion with this, let us turn to another passage.† “These things saith he that is holy, he that is true, HE THAT HATH THE KEY OF DAVID, *he that openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth.*” Here all that is taught in the former passage is clearly exhibited. Christ is represented as on the throne of David, having his keys, exercising at that very time unlimited authority over his kingdom. Now if this be true, it is fatal to the Millenarian theory, which teaches that our Lord is not now on the throne of David, that he will not occupy it until he returns and occupies a literal throne in Jerusalem. If he be already on that throne, of course there is no reason to expect any such visible reign hereafter. This is clearly seen by Millenarians themselves, and hence the testimony of Peter that Christ has been raised up to sit on David's throne, and of our Lord himself that he now “has the key of David,” must be explained away. This can be done only by making it future, a thing yet to be; which, however, does such violence to the language and context in both instances, that it deserves not a serious answer. It would not be difficult to prove, in the same way, that Christ is no *Saviour now*, that as he is yet “*to be a Prince*,” so is he “*to be a Saviour*,” after his personal appearance. And thus the faith of millions who have died in triumphs, and of millions more who are living in hope, “*is vain*” after all!

* Acts ii. 29—36.

† Rev. iii. 7.

IV. It is necessarily implied in the former propositions, that the kingdom of Christ is *spiritual*. And that such is the fact is proved by the most overwhelming evidence. "My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered unto the Jews; but now is my kingdom not from hence." Should it be said, that this only proves it to be "not of this world," *i. e.* not of this *age* or *dispensation*, we reply that such a gloss can afford no real relief to the Millenarian theory. Other texts, to which it cannot be applied, are equally explicit. "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation, neither shall they say, lo here, or lo there, for behold the kingdom of God is *within you*." "For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." This truth is taught negatively also, by the refusal of our Saviour to take any part in adjusting temporal matters. When desired by a certain man, "saying, Master speak unto my brother, that he divide the inheritance with me," his reply was, "Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you;" as much as to say, I have nothing to do with such matters, they are foreign to my kingdom, which is in the hearts of my subjects.

The spirituality of his kingdom is evident from his setting aside every thing national, formal, or secular, in the Jewish dispensation. No traces of them remain. They were a burden, "which neither our fathers, nor we were able to bear." "The hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet in Jerusalem worship the Father; but the hour cometh, and *now is*, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth, for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a Spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth." The same truth is evident again from the facts—that a spiritual change is necessary to membership in it; except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God—that the duties required, which are faith, love, repentance, humility, meekness, zeal, charity, &c., are all spiritual exercises—that the doctrines inculcated are spiritual truths, and have all a spiritual tendency—that the agency employed in rendering them effectual is not corporal or carnal, not pomp or show, not physical compulsion or rewards, but *spiritual*, "mighty

through God to the pulling down of strong holds." The Spirit like the wind, goeth whither it listeth, silent, yet powerful in producing the end desired. And finally the same thing is evident from the fact, that where this kingdom comes, it disturbs no civil or social relations, which are not in themselves sinful. Rulers may continue to occupy their thrones while following the meek and lowly Jesus; and subjects are bound to honour and obey those whom God has invested with authority over them. Thus by affirmation and negation, by implication and description, by curtailment of ceremonies, and by injunction of heart-worship, in every possible way almost, this truth, the spirituality of Christ's kingdom, is forced upon the mind.

With all this the Millenarian doctrine is directly at war. Christ's kingdom is (*to be*) a *literal, visible, physical, temporal* reign, the seat of which will be in Jerusalem, where the observances of the law are to be again instituted, and whither all nations are to assemble for their stated feasts, as did the Jews of old. The temple, the Levites, the sacrifices are all to be re-established, and in the latter, (*i. e.* sacrifices) "the Eternal Word himself takes a visible and conspicuous part."* This is to be "a *visible* and *eternal* reign on earth,"† in which not only external ordinances of worship, but *sensual indulgences* are to be enjoyed *for ever*. "Instead of an end to the increase of the race, it is to *multiply for ever*." "Christ is to work a perfect remedy of the disorder and ruin brought on man and the world by revolt, not by putting an end to the multiplication of the race, nor by striking the world from existence, but by rescuing them from the dominion of sin and its curse . . . causing the race to *continue* as it would have done had it not fallen, and raising it through *eternal* ages to a beauty of rectitude, wisdom and bliss, as great, and perhaps far greater than it would have enjoyed had it never revolted."‡ That this kingdom is vastly different from the spiritual one described above need not be affirmed; and that it is also vastly different from that eternal reign in glory, where the people of God "neither marry nor are given in marriage" is equally apparent. *Some*, at least, of

*Theological and Literary Journal, Jan. 1850, p. 457-461.

† Lord's Exposition of Apocalypse, p. 309.

‡ Theological and Literary Journal, July 1850, pp. 24, 47.

Christ's redeemed ones will never rise above the power of carnal joys. The Mohammedans, it does seem to us, only carry out the same idea a little farther, when they give to every believer a tent in heaven, fourteen miles square, with seventy wives, and the power of associating with all at the same time!

V. Our next position is, that the missionary enterprise regards *the Church* as comprising this spiritual kingdom of Jesus Christ. It is expressly affirmed in our Confession of Faith, that "the Church is the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ;"* the proof of which is abundant from the Scriptures. "Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son." Into what kingdom have believers been translated, except "the Church which he hath purchased with his own blood," and "which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all?" "Christ as a Son over his own house, whose house are we." "He is the head of the Church—therefore as the Church is subject unto Christ, so let wives be to their husbands." Can it be denied that the Church is the kingdom of Christ, purchased by his blood, called after his name, and to be glorified with him with that glory, which he had from the beginning? This kingdom is already in existence—it is composed of "the good seed," who "are the children of the kingdom," having been, by the grace of God, "delivered from the power of darkness and translated into the kingdom of God's dear Son." What language could teach the actual existence of his kingdom, if this does not?

Yet all this too must be denied or explained away by our Millenarian brethren. According to them there is no kingdom in existence now. The Church is a mere "*preparation*." "There will certainly be set up a glorious kingdom upon earth—there will be but one such kingdom—it is a kingdom to come."† "*Now* Christ is only seated upon the Father's throne. He is only as it were exalted in *another's* right, and invested with *another's* power; but in the day of coming glory he is to assume *his own sceptre*, to sit upon his own throne, and exercise dominion in a way which he has not hitherto done." "We maintain that Christ has not yet received any kingdom, which

* Conf. of Faith, Chap. 25, Sec. 2.

† Kingdom of God, p. 13.

he can deliver up. A man can only lawfully deliver that which is his own.* Here it is taught not merely that the Church is not *complete* yet, and therefore, cannot be delivered up, but that Christ has not yet begun to occupy his throne. He occupies that of another now, and will only set up his own kingdom and throne, when he comes to reign in Jerusalem! What then becomes of our standards, and of the Scriptures on which they rest the declaration that he is now king on his throne, and is ruling his kingdom? And what becomes of the noble contest and sacrifice of the Free Church of Scotland for the exclusive kingship of Jesus over his Church? Were they deluded? Is the world deceived on this point? Have we yet to learn that, when the Apostle tells us that Christians have been in the kingdom of God's dear Son for nearly two thousand years, he means only that at some future day they will be made partakers of his reign on earth? Alas for the theory, which requires such violence to language! And yet it is held by men who, par excellence, profess to take things literally as they find them in the Bible!

VI. The agency for preserving and extending this kingdom, so far as man is concerned, is moral altogether, *i. e.* through the truth. "Go teach all nations." "How then shall they call on him, in whom they have not believed? And how shall they believe in him, of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach, except they be sent?" "He gave some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some teachers and some pastors, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ." "For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds." These passages show us very clearly, that man's agency is moral. And on God's part the efficient agent is the Holy Spirit. "No man cometh unto me, except the Father, which hath sent me, draw him." "When the Comforter is come, he shall convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment." "The Spirit giveth life." "The Spirit quickeneth whom he will." "God hath from the begin-

* Scott's Outlines of Prophecy as quoted by Brown, p. 126.

ning chosen you to salvation, through sanctification of the Spirit, and belief of the truth." "Elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father through sanctification of the Spirit."

Aside from these, we know of no other agency for sanctifying the righteous, preserving and extending the Church, or quickening those who are dead in sin. Providential dispensations may be, and often are, used to arrest attention, but with them the universal experience of the Church has been that the moment they become general, as in epidemic diseases, famine, and the like, they lose even that power. They are regarded but little more than ordinary events. The *truth* is the sword, the *Almighty Spirit* the agent who wields it. Our Millenarian brethren themselves will not deny that these are the agents; and yet the way they speak of the "*personal interference*" of the Son of Man, and the importance they attach to his coming (in their sense) show plainly, that other agencies will be then employed, of which these are not even chief. "The universal prevalence of religion hereafter to be enjoyed, *is not to be effected by any increased impetus given by the PRESENT means of evangelizing the nations, but by a stupendous display of Divine wrath upon all the apostate and ungodly.*"* "The kingdom and universal church are to be established, *not by gradual conversion, or by conversion more or less rapid under this dispensation, BUT BY THE PERSONAL ADVENT of our Lord himself, and all the remarkable EVENTS that accompany it.*"† "The rectifying that comes at last is not by *mercy* but by *judgment*—not by the sowing of grace but the sickle of vengeance—not *by an extension of the Gospel, the labours of ministers, or any gracious instrumentality whatever now at work, but by the angels of God* who are to accompany the Son of Man at his second advent. It will consist not in RE-SOWING, but in REAPING the field."‡ Mr. Imbrie also quotes upon this point, *i. e.* the bearing of Christ's coming upon the kingdom, the following scripture, which he italicises for himself, "We

* Elem. of Proph. Interp. pp. 227, 228.

† Popular Objections to the Premillennial Advent considered. By Geo. Ogilvy, Esq., pp. 216, 217, second edition, 1847.

‡ "The Priest upon his Throne." McNeile's Lent Lec. 1849, p. 96.

give thee thanks, O Lord God Almighty, which art and wast and art to come; because thou hast taken unto thee thy great power and reigned. And the nations were angry and thy wrath is come, and *the time of the dead that they should be judged*, and that *thou shouldest give reward unto thy servants the prophets, and to the saints, and them that fear thy name, small and great; and shouldest destroy them that destroy the earth.*" Here then is evidently the agency to be employed. "The time is come that thou shouldest *judge, reward and destroy.*" This is "*the personal interference*" of the Son of Man. The work, it would seem, is to be taken out of the hands of the Holy Spirit; or rather, perhaps we should say, his dispensation is to cease, and the truth to be laid aside as an agent. The Son himself will give reward to his servants, destroy the wicked, and thus set up his kingdom on earth. For that coming we are to "*wait*" without feeding upon "*unwarrantable expectations.*" And accordingly we have known it to be said on missionary ground, "what are you doing here? You may as well go home. This is not the dispensation for converting the world. Nothing permanent will be done until the King come himself." The more prudent will not commit themselves quite so boldly, but they all insist so much on the connexion between his coming and his kingdom, that it seems imperative here to bestow some attention on this point.

The words, *come, cometh, coming, appear, appearing*, occur in the New Testament in reference to our Lord Jesus Christ, about eighty times. And not only their frequency, but the tone of these passages shows that the subject is one of great solemnity, and ought to have great practical influence on every Christian heart. Some of them refer to his first advent; some to his providential coming as upon Jerusalem in judgment, or upon the seven churches in Asia, to whom he says repeatedly, "I will come quickly" (upon certain conditions); some evidently refer to a spiritual advent, as in John, "I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you," which is equivalent to the expression following, "and I will manifest myself unto him," and also to that, "and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him and make our abode with him." But on these it is not necessary to dwell. Others, and the majority con-

fessedly, refer to a personal appearance yet to take place. How are they to be understood? What do they teach? 1. They show that there is but one more coming. The expressions "*the coming*," "*his coming*," "*when he cometh*," "*his appearing*," "*the appearing of our Lord*," and the like, are used with a frequency and familiarity, which forbid the idea that more than *one* such event is yet future. It is referred to in the whole class as a thing well known and believed; nor have we met with any Millenarian writer, who affirms the contrary, though, in our opinion, their theory, as held by most at least, requires that they should. 2. Concerning that one coming, they teach that it will be "in his glory"—that "before him shall be gathered all nations," including "the quick and the dead"—that the believers who are then alive, "shall be changed" and "fashioned like unto his glorious body"—that they "shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air"—that the righteous and the wicked shall be then separated, "as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats"—that the former shall "inherit the kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world," and the latter "depart into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels"—and that all this is to be done "in the end of this world," when "the Son of Man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend and them which do iniquity."* Need it be added that this is the general judgment of our race, which is to wind up the probation of man. In what language could that idea be presented if it is not found here? And yet all this is explained away by our Millenarian brethren. Coming "in his glory," means in his visible kingdom in Jerusalem—the gathering of "all nations," means only "living nations," (although "the quick and the dead" are spoken of as present by two Apostles)—gathering out and burning "all things that offend and them that do iniquity," means only Christ's "open and incorrigible enemies who refuse submission to him, and pay their homage to other beings;" while "not only are the nations to survive the fire of

* Matt. xxv. 31, 32, 34, 41; 2 Tim. iv. 1; 1 Cor. xv. 51; Phil. iii. 21; 1 Thes. iv. 17; Matth. xiii. 40, 41.

Christ's coming, but the animals also."* (Yes, after the Lord has told us that all living nations are to be judged, and the goats cast into hell, here he tells us that "the nations" are to survive that burning!)"—"the end of this world," means the end of this *dispensation*, after which it would seem that either those who have been changed and fashioned into Christ's glorious body, or those who have survived the burning, or perhaps both are to "multiply for ever!" unless, indeed, he take the ground, not only that all nations quick and dead, means living nations, but that the separation and judgment of the sheep and goats, the wheat and tares, is also partial. Alas for literalism in such hands!

There are two other observations, which we wish to make concerning these texts before proceeding. The first is, that not one of them contains even the slightest intimation, that the coming of Christ is to have any influence in converting sinners, or extending his kingdom over new subjects. If so, let it be produced. Most of them are simple allusions, intended to encourage and comfort the righteous, or to warn the wicked. They are not didactic statements; or so far as they are, the invariable object of his coming is, to comfort and glorify his followers and to punish his adversaries. It is no where intimated, that there will be any invitation given to sinners then to receive him; (a very remarkable fact certainly upon the supposition that his coming is to be the great means of the world's conversion.) On the other hand, it is constantly implied that the numerical extension of his kingdom will be complete, his elect all brought in, before "his appearing;" at which time the dead shall be raised, the pious who are alive shall be changed into his likeness, and all be ever with the Lord; while the wicked shall be banished into everlasting woe.

Our second observation here is, that all those places, which speak of his visible coming as future, may be satisfactorily explained when applied to his coming at the last day. The greatest apparent difficulty lies in the expressions "draweth nigh," "is at hand," "cometh as a thief in the night," &c., which in the estimation of some, denote a degree of proximity,

* Theological and Literary Journal, July 1850, pp. 41, 46.

which they think cannot be true of the final judgment. Such is the opinion of Millenarians generally. "We ought always to be expecting his coming, if not day by day, at least within the period of some three or four years."* It may be admitted that, having started their theory, these expressions do at first, in sound at least, yield it a seeming support. And yet we are persuaded, that they are in fact quite as difficult of explanation upon their theory, as upon the one stated above. For, according to the positive facts in the case, there has been long delay, since these words were spoken, and yet he has not come in their sense. Has his advent been actually within three or four years of us, for the last eighteen centuries? If so—if this is consistent with the language, why may it not continue impending for another two thousand years, or for any period during which his purposes of grace may require his absence? Do the words "draweth nigh," "is at hand," &c., mean any thing more now than when first spoken? We insist upon it, that in whatever sense they are consistent with this much delay, they may also consist with the commonly received views as to all, that is to take place in the church on earth.

Again, our brethren are not only equally pressed with ourselves with this phraseology, but according to their own exposition of Scripture his advent cannot be very near at hand. This "witness-bearing generation" has not yet done its work. The gospel has not been "preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations." Shall not this be literally done? And must not a considerable time elapse before it is accomplished? According to Mr. Lord† "not only is the gospel to be preached to all nations, that are yet ignorant of its glad tidings," but "a great change is to take place in the views of those who preach it." In a word the church is first to become Millenarian, and then preach those views of the kingdom to all the world. How long time will this require? But more than this, in his Exposition of the Apocalypse, after applying the seventh trumpet to the second coming of Christ to commence his visible reign on earth, he says expressly, "we are required therefore, by the most *imperative necessity*, to regard the seventh trumpet as

* Literalist, Vol. I. p. 125.

† Theological and Literary Journal, October 1849, p. 323.

still future, and probably at a *considerable distance*,”—“that the first six phials precede it, and are already poured and *pouring*.”* And again in his Journal for October 1849, he mentions a number of future events, which are to precede the advent, such as “the overthrow of the nationalized hierarchies of Europe,” “the sealing of the servants of God,” “the slaying and resurrection of the witnesses,” “the arrival of a considerable body of the Israelites in Palestine, and their redispersion,” &c. all of which show that a considerable time must yet elapse before he appears. Now what is all this, but to “put off the hope of his coming,” and to involve themselves in the same difficulty as to the terms employed to denote its nearness, which is charged upon us? If “draweth nigh,” “is at hand,” “standeth at the door,” may mean “at a considerable distance,” so that time is given to finish “pouring” the six phials, why may they not allow time for the gospel to spread, and the world to be converted? Whatever explanation will admit of the one, will cover also the other; and this, as to those brethren, should be sufficient, if no further explanation could be offered.

But we have an easy, and we think satisfactory solution of these expressions. The Scriptures every where teach us, that time is short—taken in its longest extent, it is but a moment—“the fashion of this world passeth away”—the end of all things is at hand”—“the Judge standeth at the door.” Not only must the living soon die, but these earthly scenes themselves must soon close for all and for ever. And inasmuch as “the coming of the Lord” is the time when “all these things shall be dissolved,” that event itself is used to remind the world of these great truths. It is near precisely in the same sense, that “the end of all things is at hand” *i. e.* it is not far off—it will soon be here. Nor is there any inconsistency in our looking for and longing after that event, although satisfied that it is future. “Abraham rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it,” though it was through a long dark night; and so may we the second day, though we cannot tell how soon it will come. The true people of God have done this in every age. It is nothing

* Expos. Apoc. p. 312.

more than mingled faith and love, exercised in reference to coming blessings. We look, long, yet wait patiently for the promised reward. Our Millenarian brethren can do no more. We, with them look for a literal coming; around it our hopes of eternal glory cluster; we long therefore for his appearing, we believe that it draweth nigh, and thus we stand "waiting for our Lord from heaven;" may he come quickly! But great events are to precede it. We have mentioned above some of those, which Mr. Lord expects. Our view is different; and, resuming the original thread of our argument, the next position is as follows.

VII. The kingdom of Christ is to prevail generally over the earth. This is the point we have been trying to reach, and it is one of vital interest. Not indeed that our obligation to obey our Saviour's last command grows out of, or is in any way dependent on, the prospects of success;—that is absolute and must be obeyed, even if not one sinner should believe. But because the opposite views must prove unfriendly to missionary zeal. Let the belief become general, that this is "simply a witness-bearing generation"—that "instead of increasing and complete success and comfort, the earth shall reel to and fro like a drunkard, and shall be removed like a cottage"—"that instead of gradually increasing light, until 'the latter day' glory, the Scriptures every where hold up the idea that, 'darkness shall cover the earth and gross darkness the people' "*—that the friends of Missions "are, on their own principles, the greatest and most absurd fanatics in the world"†—that there "are no intimations that the world is to be recovered from its apostacy and converted into a paradise of bliss and virtue, by the instrumentalities now employed by the Church for its christianization"—that "the true worshippers are still to be few in numbers compared to their antagonists"‡—let such sentiments become general, and whatever men may say about *the command* to publish the gospel, they will assuredly restrain the zeal and activity of God's people. Men will be slow to give their children and their money, and ministers will be reluctant in going

* Kingdom of God, pp. 52, 53.

† Literary and Religious Journal, Oct. 1849, p. 278.

‡ Literary and Religious Journal, Oct. 1849, p. 330.

far hence to the Gentiles, "simply" as witness-bearers—"simply" that their message may prove "a savour of death unto death" to those who hear.

But more than this; the importance of this point, and the extremely injurious tendency of the Millenarian theory may be seen in a still more serious aspect. In the missionary work, no less than in our individual cases, it may be said "according to your faith, so be it unto you." Now if there be no promises authorizing us to expect the general extension of the gospel, there can be no genuine faith on this point; and if we even believe that there are none, it is practically the same to us and to the cause as though there were none. Hence this theory, by forbidding the exercise of faith, paralyzes the arm by which we are to lay hold upon almighty strength—it sweeps away our interest in prayer, and our agonizing dependence on the Holy Spirit. We may well pause therefore before it is embraced, and turning again to the oracles of God, inquire with deep anxiety "what say the Scriptures?"

Their testimony is abundant. "I the Lord have called thee in righteousness, and will hold thy hand, and will keep thee, and will give thee for a light of the Gentiles; to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison house:" which is quoted both in the Gospel of Luke and in the Acts of the Apostles, as applying to the present dispensation; "for so hath the Lord commanded us, saying I have set thee to be a light to the Gentiles, that thou shouldest be for salvation "unto the ends of the earth." "And the Gentiles shall come to thy light and kings to the brightness of thy rising—then thou shalt see and flow together, and thy heart shall be enlarged, because the abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee, the forces of the Gentiles shall come unto thee." "Ask of me and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession." "All the ends of the earth shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before him." "And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, and nations, and languages should serve him." "And the kingdom, and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom

under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him." "And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek; and his rest shall be glorious."

Now we do not assume, that there is to be any time when all the world will be real Christians, but that these and similar passages do teach the universal dominion of Christ, and the general prevalence of true religion is undeniable. This is conceded on all hands, the only difference being as to the time and manner of their fulfilment. Millenarians say, after his personal appearance to reign on the earth, and by his power as an avenging conqueror; while the Church generally holds, that, during the present dispensation of the Spirit, Christianity shall prevail to the ends of the earth, both among Jews and Gentiles, but that the brightest days of the kingdom will not be seen until after the consummation of all things here below. In regard to the first of these theories we think it is clear, 1. That no such coming as it contemplates, is taught in the Scriptures. 2. That his coming, when it does occur, is to have no effect in extending his kingdom over new subjects. 3. That no offer of salvation will then be made to impenitent sinners. And 4. That the extension contemplated in these promises is utterly inconsistent with that theory, while it accords perfectly with ours. It is by turning, by seeking, by conversion, by voluntary submission, and not by conquest, or destruction. "All the ends of the earth shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before him." "The abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee, the forces of the Gentiles shall come unto thee." "These expressions, (and there are many more of the same kind) are plain, direct, and pointed. But how can they be fulfilled on the Millenarian theory? When he comes to be glorified in his saints, and to take vengeance on his adversaries, how can the ends of the earth "remember and turn unto the Lord?" Or if they should, and "the abundance of the sea," "the forces of the Gentiles" are then "converted" unto him, on whom will he take vengeance? And again, how is the race to be continued,

and these conversions made, when at his appearing believers are to be changed into the likeness of his glorious body, and the tares are to be burned up? We leave it with our Millenarian brethren to explain these difficulties. Upon our theory they do not bear. The whole matter is plain. When the blessed Spirit shall "convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment," the work will be done. Under his influence, the grain of mustard planted so long ago, shall grow until its branches fill the world—the leaven thrown into our corrupt world shall work until the whole be leavened. For that time we pray and labour in the use of the appointed means. May the Lord hasten it, according to his own good pleasure!

We wish now to call the attention of our readers to the cumulative nature of the argument hitherto pursued; each proposition involving its successor, and the whole deriving strength from their mutual support. (1) The gospel must be preached to all nations. This is too plain to be denied. It rests (2) upon the kingship of Jesus Christ, his possession of all power in heaven and on earth. His kingship implies (3) a throne, which can be none else than that of David, as no other is promised to the Mediator. The occupancy of David's throne is not literal but spiritual, and implies therefore (4) a spiritual kingdom—that spiritual kingdom must be (5) the Church. The Church being a spiritual body must be (6) preserved and propagated by moral and spiritual agency. And (7) that agency is to extend it throughout the world.

And in addition to this, our argument derives strength from the peculiar concurrence of both the Old and the New Testament, which it exhibits. The former tells us that the Gentiles are to be converted to the Lord, the latter sets us upon the work of preaching to them the gospel. The former promises us a king, the latter tells us he has come. The former gives him the throne of David, the latter tells us he is sitting upon it. The former tells us that under his reign the law of the Lord shall be written upon the hearts of the people, the latter affirms that "the kingdom of God is within you." The former tells us that he should redeem his people; the latter informs us that the *Church* is that body which he has purchased with his own blood. The former tells us "not by might nor by power, but

by my Spirit, saith the Lord;" the latter declares that "the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God, to the pulling down of strong holds." The former tells us that Christ shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth; the latter says that he is King of kings and Lord of lords. Now all this mass of evidence has to be set aside by our Millenarian brethren. And not only so, but the difficulties involved in explaining it away must be met and answered. If, for example, "it is necessary that the gospel should be first spoken to the Jews," they must tell us to what extent it "is necessary." If the necessity is absolute, then we must do nothing yet for the Gentiles—nay, we must withdraw our missionaries, and break up our schools—we must give all our strength to the Jews, yea, and must scour the world to find the lost tribes, and preach salvation to them before we dare make one offer of eternal life to the perishing heathen. If it is not absolute, then who is to decide how far we may divide our energies? What rule does the Bible give us on this subject? This single point, (and there are many more equally embarrassing) ought to show them that their position is entirely untenable.

And again, they have not only to explain away all this evidence, and answer all these difficulties, but they have to construct and establish a new and harmonious theory on all the points at issue. And their utter confusion here is to our mind the strongest possible evidence, that their principles are unsound. Some say that his coming may be within "three or four years," others say "at a considerable distance" and detail prophetic events yet to precede it, which may take up hundreds, or even thousands of years. Some limit his reign to one thousand years literally; others make it three hundred and sixty thousand; and others still "eternal." Some say that he will come to gather up the Jews; others that a considerable body of them shall be previously assembled and redispersed. Some hold that he will come to destroy the nations, others to convert them—some teach that he will re-establish sacrifices, and the whole Jewish ritual, others that this will not be done—some that the judgment of the wicked is to precede the Millennium, others that it will follow—some, that there are to be two resurrections

and two judgments, others that the transaction is one, spread out through the whole Millennial period—some, that at his coming all believers will be raised, others only a part—some, that there is to be a resurrection of witnesses long before his coming, others find no evidence of such an event—some, that the race is to “multiply for ever,” others that this is too gross a view of the subject. In short, the workmen upon Babel scarcely spoke a greater variety of tongues than do these brethren! And yet they are the men who take the Bible *literally*; and in reference to their opponents, deal out such words as “ignorance,” “prejudice,” “presumption,” “fanaticism,” “absurdity,” “hallucination,” &c., with a tone of confidence, which would become only an inspired writer!*

There is one other point, which ought to be noticed, before proceeding to treat of the success and prospects of the missionary enterprise. It is often objected, that the advocates of our views spiritualize every thing, and thus fritter away both the promises and the prophecies. We deny the charge. Neither in principle, nor in practice is it true. We have no abstract rule on the subject. We believe that no safe one can be laid down, except in very general terms. Both the literal and spiritual methods of interpretation are correct in their places, and apply to almost every subject, either of promise or prophecy. We claim both in support of our views. There is no part of them, which is not supported by direct and positive Scripture testimony. In proof of this we appeal to the texts adduced under our several propositions. Do they not, in the most plain and literal manner, teach the views stated, and that too almost in the identical words we have employed? We utterly deny, therefore, to the other side, whatever supposed advantage they may assume to themselves, on the ground of taking Scripture in a plain and literal sense. We claim this distinction as well as they, wherever the context and the analogy of faith will admit of such an interpretation.

At the same time, we are not limited to literalism. The Bible itself furnishes many examples of spiritual interpretation, which it is perfectly safe to follow, and upon which, in fact, our

* See Literary and Religious Journal, *passim*.

whole theory is constructed. The throne of David is promised to the Messiah, and in the Acts of the Apostles it is clearly taught that he now occupies that throne. Is this literally true? The second Psalm represents the nations as rebelling against their King; and in the New Testament, we are informed that this rebellion took place in their treatment of the "holy child Jesus." Was he not King at that time, only in a spiritual sense? And more than this, there are places in which David means Christ, Solomon means Christ, King means Christ, Sceptre means Christ, Star means Christ, Branch, Shiloh, Leader, Commander, Judge, all mean Christ. This cannot be denied, and yet are they not all true only in a spiritual sense? Why, then, may there not be other places in which Israel, Jew, Zion, Jerusalem, mean the Church or the spiritual people of God? especially when the inspired writers set us the example of using these terms with a spiritual signification. "They are not all Israel (spiritually) who are of Israel" naturally. He is not a Jew (spiritually) which is one outwardly, but he is a Jew which is one inwardly (spiritually). "Behold I lay in Zion (spiritually) a chief corner stone, elect, precious." Jerusalem which is above is free, which (spiritually) is the mother of us all. Call this what you please, figurative, typical, symbolical, or spiritual, is it not perfectly evident, that as David, Solomon, &c., mean Christ, so Israel, Zion, Jerusalem, &c., &c., mean the Church? What greater objection can there be to the latter, than to the former? Does not the very fact of using the former in such a sense, not only justify, but actually demand a similar interpretation of the latter?

To our mind this matter is clear, and may be expressed in few words. The Jews were the chosen people of God. David and Solomon were leading and favourite rulers among them—both eminent men, and the lineal progenitors of the Messiah, whom they typified in ruling over God's heritage. Hence they are made to represent him; and precisely the same thing is true of their kingdom and the Church over which Christ presides. We do not hold however, that these terms are always thus used. Far from it. In most instances, both sets retain their literal meaning. All we contend for here is, that they may, and sometimes must be understood spiritually, the par-

ticular instances to be determined as they arise. Our brethren themselves admit this as to the former, but deny it as to the latter; insisting that Israel, Zion, and Jerusalem, must be understood in a literal and local sense. We are convinced, however, that both sets stand on the same basis, and that they are at least so far spiritual as to preclude the idea of a visible throne or King, and also of any other kingdom than the Church on this side of the final coming of our Lord.

It is sometimes objected, that the actual success and prospects of missions do not corroborate the doctrines advocated above, nor in any measure fulfil the high expectations, which they naturally excite. Many believe that the effort of the Church to evangelize the world, if not a failure, has at most been crowned by a very limited success; and that her present operations afford but little hope for the future. In this we cannot concur. On the other hand, we maintain, and shall now endeavour to show, that the effort thus far has been remarkably successful, and that the prospects, when fairly considered, are glorious beyond description.

At the commencement of this century the missionary enterprise had scarcely made a beginning. In America, except the labours of David Brainerd, Elliott, and perhaps a few others, nothing had been done. In England, the Wesleyan, London, and Baptist Missionary Societies had been organized in 1786, 1792, and 1795, respectively; while in the very year last mentioned, we find the leading evangelical men of the Church of England gravely debating the question, "Is it practicable to send out a missionary? And if so, where?" Their society was not organized until the year 1800. Previous to these dates, the only societies in existence were the Gospel Propagation Society, and that of "The United Brethren," neither of which had accomplished very much at that time. Swartz, it is true, had run an illustrious career in Southern India, but that mission greatly declined after his death. With the exception, therefore, of a few incipient measures, the whole history of the enterprise is confined to the present century.

It then began, too, on a very small scale. The Baptist body sent out two or three men to India. The Church of England, one or two to Africa. The Wesleyans, two or three to the

West Indies. Every thing was to be learned by experience, both at home and abroad; and that too, with the limited information of that age as to the state of the world, and the slow and difficult communication with its different parts. From the very nature of the case, enlargement must have been slow at first. And yet these societies have grown. Others have been formed, both in Europe and America. Difficulties, which appeared insurmountable at first, have been overcome. More than two hundred foreign languages have been acquired, and the Scriptures either in whole or in part translated into the vernacular tongue of more than two-thirds of the heathen world. But this, and all the incidental effects of the enterprise, in alleviating misery, enlightening and civilizing nations by advancing education and commerce, scarce opens the account. We may look at actual conversions as the great evidence of success. There are now two hundred and fifty thousand hopeful converts in mission churches, while there are only about two thousand evangelical missionaries in the field. It will be seen at a glance, however, from the gradual growth of this work, that the actual amount of labour has been much less than might be at first supposed from the present number of labourers. Twenty-five years ago the number of foreign missionaries was not probably one-fourth of what it now is; so that if we would equalize the time actually given to this work among the present occupants of the field, it would not exceed fifteen, or at most twenty years to each one. That is, twenty years labour by two thousand individuals would more than equal all that has been spent on missionary ground. And as the result of this, two hundred and fifty thousand heathen converts are now praising God in newness of life. Where, we ask, is the page in the Church's history, which exhibits a more encouraging fact than this? Where are the two thousand ministers in this or any other country, whose labours have been more abundantly blessed? We do not believe they can be found even by making a special selection of the most useful in each denomination; and that too, notwithstanding their great advantages in the moral and intellectual state of the people—in the institution of the Christian Sabbath—in the existence of a Christian literature—in the facilities for Christian education—in the sanction

given to religion by an overwhelming public sentiment in its favour, and in the aid, which they must have received from having so many ministers and churches around them all striving to accomplish the same end; and notwithstanding, on the other hand, the immense disadvantages, under which our brethren abroad have laboured, in their ignorance of the language, religion, and habits of the people—in the destruction of health and energy by ungenial climates—and in the fact, that, as the heathen all have their own systems of religion, which they are taught from infancy to revere as divine, their consciences are not with the preacher, when he proclaims Jesus Christ, as they are in a Christian community. Considering all these things, we hazard nothing in the assertion that, as a whole, our foreign missionaries of the present century have been the most successful preachers who have lived for the last fifteen hundred years. It is true, this success has not been equally distributed in all parts of the field. In some places it has been much greater than in others; in some, as yet, almost nothing at all. But still our general statement is correct; and the fact, that the greatest success has been, where the field has been longest and most carefully cultivated, justifies the hope, that the day is not distant, when a similar harvest may be gathered even where the soil has hitherto proved most barren.

Should it be objected, however, that the preceding statements are too general, we are ready to verify them by descending into particulars. Take, for example, Northern India, which has been thought one of the most unproductive fields as to present fruits, and where peculiar and very great obstacles meet our brethren. We have before us a statement drawn up by a labourer on the ground, and submitted to the missionary conference in Calcutta, showing the gradual increase, and at the same time the increasing ratio of progress made by Christianity since 1793. Dividing the whole time into periods of ten years, there were 27, 161, 403, 677, and 1045 hopeful conversions in each respectively; and the annual average of the present term, justifies the expectation that at least 2500 will be added before its close. These returns are from sixty stations, and will, we are persuaded, bear a very fair comparison with the average growth

of religion in our own country. The average increase of the Presbyterian Church for the last ten years, including all who have come on certificate from other bodies, has been three and three-quarters per cent. per annum, on her present ministry; and in India where there could be no additions from abroad, the growth of the church has been two and a half per cent. on the number of men employed.

The missionary work, then, has not been a failure; it has not been unsuccessful even. Considering the deadness of the churches, the meagre effort they have made, the little self denial they have practised, we feel constrained to give thanks to God, that he has granted far greater success than we had any right to expect. His goodness should not only silence objection, but overwhelm every pious heart with gratitude. And if we are not mistaken, both his promises, (some of which have been cited), and his providences, (now to be noticed), indicate that still brighter days are near at hand. Why has India been given to England? Here is a country embracing about one-fourth of the heathen population of the world—they are now a half-civilized people—under a Christian government—having many thousand Europeans living among them—having constant intercourse with civilized nations—having wholesome laws and a system of education, which is rapidly raising them above the point when they can be bound by the absurd and grievous chains of falsehood—and having among them a devoted band of missionaries, who travel every where without molestation, preach to millions every year, print and distribute God's word as they please, establish schools and colleges just as the means are given them; in short, are straining every nerve to lead the people to Christ, and to raise up an educated ministry, who may push forward the conquests of the gospel. Who does not see, that soon this whole nation must be disenthralled? They cannot continue to be bound in chains of darkness, when light, both moral and intellectual, is pouring in upon them from ten thousand sources. None of us may live to see the day, but every indication is, that they must become either Christian or infidel. Let the former be the case, as we believe it will, and what a breach is at once made in Satan's empire! what a province is

rescued from his grasp! what a reinforcement is brought into the Church! How incalculable will be their influence on all the nations round! Lord, hasten it, in thy good time! Do not his providences point to this result?

Nor is this all. The walls of China having been broken down, its ports are thrown open to the commerce of the world and the enterprise of the Church, whose agents have already entered, and are bringing light to bear where only darkness has reigned for ages past. Africa has her colonies, already powerful, and likely to grow into colossal republics, which shall carry at once the blessings of liberty and religion to millions of her dying sons. Papal Europe is convulsed to its very centre, heaving to and fro to cast off the chains of Popery; thousands in France, Italy, Belgium, Ireland, are inquiring eagerly for the word of God; the Man of Sin is groaning and gasping as if in his last agonies. Our own beloved country is extending her institutions to the shores of the Pacific; her distant colonies are brought, and through them herself, into immediate vicinage with two-thirds of the heathen world. Who can calculate, whereto these things will lead? We have not time nor space to enlarge. Their bearing on the Church is too obvious to require any enlargement. It is God, who is doing it all, whatever the part which wicked men may have acted. The cloud of his mercies, from which precious drops have always been coming, now hangs heavy over the Church, and is ready, if she be faithful, to burst in showers of blessings. He is saying almost in an audible voice, as to Israel of old, "Go up and possess the land." Only let us obey his command, let us go forward, putting our trust in him, and we shall see what God will do for Zion.

There is another encouraging view of this subject, which ought to be presented, viz., the growth of the Church herself, and of the missionary spirit in the Church within the present century. In the year 1800, the Presbyterian Church in America consisted of about three hundred ministers, five hundred churches, and (taking the present average per church as a guide) forty thousand communicants. In 1850, it consists of 2160 ministers, (including licentiates in both instances), 2569 churches, and 207,254 communicants. If we add our New-school brethren, which we think is but fair in estimating the

growth of the Church from that germ, it will make 3743 ministers, 4124 churches, and 346,301 communicants, showing an average annual increase of seventy-four ministers, eighty-two churches, and six thousand nine hundred and sixteen members. These statistics certainly exhibit great prosperity. Similar, and perhaps even greater increase has been made in other branches of Zion. The Baptist and Methodist denominations, which were then much smaller, now greatly outnumber us. The Episcopal, Congregational, Cumberland Presbyterian, and various other smaller bodies have also rapidly advanced. So too, in England, Scotland, the North of Ireland, and on the continent of Europe, the number of evangelical Christians has greatly multiplied, and among them all, the spirit of missions has grown at an equal pace. Under God, they constitute now a mighty and rapidly growing host.

If then nothing had been done abroad, if we had now to commence anew, as to our foreign operations, we should have a far more powerful and efficient body to enter upon the work than we had fifty years ago. Add to this the fact that they are now a marshalled host, that they have their agents at work in almost every country, that their hearts are intently set upon this great work, as that, above all others, for which they live, that they are giving at this time not less than seven or eight millions of dollars per annum to carry it forward; that they have entered upon it not as a settled duty merely, but as a delightful privilege; that children, property, home, pleasure, honour, are all freely sacrificed for its promotion; that there has been a rapidly growing interest, which is likely to continue increasing, and to lead on to far greater efforts; take in all these things, and it is impossible to conceive what such a body, so organized and under such a leader cannot accomplish. They can do everything, through Jesus Christ, which strengtheneth them. Then will not this work go forward? God is stirring up the Church to unusual activity, and is preparing the way for the accomplishment of his eternal purposes of love to our race. Arise then, Brethren, and work while the day lasts. Let us seize the opportunity, and give to the nations that blessed gospel in which we hope, and without which they perish for ever.

Finally, the views taken in these pages, present this subject in no novel light. In fact, the church has no new theory to learn in reference to this great work. Her principles are fixed, and have been so for ages past. We have felt continually cramped by the idea, that the very obviousness of the views presented would almost discourage our readers from the perusal of what has been said. That the commission is to teach all nations without distinction, that Christ is now a King, that he occupies the throne of David, that his kingdom is spiritual, that that kingdom is the Church, that the agencies for preserving and enlarging it are purely moral and spiritual, (except of course, God's providential control of all things) and that it is to spread over the whole earth, are truths which the Christian world has believed from the times of the Apostles until now. We believe they are as scriptural, as they have been universal. If this has been shown, and thus anything done to prevent the church from leaving the foundation of her faith, or any thing said to encourage her in her work, our labour will not have been in vain. Our own heart has been reassured and comforted at every step in the investigation. And we feel that there is need at this time of reaffirming these plain and familiar truths. They are all either in fact or in spirit contravened by a theory, which turns both the missionary and the philological world upside down; teaching that "it is necessary that the gospel should first be spoken unto the Jew," that Christ is in no proper sense a King, and has no kingdom of his own now; that when he obtains one, it will be in the form of a visible reign over the earth; that it will be set up by his "personal interference," and that, instead of the church spreading her light over the world, the shades of darkness are to grow deeper and deeper, until the brightness of his coming shall suddenly burst upon it.

There is certainly a wide difference here; and should these sentiments, which seem all to grow out of one dogma—literal interpretation, become general, they cannot fail to exert a powerful, and, as we believe, baneful influence on the cause of Missions. If these brethren are right, the church is indeed feeding "on unwarrantable expectations." We have been going backward, instead of forward, for the last fifty years.

Every advance which has been made in enlightening the world, must be retraced, so that a deeper and deepening darkness may overspread the nations until the Son of Man come.

ART. II.—*Æcolampadius*.—The Reformation at Basle.

Æcolampade le Reformateur de Basle: par J. J. Herzog, Docteur en Theologie et Professeur a l'Université de Halle: traduit de l'Allemand par A. De Maestrel, ministre de l'Eglise libre du Canton de Vaud. Neuchatel, 1849.

THIS is a valuable addition to the biography of the Reformation. It is one of the issues of a book society at Neuchatel, formed a few years ago, for the purpose of translating and circulating through French Switzerland the choicest productions of the evangelical writers of Germany. The present volume purports to be only a translation; but the fact is, that the materials of the original work have been recast in a French mould, and under the immediate eye of the biographer himself. As a native of Basle, Dr. Herzog would naturally feel an interest in her reformer, while his cordial love for the principles of the Reformation, and the nature of his professional studies qualify him for the task of writing his history. For ten years he held the chair of Church History in the Academy of Lausanne; but at the call of God he abandoned his dignified status and comfortable salary as professor, and cast in his lot with the demissionary pastors of the Canton de Vaud, who, like their brethren in Scotland, (though amid severer trials,) gave so impressive a testimony to the spiritual independence of the Church of Christ. After his secession from the national establishment, Dr. Herzog superintended the studies of the few theological students, who adhered to the infant Free Church of the Canton, until he was called by the king of Prussia to occupy the position, which he now holds in the University of Halle.

In preparing the present volume, Dr. Herzog first of all engaged in a thorough study of the various publications of the Reformer, consisting of translations from the fathers, doctrinal, liturgical, and expository treatises and sermons, with a view to

trace the successive phases of his spiritual experience. Of these materials he has made a much more satisfactory use than any previous biographer. He has also largely availed himself of the Reformer's correspondence, a considerable portion of which has been brought to light by his own researches. At Basle, Strasburg, and Schaffhausen, it appears that a great many letters of *Ecolampadius* have been preserved, which not only reveal the character of the man in his public and private relations, but also cast much light upon the events of those stirring times. But for the labours of Dr. Herzog, these precious documents, as valuable to the historian as the biographer, would probably have remained undisturbed in their dusty repositories. Besides these sources of information, Dr. Herzog had access to two important MSS. chronicles of the times, which he was also the means of drawing from obscurity—one by the chartulary *George*, who adhered to Rome and saw things from the Romish standpoint, the other by *Fredolin Ryff*, a zealous friend of the Reformation.

Machiavelli is said to have expressed the belief, that from amid the Alpine fastnesses a race of conquerors would issue, at no very distant day, who would succeed in overturning the existing kingdoms of Europe, and found a new empire of the West. His anticipation, suggested in part, perhaps, by his republican sympathies, though based mainly on the military character of the Swiss, and on the position of their romantic land, like a vast natural fortress, in the very heart of the continent, has been realized, but in a widely different and far nobler sense than he imagined. If the Saxon Reformer had not appeared, the glad tidings of a pure gospel, which *Zwingle* (taught by the selfsame Spirit, who wrought so effectually in *Luther*) proclaimed from the Alpine mountains, must in due time have reached the dwellers on the plains of Germany, and of the distant islands of the sea. Be this as it may, Switzerland was unquestionably one of the original centres of the Reformation; and among the Swiss cities that took an early and active share in the movement, Basle deserves a distinguished rank.

For some centuries before the Reformation, Basle was governed by a prince bishop, under a politico-religious constitution,

similar to that of other cities within the old German empire. The popular element, however, early became influential; at one period it was the main-stay of the hierarchy, as at a later it was the main cause of its overthrow. The struggle between the commons on the one hand, and the nobility, with the dignified clergy on the other, was prolonged during the whole of the fifteenth century. The popular cause was strengthened by the entrance of Basle into the Swiss Confederation in 1501; the citizens thereby gained important civil rights, while the power of the bishop was considerably circumscribed. In 1524, the municipal council, whose members had been until then appointed by the bishop, was constituted on a popular basis, and at the same time, acquired the various prerogatives previously divided between the emperor, the nobility, and the bishop. The Christian will not fail to recognize in these political changes, the Divine hand preparing Basle to become a nursing mother of the Reformation cause during the days of its feeble infancy. Whether these newly gained franchises would have essentially bettered the condition of the Balois, in the long run, if the Reformation had not so soon followed, is somewhat questionable; but there can be no doubt, that as the revolution in the state opened the way for reforms in the church, so reform, in turn, gave permanence to the benefits resulting from the revolution.

Dr. Herzog discusses at considerable length the moral and social, as well as the political condition of Basle, prior to the Reformation. With some peculiar traits of character derived from the position of their city, from the nature of their institutions, and the military habits of the Swiss, the Balois exhibited in the main, the same moral and social features observable in the population of other French and German cities. They had a good deal of commercial enterprise; they were noted for their persevering activity, public spirit, love of liberty, and reverence for law. *Æneas Silvius*, (afterwards known as Pope Pius II.) who resided for some time at Basle, has left quite a lively picture of the manners of the period. He describes the little wooden chapels, where the women paid their devotions, after disrobing themselves to a degree that would now be deemed rather scandalous; and the pastimes, in which the men indulged of a pleasant afternoon, beneath the shade of their spreading

elms. But with all this fair show, Basle was not exempt from the moral corruption that reigned throughout western Christendom. Drunkenness, profanity, impurity, abounded in her, as in the other commercial cities of Europe. Of course, it was like people, like priest; indeed the morals of the clergy were so depraved, and their ignorance so gross, that the whole order from bishop to begging friar had fallen into extreme contempt. In the city and suburbs, there were no less than two hundred and thirty ecclesiastics; an immense number for so small a community.

The position, which for many centuries the Mass has held in the worship of the Romish church, renders it unnecessary that her priests should be preachers; the altar has in a great measure displaced the pulpit. Still, it is quite certain, as Neander shows, that the pulpit of the middle ages, was not without its influence for good; indeed there is reason to think, that it was one of the chief means of feeding the flame of spiritual life, which, though feeble and flickering, was never totally extinguished. With a liturgy in a dead language, edification was impossible; but a sermon addressed to the people in their mother tongue, even when its staple consisted of idle legends, might contain some crumbs of precious gospel truth, some quotations of Holy Scripture, which would minister nourishment to hungry souls. Basle appears to have been favoured with some preachers of tolerable merit. One of them named Surgant, wrote a *Manuale Pastorum*, in which, among other things, he exhorts his brethren to guard against exciting the mirthfulness of their hearers; an advice, which the worthy author, who seems to have been quite a humorist, found it much easier to give to others than to observe himself. In order to keep his audience awake, he would sometimes treat them to a lively story, or a fable like that of the fox and the crane. At the end of each division of his sermon, he would announce, "I am now done with firstly or secondly, if any one wants to cough or to blow his nose, now is the time." But with all his waggery, his *Manuale* is not wanting in sound sense, and in evidences of serious feeling. "The sermon," says he, "is the means, which contributes most to the conversion of souls;" and he severely censures those, who fancied that because the

preaching talent is a gift of God, the preacher need not laboriously prepare himself for the pulpit. There was another and still more remarkable preacher at Basle—Henry de Nordlingen. In his sermons, his great aim seems to have been to arouse the consciences, and search the hearts of his hearers. The church was invariably thronged, whenever he appeared in the pulpit. Though he laboured to excite and nourish a true religious life, he managed so prudently as never to draw upon himself the suspicion of heresy; a circumstance all the more surprising, inasmuch as the result of his ministry was the gathering of a body of real Christians under the name of the Friends of God, who, though they never formally abandoned the Romish communion, protested against many of its corruptions. For the sake of avoiding these, as well as for mutual edification, they formed themselves into little societies, or *ecclesiolas in ecclesia*. As we get near the era of the Reformation, we meet with other tokens of the existence of real piety. For instance, there was the association called “The Brothers of the Common Life,” which endeavoured to get the mass translated into German, a scheme vigorously opposed by the priests, from the well-grounded fear, lest familiarity should breed contempt. In 1514, a “Preparation for the Communion” was published at Basle, abounding in passages like the following: “Come quickly, O Lord! Thou in whom my heart delights, that I may be glad in Thee. O Thou, the eternal treasure of my soul, show me the way to Thyself, for to Thee all my desires are directed. As the workman longs for his reward and his rest, so longs my soul for Thee.”

Basle was the seat of a University, founded in 1458, under the pontificate of Pius II., who took a lively interest in its welfare. Like most of the universities of that age, it was endowed with large privileges and immunities, its members being under a special jurisdiction, and thus constituted a sort of *imperium in imperio*. In a small community like Basle, the two jurisdictions, civil and academic, could hardly fail to come in conflict; in course of time contests did arise, which resulted in the University losing a large share of its original power. The relation between the school and the church would be, of course, very intimate; the bishop was the chancellor, and most of the professors were of the clerical order. As might be

expected, the Reformation found little sympathy among these academies. Not a few of them were famed for their scholarship; but the most splendid ornaments of the University were Reuchlin, the great Hebraist of his day, and Erasmus, who had been attracted to Basle through the influence of the enterprising publisher Frobenius, from whose press were issued the earlier editions of his Greek Testament—the basis of the *textus receptus*—his Annotations, and other works. Here Erasmus spent his happiest and most useful days, and it was with extreme reluctance that he bade farewell to Basle, after it assumed a decidedly Protestant character.

When the startling notes of Luther's protest against indulgences were heard at Basle, they instantly called forth a responsive echo. Lumpurger, Capito, Pellican, a part of the council, and a large number of the people, promptly proclaimed their sympathy with the Reformer. Even Bishop Uttenheim shared their feelings. This venerable man had long laboured to revive true religion; he approved of Luther's zeal against indulgences, and from an inscription which he placed on one of his cathedral windows, (*Spes mea Crux Christi, Gratiam non Opera quaero*) he seems to have understood the true doctrine of justification. Zwingle's influence, too, was powerfully felt. So early as 1520 Capito wrote, "our affairs grow better daily, our principles have taken hold of so many souls that no earthly power can eradicate them." In 1522, a German version of the New Testament was published at Basle, only a few months after its appearance at Wittenberg. Promising, however, as was the dawn, it was not all sunshine; the victory of the gospel in this city, though a bloodless one, was preceded by a long, earnest, and at times, doubtful struggle. In 1521, the partizans of Rome began to act on the aggressive, and such was their power, that Roblin, a preacher of more zeal than prudence, was banished from the city, in spite of the vigorous efforts of his friends on his behalf. The Reformers were thus taught the necessity of caution in their future movements.

Such was the state of things at Basle, when there came to it a youthful stranger of modest demeanour, warm piety, ripe learning, who, after a long and laborious preparation for the priesthood, had been ordained a short time previous to his

arrival. He had been induced to come chiefly through the urgent entreaties of Bishop Uttenheim and of Erasmus, the former being greatly taken with his piety and eloquence as a preacher, while the latter wished to avail himself of his learning as a Hebrew scholar. We of course refer to *ÆCOLAMPADIUS*. The banner of Reform had been already unfurled in this city, yet was he the Lord's chosen instrument of leading on to victory those noble souls who had gathered under it, and though cut down before reaching the prime of manhood, he lived long enough to earn the glorious appellation of the Reformer of Basle. He was the Melancthon of Switzerland. In his intellectual and moral qualities, his modesty, gentleness, love of peace, eagerness for union, academic tastes, fondness for a meditative rather than an active life, tendency to melancholy, relish for letters, and exquisite scholarship—he bore a great resemblance to Luther's great friend and ally. Of all positions, that of a revolutionary leader, whether in church or state, was the last one that *Æcolampadius* would have chosen to assume. If he had dared to follow his own inclinations, his life would have been spent in the quietude of the academy rather than amid the turbulence of the arena, in converse with books instead of contests with men. He was inclined to look with profound veneration upon everything that bore the marks of hoary antiquity, and hence the reluctance—we may almost call it—with which he abandoned the Romish church, and severed one by one the ties which bound him to her communion. Among all the continental Reformers, none were less disposed than he to cast aside old forms, simply because they were old, or to introduce novelties merely for the purpose of making the Protestant worship as unlike the Popish as possible. In short, his tendencies and tastes, if yielded to, would have repelled him from the rude work and rough ways of the Reformer; and his life supplies one of the many illustrations of the fact that the Lord often chooses instruments, which in human view are most unsuitable for the accomplishment of his designs.

The original name of the Reformer was John Hauschein, or as some say, Heussgen. His father was a resident of Weinsberg, in Wittemberg, but his mother was a native of Basle, and was related to one of the oldest and most respectable families of the city. She appears to have been a woman of rare quali-

ties of mind and heart, refined in manners, intelligent, and truly pious; and there can be no doubt that she had much to do with the moulding the character and forming the principles of her distinguished son. His parents were in easy circumstances; and as all their other children died in infancy, it was natural that their affections should be concentrated upon the only one spared to them, with a special intensity.

John Hausehein was born in A. D. 1492, and was originally destined for mercantile pursuits; but as he early evinced that he possessed mental gifts of a high order, his mother was very urgent that he should receive a liberal education. From the schools of his native village, he was in due time transferred to those of Heilbron, and from thence to Heidelberg, where he was noted as well for the singular purity of his morals, as for his genius and learning. It was at this period that his academic friends gave him the name (by which he is known in history) of *Æcolampadius*,* in testimony of their estimate of his worth, and of their hopes of his future eminence as a teacher of divine truth. Having received his bachelor's degree, he repaired to Bologna, the seat of the most famous university of that age, but after a stay of six months, the failure of his health forced him to return to Heidelberg. Even at this early period, the seeds of a true piety appear to have been planted in his heart; he longed for spiritual nourishment, and finding none in the subtleties of the schoolmen, he turned with eagerness to the Fathers, and to the mystic writers of the middle ages.

His worth could not long remain hid. Philip Count Palatine appointed him tutor to his son; but the position, though a brilliant one, was not congenial to his tastes; his love of study overcame his ambition. Prompted by an unquenchable thirst for learning, and anxious to fit himself completely for the sacred office, he went to Tübingen, where he was admitted to the intimate friendship of Melancthon; and from thence to Stuttgart, where he was received with equal kindness by Reuchlin. At length the good old Bishop Uttenheim, anxious to secure for Basle the services of so ripe a scholar and able

* This is just his own proper name graecised, and signifies "the light of the house." Melancthon owed his historical name to the same custom.

preacher, gave him a place in the cathedral of that city. Here he became acquainted with Erasmus, who was then engaged with his Commentary on the New Testament, and who derived important help from his young friend's intimate knowledge of Hebrew.

Of his first residence at Basle, 1515-6, little is known beyond the fact that he was admitted a member of the University and a licentiate of theology. Want of health again compelled him to return to Weinsberg, and to cease from all public labour. He devoted himself during this season of retirement, to the careful study of the Hebrew; he also published a tract *De Paschali risu*, in condemnation of the broad humour with which the Easter sermons of the day abounded, and strange to say, he wrote a tragedy containing six thousand lines. His piety during this early part of his ministry was sincere, but so very sombre, that his friends often rallied him about his superstition; which was to be ascribed in part to his physical distempers, though the main cause of it was his imperfect knowledge of the way of salvation. So soon as his health would permit, he went back to Basle, at the earnest request of Erasmus, who was getting out the second edition of his New Testament, and wanted his help; but after a sojourn of a few months, (1518) he removed to Augsburg, having been appointed one of the preachers of that city.

Here it was that he first met Luther, who came to Augsburg in May 1519, to confer with the Papal legate, and by him Æcolampadius was "instructed in the way of the Lord more perfectly." With true Christian promptitude he at once placed himself by the side of the Reformer. The Lord had been long training him for a glorious work, but his education was not yet complete; for though he had learned the grand central truth of the gospel—of free justification through the blood and righteousness of the Son of God, he still had much of the Romanist about him, as was proved by the next important step of his life. On the 23d of April 1520, to the surprise of all his friends, and the disgust of many of them, he entered the monastery of St. Bridget. He was prompted by no selfish consideration to take this step, but by the sincere though ill-founded hope of being in a more favourable position to cultivate personal holiness. "I had," said he,

“a fair prospect of being something, if I had remained in the world.” He carried with him into the monastery the new views which he had learned during his intimacy with Luther, and a hearty sympathy with the cause of the Reformer. “If they condemn Luther,” said he, “they must first condemn Holy Scripture.” As was to be expected, his brother monks soon discovered that the new comer was a most uncomfortable member of their society, with tastes and ideas utterly remote from theirs; while Ecolampadius himself found in regard to conventual life, “‘tis distance lends enchantment to the view.” While in the monastery he preached, and afterwards published some sermons on the Eucharist, containing such a mixture of truth and error as might be looked for, considering the state of his mind: with error enough to show that he was groping in the dark, truth enough to show that he was groping in the right direction, and more than enough to render his presence very unwelcome to his ignorant and superstitious associates. For instance, he taught that the body and blood of Christ are present under the forms of bread and wine, and that an appropriating faith is necessary in order to communion with God in the holy supper. But the immediate cause of his quitting the convent, was the publication of a tract on Confession, the tenor of which may be learned from a single sentence—“they (the priests) are blind leaders of the blind; remember you are a Christian enfranchised by the Holy Ghost.”

In 1522 he abandoned the monastery, and having some hope of being appointed professor of theology at Basle, he returned to the city, which was destined to be the scene of his labours henceforward till the close of life. No one, as we have before hinted, can fail to see the hand of God in the events thus hastily detailed; in the repeated removals of Ecolampadius from Basle, and his consequent separation from Erasmus at a time when the influence of that fine scholar, but lukewarm reformer, might have been alike powerful and pernicious; in his residence at Augsburg and acquaintance with Luther; in his entering the convent, and his personal experience of monastic life. Who can doubt, that the Lord was thus training him for the work, which he was honoured to accomplish as the Reformer of Basle? He reached there at a critical moment, and was just the man needed

to guide the movement then in progress; he was not a stranger, he had many warm friends in Basle; he understood the character of the people; he was a ripe and a popular preacher, and his own religious experience fitted him to appreciate and deal with the difficulties encountered by others in their progress from darkness to light. Yet his task was not an easy one. While many of the citizens gave him a cordial welcome, the priests and professors looked with an evil eye on the monk, who had cast aside his cowl and his vows; even his old patron the bishop, and his old friend Erasmus received him coldly. In these circumstances his chances of getting a professorship were very small. Indeed, during the first year, he had no office of any kind; yet it was a memorable year in his history, for in the course of it, he was brought into contact with Zwingli, whose influence mightily quickened his progress in the path of reform, and who more than any other person helped to give the system of faith and worship afterwards established at Basle, its peculiar features. After waiting nearly two years for employment, and when just ready to despair of finding it, the door of entrance into the University was suddenly opened for him, in consequence of a dispute between the council and the professors, which resulted in the deposition of two of the latter. Their places were instantly filled by Æcolampadius and Pellican. The chair of the former was that of Biblical learning; the one of all others for which he was best suited. He began his course of lectures with Isaiah, and long before he had reached the middle of it, his lecture room was unable to hold the crowd of students and citizens who flocked thither, all eager to hear the learned and eloquent expositor.

In writing to a friend at Zurich, (August 30th, 1523,) Erasmus says: "Æcolampadius has the upper hand of us all." Soon after this was penned, an event occurred which showed that Erasmus had not misjudged; a country curate long noted for his looseness, married his housekeeper, to the great satisfaction of his parish. Of course, so plain a violation of ecclesiastical law, could not fail to make considerable stir. The case came before the council, on the petition of the curate for a legal sanction of his marriage; and thus the important question was raised, whether the law of celibacy should be en-

forced or annulled. Whether or not the council sought advice from other theologians, is uncertain; at all events, it was the opinion of *Æcolampadius* that decided their action. He told them that the law in question conflicted with the law of Christ; and the result was, that from that day the Balois clergy in the matter of marriage, were left free.

Beside his academic position, the reformer consented to assume that of pastor of St. Martins. In entering upon this new charge, he frankly told the council, that he must be allowed to preach the word with all freedom, and would not consider himself bound to observe useless or pernicious ceremonies. And in his first sermon, (February 24th, 1525,) he told his people with equal plainness, "I mean to preach to you the word of God alone, the word of God in its purity. As for the usages of the Fathers, I hold them to be of small account; most of them are only snares for conscience. I do not mean to lay burdens on your consciences, about days, meats, &c. We promise at the same time to make no changes without consulting the proper authorities."

The limits of this article will not allow us to give a detailed account of the progress of the reformation at Basle, or of the various contests in which the reformer was forced to engage on its behalf. The Papists were not the only enemies, with whom he was obliged to fight. For several years (1524-9,) the Anabaptists, with their political radicalism and religious fanaticism, gave *Æcolampadius* and the council of Basle a vast deal of trouble. One of them, named *Denk*, who for some time resided at Basle as a corrector of the press, and the notorious *Munzer*, so grossly abused the kindness and hospitality of the reformer, that he found it necessary to clear himself from the vile reports which these men had spread abroad respecting his sympathy with their views. The extravagance of the Anabaptists had this bad effect, that it alarmed many timid minds, and quenched the rising spirit of inquiry; still, it was the occasion of good, inasmuch as it compelled the reformers generally, to publish very full and accurately defined formulas of their doctrinal views.

But the contest with Luther, on the subject of the Eucharist, was in many respects the most painful of all those, in which

Æcolampadius found it necessary to engage. From his peculiar position at Basle, and his relation to Wittemberg, and Zurich, it seemed for awhile, as if he was destined to be a mediator between the two parties in that unhappy controversy, which destroyed the visible unity of the church of the Reformation, and arrayed her members into two hostile factions. But with all his excellence, he was not equal to the exigency; perhaps no man, however great his piety, learning, moderation, and tact, could have prevented the split; yet the strife might possibly have been less bitter, if the reformer of Basle had declined to join either side. Unhappily for such a result, he had a lurking tendency to that spurious spirituality, which undervalues all external means of grace. Thus he regarded the ordinance of the Supper as *per se* a hindrance, rather than a means of grace; as a form, from which the Christian should seek to be freed, rising above it to immediate fellowship with God. "Believers," said he, "should use the sacraments more for their neighbours' sake than their own. For themselves they are already under the influence of the Holy Spirit, they are free, they are purified, they are justified, and being one with Christ, the kingdom of God is already within them." Now while it is deeply to be regretted, that occasion was given for the contest between Switzerland and Germany about the ordinance, which is at once the feast of Christian love, and the symbol of Christian unity, yet when we weigh all the circumstances of the discussion, we think that there are not wanting grounds for thankfulness, that Luther so stoutly opposed the doctrine of Zurich. The storm, indeed, left many a trace of its desolating march; yet we are inclined to believe that the atmosphere was thereby rendered purer than it would have been, if no such war of the elements had occurred. The germ of rationalism thus early developed in the system of Zwingli, if not entirely eradicated, was at least in a measure, and for a time repressed.

The promise of Æcolampadius, when installed pastor of St. Martins, not to change, *mero motu*, the established forms of worship, was faithfully kept. For a long time he contented himself with announcing from the pulpit, his new views of doctrine and worship. At length the time came for reducing them to practice. The first step was the introduction of a reformed lit-

urgy of the Holy Supper; the change, however, was not to be made without an earnest resistance on the part of the adherents to Rome, who just then began to hope that they might regain the whole of their lost ground. Indeed the reformed cause in Switzerland put on a very gloomy aspect. The burning of the convent of Ittengen had roused the Romanists almost to madness: while their hopes of success were raised to a high pitch, by the treaty concluded between Charles V. and Francis, in which these monarchs bound themselves to labour for the extirpation of the new-born heresy. While these dark clouds were gathering over the good cause, the Reformer not at all dismayed by them, went to Baden to meet Dr. Eck, and other able and learned opposers of the gospel, in a public discussion. Here he made a very favourable impression, even on the minds of his auditors most hostile to his views: and during the progress of the debate, they were heard to whisper to each other, "Ah! if we only had that yellow-looking man on our side, to defend our religion!"

On his return to Basle he published a more extended liturgy, and introduced the practice of singing the Psalms in German. The last was a most popular measure, and greatly helped the cause of Reformation. The hymns were not as melodious as they might have been, and the Papists made much sport of them; but they supplied a long felt want of thousands of pious hearts. As dangers thickened, the activity of the Reformer was redoubled; he preached every day, he composed and published a Catechism for children, and during the prevalence of the plague in 1526, he devoted himself with unwearied constancy to the sick and dying. Meanwhile the councils swayed, pendulum-like, now to this side, now to that, and they might have continued in this Laodicean state for a long time, if the burghers had not at last taken the thing into their own hands. On the 22d of October, 1527, about four hundred citizens met to consult about what should be done to terminate the differences between the Reformed and the Romish preachers. They applied to the council, and were told that all the corporations should be assembled on the next Sunday to deliberate on the affair. In the meantime, as the council showed a disposition to postpone the meeting, a large body of citizens assembled,

and in a sudden fit of iconoclastic rage, swept the churches of the old objects of superstition. Every effort was made by the Reformers to moderate the zeal of their friends, but it was of little avail for a time, in consequence of the furious denunciations of the priests. Both parties flew to arms, and a single spark might have kindled a terrible conflagration; but they were at length induced to forbear, and appoint a large joint commission. So thoroughly had the mass of citizens become imbued with the reformed opinions, that a change was inevitable; yet it was not easy to make it: the Romanists were numerous and zealous; the council was divided; many of its members, though friendly to reform, were afraid of moving too fast and too far, and thus of bringing down the political edifice as well as the ecclesiastical. Wearied at last with the slow movements of the commission, the citizens met and demanded that the Catholic members of the council should resign or be expelled; and after some parleying, the demand was yielded to. From that moment the ties, which had so long bound the city to Rome, were sundered; the Reformation was triumphant, and the regenerated church of Basle entered upon a new career. This final blow to the Papacy was given on the 9th of February, 1528.

Early in the year following, Erasmus bade farewell to the city where he had spent so many happy days. A great crowd attended the venerable scholar to the vessel, on which he set out for Friburg. His affection for Æcolampadius, as before mentioned, sensibly abated, when the latter abandoned the monastic life, and finally fixed his residence at Basle. The Reformer still retained a warm regard for his old friend, and in one of his academic lectures made a very kind and respectful reference to the services he had rendered to the cause of letters; but the only effect of it upon Erasmus was to call forth a petulant and even insulting remark. His writings contain many passages richly laden with the sweet savour of the gospel, and which might lead us to infer that, with all his faults, he was not a stranger to God's renewing grace. Be this as it may, as a public man he was evidently unequal to the stirring times in which he lived. To the cause of sacred letters he rendered important services, and for these he merits all the fame he has acquired. But this is the only ground, on which his name deserves to be held in

grateful remembrance. He was a scholar, perhaps the first scholar of his age; but only a scholar. Nothing could induce him to link himself with any enterprise, which threatened to interfere with his literary pursuits, or to rob him of that learned leisure of which he was so fond. The grievous corruptions of the Roman church he admitted, and deplored; the moral disorders of the age he attacked with all the weapons which wit, satire, eloquence, learning, could supply; he made the fat monk and the ignorant priest the laughing stock of Europe. But when others of a more earnest temper sought to remove the abuses which were the themes of his eloquent invective, and to eradicate the cause of them, by diffusing the light of gospel truth, he, in turn, denounced them in the face of Europe, as guilty of fanaticism and folly. To the glorious title of Reformer he has no claim; for he never handled any weapon in the cause of reform but his pen, and he was very cautious how he used it. In the field of action he accomplished nothing, and was ever opposing those who did bring about great results. He never even attempted to give effect to his own theoretical views of reform; although, it must be confessed, that if they had been carried out, the root of the evil would have remained untouched, and the condition of the church would not have been essentially changed.

Romanism having been overthrown, the council and the citizens addressed themselves to the important work of reconstructing the church of Basle on the foundation of the Apostles and prophets; and to this end a Synod was called, to which the other Cantons were invited to send delegates. By the 1st of April 1529, the council thus aided had digested a set of ordinances containing a platform of doctrine, discipline, and worship; a very brief account of which is all that our limits will admit.

The document bears the title of "Order of the city of Basle, to be observed in town and country, in which the abuses we have rejected are replaced by a true worship." In the preface it is said, "It is not enough to remove abuses, but we must so regulate things that we can derive from them a Christian life. Hence the following rules, the making of which properly belonged to our ecclesiastical superiors, and which would have been made by them if they had had the salvation of our souls at heart."

The first article respects *Preaching*, and contains a synopsis of doctrine. "It is necessary to preach Christ as God manifest in the flesh, the only Saviour, the only Mediator." The others have reference chiefly to matters of order. A board of examiners was appointed to examine candidates for the ministry. Two professors of theology were chosen, one for the Old Testament, the other for the New. The number of parishes was reduced to four.

Even the days and hours of divine service are carefully fixed. "The Christian soul," says the order, "can no more do without the word of God, than the body can want its daily bread." Accordingly on Sunday, it was ordained that there should be "a prayer service at an early hour in five of the churches for the benefit of travellers and servants." The chief service of the day was held at 8 A. M.; at noon there was sermon in the Cathedral and the Cordeliers; and at 4 P. M., preaching in the Cathedral. On all the other days of the week there was sermon in the Cathedral at 9 A. M.; and an exposition by one of the professors at 3 P. M. Books, religious periodicals, and even Bibles were not so plentiful then as now, but the Balois reformers certainly did their best to supply the lack.

The article relative to the Eucharist was more extended than any other. As might be expected, its tone was decidedly Zwinglian; and it is therefore all the more surprising that the ordinance was ordered to be observed, not only on the four great festivals, Christmas, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost, as in the other Reformed churches, but also on each Sabbath in one of the four parishes. This usage still exists in the church of Basle. Another article defined the punishments to be inflicted on those, who were guilty of blasphemy, heresy, or disorder.

Such was the original framework of the Reformed Church of Basle. At a later period, some changes were made through the influence of Calvin; but our limits will not allow us to describe them; like all the other Reformed churches, that of Basle employed a liturgy in the several parts of divine worship, but it was neither so complicated as that of the Anglican Church, nor was it enforced with equal rigour. In doctrine and government the Balois Church was essentially Presbyterian; though while Æcolampadius lived, he was by common consent

allowed to exercise a general supervision over all the parishes of the city and suburbs. On the subject of the relations of Church and State, his views were far sounder and more scriptural than those of his friend Zwingle. He maintained that the Church within her own proper sphere should be left untrammelled by the State. "The civil power," says he in a letter to Zwingle, "will become even more insupportable than Antichrist, if it robs the Church of her authority in spiritual things."

But we must hasten to a close. The constitution of the Reformer, never robust, was worn out before he reached the prime of life, by his herculean labours. Overwhelmed with business during the day, he would nevertheless spend half the night in composing his voluminous commentaries. Yet he was spared to complete the work, for which the Lord had brought him to Basle. The closing scene was in beautiful keeping with the previous life. When the news that their beloved pastor was dangerously ill spread through the city, the whole population was thrown into the deepest distress; the council instantly ordered the best medical aid to be provided, to save, if possible, a life so precious to them. But it was soon seen that there was no hope. On the 21st of November he took the communion with his wife and other near friends, and said to them, "This supper which I eat with you, is a sign of my faith in Jesus my Lord, my Saviour, my Redeemer. If I am spared until to-morrow, I wish again to communicate with my beloved colleagues." The next day all the pastors gathered round the bed of their dying brother, when he said to them, "You see, dear brethren, what I am. The Lord is here, and is about to take me to himself." He then conjured them in a most affectionate manner, to adhere to the truth of the gospel, and to maintain the brotherly love which had hitherto obtained among them. He then asked for his three infant children, and solemnly committed them to their mother's care, with the injunction that they should be trained in the love and fear of God.* During the last night of his life, he did not converse much, but his frame of mind was

* In 1528 he married a daughter of the Chevalier Rosenblatt, a colonel in the service of the Emperor Maximilian. His widow died in 1564, having in the meanwhile married successively Capito, and Bucer.

calm and often joyful. One of the attendants having asked him if the light did not incommode him, he laid his hand upon his head and said—"Here there is light enough." Just as the day was beginning to break on the morning of the 24th of November, he was heard repeating the 51st Psalm. He stopped for a moment, and then as if making one last effort, exclaimed—"Lord Jesus! come to my help!" At the moment when the sun appeared above the horizon, the ransomed soul of the Reformer took its flight. Thus lived, and thus died, in his 39th year, John Œcolampadius, the Reformer of Basle.

Among the productions of his pen, his Commentaries on the Old Testament hold the first rank. They are, however, not all equal in value. With those published after his death considerable liberties were taken by his editors. During his life, he published an Exposition of Isaiah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Romans; and only a few weeks before his death, he sent to the press a work on Job. Besides these exegetical works, he published translations of some of the Greek Fathers.

ART. III.—*A Life of Socrates, by Dr. G. Wiggers, translated from the German, with Notes. London, 1840.*

THE name of Socrates has been a household word among civilized men for thousands of years, and is likely to be so for ages to come. The pulpit, the senate, the forum, the gymnasium, the theatre, all contribute to this result. Even the plain farmer and mechanic often mention his name, and when a man is doubtful of the paternity of some saying, Socrates comes in as a sort of residuary legatee of the wit and wisdom floating on the tide of tradition in the shape of pithy sayings; so that it is not a rare thing to hear a *jeu d' esprit* or *bon mot* of Dryden, More, Fox, Franklin, or Randolph of Roanoke, ascribed to the Athenian. This only shows how large a place he occupies in the public mind, despite the remoteness of the time and place of his birth, the ignorance of many things under which he

laboured, and the heathenism in which he lived. It is, therefore, well for each generation to form some accurate idea of this Corypheus of reasoning, and to see at least something of his thoughts on philosophical and moral subjects. The swarms of little creatures, who often mention his name, and wish to be esteemed his imitators, commonly resemble him in nothing except their gross ignorance of the principles of revelation, with this difference, that they have the Bible before them and reject it; whereas he had it not, but seems greatly to have desired such a guide, as would make the dark places light and the rough places smooth, in his journey to immortality.

Socrates was the son of Sophroniscus and of Phacnarete. His father was a sculptor, and his mother a midwife. He was born at Athens, in the year 469 before Christ, the exact day of his birth being a disputed point. He was entirely destitute at any period of his life of personal beauty. Indeed his enemies compared him to the Sileni, and to Marsyas the Satyr. In Xenophon's Symposium, Socrates admits that his eyes were prominent, his nose depressed, and his mouth large. His body seems to have been as much out of good proportion as his head and face. In early life he was taught music, and poetry, and gymnastic exercises, according to the custom of his country. He also became a sculptor of considerable distinction, but was subsequently induced by Crito, a wealthy Athenian, to renounce that profession, and give his attention to the higher intellectual pursuits of the age. In the *Phaedo* he says: "I had an astonishing longing for that kind of knowledge which they call physics." This remark relates to the early part of his life. Some say that he was not over seventeen when he first began to attend the schools of men reputed eminent, such as Archelaus, Parmenides, Zeno, and Anaxagoras, who were called philosophers, and Evenus, Prodicus, and others, who were called sophists; a name, in fact, more suited to them in the modern than in the ancient sense. He also studied the writings of men of former ages, by no means slighting Homer, as his dialogues show.

Although at the schools he advanced rapidly in a knowledge of the prevailing systems of physics, mathematics, and astronomy, yet in subsequent life he esteemed these acquirements as

of little worth. The reason why he turned away from these schools with disappointment, not to say disgust, was, as himself informs us, that they promised much and performed little.

Socrates also derived great advantages from intercourse with women of talent, whose society he courted. He was not ashamed to learn from females, whatever might improve his mind or heart.

At length quite wearied with speculations, theories, sophists and philosophers, he gave himself no further concern with them, but exchanged *δαίμονια* or *οὐρανία* for *ἀνθρώπεια*. In other words, he renounced speculative for practical philosophy. His mind turned with disgust from theories, which could show no solid basis of truth, to matters concerning which the truth might be known. He willingly left to the philosophers the high sounding name of divine or heavenly wisdom, which they arrogated for their doctrines, and candidly claimed for his knowledge no higher name than that of "human wisdom." When Cicero says that "*Socrates primus philosophiam devocavit e coelo et in urbibus collocavit, et in domos introduxit, et coegit de vita et moribus, rebusque bonis et malis quaerere*," he gives us the true character of all that Socrates taught, that is, it was practical, not fanciful, it sought truth, not a plausible appearance. In making its way, its greatest opponents, perhaps, were the sophists, who, in that day, filled very much the position which Pascal justly represents the Jesuits as filling in his day. Not truth, not right, but specious pretence and a semblance of virtue served their turn far better than rectitude of principle or manly adherence to right. Socrates long and painfully noticed the effects of the teaching and example of these men, and at about thirty years of age, set himself to counteract their corrupt opinions and practices, and to teach the people virtue. He was the only man of his age and country, who seems to have regarded the celebrated inscription on the temple of Delphi, "Know thyself." By knowing himself, he came to know other people to an extent quite unusual in any age.

Socrates never delivered set orations or lectures, never formed classes, but delivered his sentiments wherever he could find his fellow-citizens, as in the market, in the porticos, in the gymnasium, or in the house of a friend. Dr. Johnson says, that Ed-

mund Burke was the only man he ever saw, who was as eloquent in private conversation as in public debate. The same seems to have been true of Socrates. The depth and earnestness of his mind seems not to have been influenced in the least by the size of his audience. His profoundest thoughts seem to have been delivered to a few friends. In this manner he spent his life, correcting false opinions, encouraging virtue, frowning upon deception, and seeking truth. Of course he was not burthened with great wealth. He did not inherit it, he did not seek it. On one occasion he said to Critobulus, "I think if I could find a reasonable purchaser, I should perhaps get five mine for all my property, including my house."

In his domestic relations Socrates, as all men know, was greatly tried. The name of his wife, Xanthippe, has passed into a proverb. She seems to have been fairly entitled to pre-eminence among shrews and termagants. It is neither comely nor profitable to fill our pages with a recital of her bursts of temper and her violent deportment; it is sufficient to say, that although Ælian, Plutarch, and Diogenes may have recorded some things, which never took place, and so Xanthippe may be represented untruly in some respects, yet we cannot so dispose of all the evidence on the subject. Antisthenes said to Socrates, "What is the reason that, convinced as thou art of the capacity of the female sex for education, thou dost not educate Xanthippe? for she is the worst woman of all that exist, nay, I believe of all that ever have existed, or ever will exist." Socrates replied, "Because I see that those, who wish to become best skilled in horsemanship, do not select the most obedient, but the most spirited horses. For they believe that after being able to bridle these, they will easily know how to manage others. Now as it was my wish to converse and live with men, I have married this woman, being firmly convinced, that if I should be able to endure her, I should be able to endure all others." Making some allowance for the playfulness of this remark, there is no doubt much truth wrapped up in these few words. Many a truth is spoken in jest. We have heard of an eminently pious man in modern times, who in a season of melancholy, feeling that he had no cross, married a termagant, that he might have something wherewith to afflict his soul. Such were his meekness and

patience, that by the power of divine grace she soon become as devout and gentle as himself. His joy at her conversion brought with it recovery from his despondency, and they lived happily together ever after. But sober reason can never justify such marriages. The nature of that union, which God has always honoured when rightly formed, brings with it trials enough even when the parties are well matched, without seeking for contrarieties of taste and temper in order to test the virtues of either husband or wife. According to the notions of his age and neighbours, Socrates was no doubt a good husband. His patience was truly exemplary. We are not sure, however, that he bore his full share in domestic cares. Mere quietness of behaviour in a husband is but a small part of the duty he owes a wife. She is entitled to his best endeavours to make their home comfortable and agreeable. Nor is there any evidence that Socrates made proper efforts to encourage her to a different course of conduct, but was willing to keep her as a touch-stone of his philosophy. He did not fairly answer the question of Antisthenes, "Why do you not educate Xanthippe?" We also see a painful want of gallantry in concealing the faults of a wife. Gallantry, we call it, because the higher principle of Christian tenderness and delicacy could not be expected in a heathen man, surrounded by heathen neighbours. By this woman Socrates had several sons. Of these, three were living at the time of his death, but none of them seem ever to have become distinguished. Two of them were children when their father was taken from them; and the third, then a youth, called Lamprocles, seems to have enjoyed few advantages from intercourse with his father. This is not the only case in which distinguished men have neglected proper attention to their own families. With the ignorant, turbulent mother, and a negligent absent father, who ever attained to greatness or goodness? Ancient Athens, like modern France, "wanted mothers" and fathers too, who would make home what it ought to be. But he, who looks among heathen philosophers and Gallican infidels for a model family, is looking for the living among the dead. "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? A corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit."

The *military* history of Socrates is not long, but is full of

interest. About the age of thirty-seven, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, he went with a portion of his countrymen into Thrace for the recovery of Potidæa, an Athenian colony which had revolted. The rebels were supported by the Corinthians and other Peloponnesians. In this expedition, Socrates' great endeavour was to increase his power of enduring hunger, thirst, and cold. In this he succeeded to a remarkable degree, walking barefoot on ice and snow. His courage was not only undisputed but pre-eminent. Indeed the prize was awarded to him, but regardless of honour himself, or perhaps feeling that "the vote was the monument," and wishing to encourage Alcibiades, whose life had just been saved in battle by Socrates, and who was a favourite follower of his, the prize was given to him, and thus Socrates showed his disciple both how to earn and how to contemn applause. His next campaign was undertaken when he was at the age of forty-five. He went with the army to Delium, where the Bœotians defeated the Athenians. But the General of the latter, Laches, said, that if all his men had behaved as well as Socrates, the enemy would have erected no trophies. His third and last military expedition was undertaken at the age of forty-seven. The object of the campaign was the recovery of Amphipolis, in Thrace. This was a colony of Athens, and of great commercial importance. It had been seized by the Lacedæmonians, and its recovery was deemed very important. But the enterprise was a failure. It is very evident, that in engaging in military service, Socrates was actuated by no motives of martial renown. Love of country, which seems to be a universal passion in the minds of men not utterly debased, was that which impelled him. "I love my countrymen more than thine," he said to a Cyrenean. There is nothing even in true piety hostile to sober, well regulated, and ardent love of the land of our birth or of our adoption. The meanest man we ever saw was a New Englander, who ridiculed the place of his birth, and the peculiarities of his own kindred. Nor did Socrates love his country because of its favours to him, but because it was his. He said, "at Athens four measures of flour are sold for one obolus, the springs yield abundance of water, and I live contented with what I possess." He loved

the city of Athens with peculiar fondness, and assigned as a reason, "I am very anxious to learn something; and from fields and trees I can learn nothing; but I can indeed, from the men in town."

Socrates, as we learn from himself, never held any civil office but that of Senator. The Athenian Senate consisted of five hundred members, elected in equal numbers from the ten tribes established by Cleisthenes. The Athenian year was divided into ten months, and each month the Presidency belonged to a different tribe. By an established arrangement, a man could be Senator but for one year, and President of the Senate but one day. On a memorable occasion Socrates filled this office. In the battle off the Islands of Arginusæ, the Athenians had been victorious, but owing to the violence of the winds after the battle, it was found impossible to bury their dead. This, according to the superstitions of the country, doomed the deceased to great sufferings for a hundred years, and was therefore matter of rigid legislation. Six of the ten commanders on their return were thrown into prison, and thence brought to trial. By the pilots they proved that it was impossible to bury the dead. They also showed that they had left men with power and means to do all that could be done. This seemed satisfactory, and had the vote then been taken, they would have been acquitted by a large majority, but their persecutors managed to defer the vote and adjourn the assembly. Another day the people were again assembled under high excitement, occasioned by the enemies of the admirals, who had induced the relatives of the deceased to make great lamentation, and the question whether the admirals were guilty, and should be punished with death, and confiscation, was demanded in an illegal form, which it is not necessary here to explain, but Socrates refused to put it. The people became furious and used threats. Surrounding senators yielded to intimidation, but the President yielded nothing, and showed no disposition to do any thing but maintain the laws. For that day he and justice triumphed, but subsequently, under other auspices, the wicked sentence was decreed and executed on the six commanders, who had returned. He was the open and fearless opposer of the thirty tyrants, and but for the sudden

termination of their power, would doubtless have soon fallen a victim to their cruelty; but he carefully avoided civil honours and offices after his senatorship.

But whatever were the employments of Socrates, whether private or public, civil or military, from the time that he began to converse with the Athenians on moral and practical subjects, to the time of his death, he had one object in view, and he steadily pursued that, viz: the improvement of his countrymen in sound knowledge and practical virtue. In a good sense he was a man of one idea. The most inexperienced youth, the humblest citizen, as well as the sick, the gifted and the renowned, were objects of his solicitude. For forty years he assiduously and untiringly attempted the reformation of principles and manners among his countrymen, but with how little success, perhaps none have felt more than himself, till at last he died by the cruelty and wickedness of those, who should have defended and honoured him to the last.

Without entering at length into the controversy as to the particular tribunal before which Socrates was accused and by which he was tried, we yet freely give our opinion that it was not the Areopagus, but an inferior court, either that of the Heliastæ or Dicastæ, the particular organization of which need not now be explained. In the year 400 or 399 B. C., when Socrates was, as he says on his trial, more than seventy years old, he was arraigned. His accusers were Anytus, Lycon and Melitus. The first was the mouth-piece of the artizans and politicians, the second of the orators or rhetoricians, and the third of the poets. These persons, so diverse in interests, tastes, and pursuits, yet all agreed in hearty ill-will against the man, who had so often exposed their folly and their arts. The accusation they brought was in substance that "he searches into things in heaven and things under the earth, that he does not believe there are gods, that he makes the worse appear the better reason, and that he corrupts the youth by teaching them the same things." It is not possible in the limits assigned to this article, to give even a syllabus of his apology, as Plato calls his defence. It is condensed beyond almost any address of the kind we have ever seen or heard. The ability displayed in it is far beyond what we had even supposed it to possess, until we

examined it with care, and frequently. We very much doubt whether a speech more to the purpose, more free from faults, or bearing higher marks of truth, candour, modesty and manliness, was ever made by an uninspired man; and we wonder that it has not more frequently been eulogistically noticed by writers on judicial pleadings, as affording an admirable model to men who are wickedly accused of great crimes. We feel very sure that if our readers, who have never read it, would be persuaded to do so, they would thank us for calling their attention to so fine a specimen of unaffected simplicity and dignity. Having concluded his defence, properly so called, the vote was taken, and the majority of voices was against him. Unmoved by what had occurred, he continued his speech for some time, perhaps twenty minutes. From that we introduce a few brief extracts. Having declared that the result did not surprise him, except that the vote against him was so small, (three judges voting the other way would have acquitted him,) he says, "The man [Melitus] then awards me the penalty of death. Well! But what shall I, on my part, award myself?" And having rehearsed the course and innocence of his life, and declared his intention not to act out of character at his advanced age, he proceeds to say: "I am persuaded that I never designedly injured any man, though I cannot persuade you of this, for we have conversed with each other but for a short time. For if there was the same law with you as with other men, that in capital cases the trial should last not only one day but many, I think you would be persuaded; but it is not easy in a short time to do away with great calumnies. Being persuaded then that I have injured no one, I am far from intending to injure myself, and of pronouncing against myself that I am deserving of punishment, and from awarding myself any thing of the kind. Through fear of what? Lest I should suffer that, which Melitus awards me, of which I say I know not whether it be good or evil? Instead of this, shall I choose what I well know to be evil, and award that? Shall I choose imprisonment? And why should I live in prison, a slave to the established magistracy—the Eleven? Shall I choose a fine, and to be imprisoned until I have paid it? But this is the same as that which I just now mentioned, for I have not money to pay it. Shall I then award myself exile? For

perhaps you would consent to this award. I should indeed be very fond of life, O Athenians, if I were so devoid of reason as not to be able to reflect that you, who are my fellow-citizens, have been unable to endure my manner of life and my discourses, but they have become so burdensome and odious to you, that you now seek to be rid of them. Others, however, will easily bear them: far from it, O Athenians; a fine life it would be for me at my age to go out wandering and driven from city to city, and so to live! For I well know that, wherever I may go, the youth will listen to me when I speak, as they do here. And if I repulse them, they will themselves drive me out, persuading the elders; and if I do not repulse them, their fathers and kindred will banish me on their account."

"Perhaps, however, some one will say, Can you not, Socrates, when you have gone from us, live a silent and quiet life? This is the most difficult thing of all to persuade some of you. For if I say that would be to disobey the Deity, and that therefore it is impossible for me to live quietly, you would not believe me, thinking that I spoke ironically. If, on the other hand, I say that this is the greatest good to man, to discourse daily on virtue, and other things which you have heard me discussing, examining both myself and others, but that a life without investigation is not worth living for, still less would you believe me if I said this. Such, however, is the case, as I affirm, O Athenians, though it is not easy to persuade you. And at the same time I am not accustomed to think myself deserving of any ill. If indeed I were rich, I would amerce myself in such a fine as I should be able to pay; for then I should have suffered no harm, but now—for I cannot, unless you are willing to amerce me in such a sum as I am able to pay. But perhaps I could pay you a mina of silver: in that sum I amerce myself. But Plato here, O Athenians, and Crito, and Critobulus, and Apollodorus bid me amerce myself in thirty minæ, and they offer to be sureties. I amerce myself then in that sum; and they will be sufficient sureties for the money."

The judges now proceeded to pass sentence, and condemned Socrates to death, after which he continued his affecting address, concluding as follows: "You, therefore, O my Judges, ought to entertain good hopes with respect to death, and to meditate on

this one truth, that to a good man nothing is evil, neither while living, nor when dead, nor are his concerns neglected by the gods. And what has befallen me is not the effect of chance; but this is clear to me, that now to die, and be freed from my cares, is better for me. On this account the warning no way turned me aside; and I bear no resentment towards those who condemned me, nor against my accusers, although they did not condemn and accuse me with this intention, but thinking to injure me; in this they deserve to be blamed."

"Thus much, however, I beg of them. Punish my sons, when they grow up, O Judges, paining them as I have pained you, if they appear to you to care for riches or any thing else before virtue, and if they think themselves to be something when they are nothing, reproach them as I have done you, for not attending to what they ought, and for conceiving themselves to be something when they are worth nothing. If ye do this, both I and my sons shall have met just treatment at your hands."

"But it is now time to depart—for me to die, for you to live. But which of us is going to a better state is unknown to every one but God."

Such are the last words of this astonishing man on this memorable occasion. It is impossible for us to conceive how a heathen man, without a revelation from God, could have spoken with more dignity, kindness, or propriety. Nor can we form a conception of a more corrupt state of society or of judicial proceedings than that, which consigned such a man to prison and to death.

When we seek the causes of so unjust a sentence, the first that probably strikes the attention of every man is envy. "Do ye think that the Scripture saith in vain, The spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to envy?" is the challenge of inspiration, alike applicable to civilized, barbarous and savage men. Lord Bacon has well said, "A man that hath no virtue in himself, ever envieth virtue in others. For men's minds will either feed upon their own good, or upon others' evil; and who wanteth the one will prey upon the other; and whoso is out of hope to obtain another's virtue, will seek to come at even hand by depressing another's fortune. . . . Envy is a gadding passion, and walketh the streets, and doth not keep home. . . . It is a disease in a

state like to infection. . . *Invidia festos dies non agit.*" And a greater than Bacon has said: "Envy is the rottenness of the bones," and "wrath is cruel, and anger is outrageous; but who is able to stand before envy?" In fact, a candid observation of human nature must bring us to the conclusion, that envy is a far more prevalent principle of human action than is commonly supposed, and that even among good men, it is probably one of the last roots of bitterness that is thoroughly plucked up. How terrible then must be its force in the hearts of men unrestrained by Christian motives and morals! Socrates felt its power. During his life he had maintained consistency in adhering to such maxims of virtue as were known to him. He had inculcated them upon others in a manner well suited to make a deep impression of the ignorance and folly, that reigned around him. His fame had extended far. Strangers often sought his acquaintance rather than that of all the other men of Athens. He was also known from his birth. To see a new man rise to such celebrity, was very provoking to many around him. Accordingly there was a remarkable agreement among all classes, artisans, poets, demagogues, sophists, and orators, to get rid of him. The state of things produced by long wars, the general decay of morals, the abounding superstitions, and the prevalence of practical atheism, all favoured such a result.

Nor could his teachings and example have failed to irritate the unjust, the covetous, the licentious, and the vain pretenders of every description. The sophists who wished to be esteemed wise and good, were in fact, the worst of men, both in principle and practice. They were in morals Jesuits. To know how they would regard so terrible a reprovcr, it is but necessary to learn how the Jesuits hate the name of Blaise Pascal, and the whole story is told. But every species of wrong-doer, judge, tyrant, priest, or citizen, was duly noticed by him, and in terms well suited to provoke resentment, if they were determined to persist in their evil practices. Evil men always hate a reprovcr. Nor does the incorruptible character of their teacher diminish aught from their hatred. This popular hatred had also long been growing, and had had frequent opportunity of expressing itself at the theatre, for Aristophanes, in his play entitled *The Clouds*, had introduced Socrates by name, and had brought

against him very serious charges; and although his whole life and teaching had disproved the charges, yet this did not avail. So true is it, that he who lends a willing ear to falsehood for a long time, will come to believe it truth, and will act accordingly. The stage certainly requires no false charges in order to hand it over to just condemnation, but this may very truthfully be said of it, that among other countless evils, which it has introduced among men, it had no small part in bringing Socrates to an untimely grave.

Some have supposed that public odium was considerably excited against Socrates on account of his political opinions. This may have been true to a small extent, but profound silence seems to have been observed on this point in the trial. It is true, however, that Socrates did not think a pure democracy, such as existed in Athens, the best form of government, but preferred what he and the Greeks generally called an aristocracy; by which they meant not a hereditary nobility in power, but a body of men chosen for their virtues, and clothed with authority during good behaviour, competency, or life. He wished to see not the masses, but the best men of the country ruling its destinies. Nor did he make a secret of his opinions on this subject, nor did he fail to reprove the wrongs committed by the tools of the popular will. But there is no evidence that he dwelt at great length, or even with frequency on political subjects. His main business, as the whole history of the man shows, was with questions of morals, with casuistry, and with public and private virtue. But the sentence came, caused by what it might, and he, who had left his home in the morning in peace, went from the place of judgment to irons and a dungeon. "*Magno animo et vultu carcerem intravit,*" says Seneca.

The next day he would have been executed but for a custom, which caused a delay of thirty days. Every year the Athenians sent to Delos a vessel loaded with presents for the oracle of Apollo, and from the time that the vessel was adorned with a garland of laurel till her return, no one was allowed to be put to death. The vessel had been crowned the day before the condemnation of Socrates, and therefore till she had made her trip and returned, he was a prisoner in chains. At length the vessel was announced as in the port of Athens, and Socrates was

told that he must that day at the going down of the sun drink the hemlock.

The manner in which he spent the last day of his life is given us in the *Phædo* of Plato. We never look at this book without being reminded of two celebrated sayings of Cicero respecting it; one of which was, that he never read the arguments there given for the immortality of the soul without being convinced, but so soon as he closed the book, he began to doubt. The other was, that he never read the account of the death of Socrates without having his face suffused with tears. We cannot wonder that the Roman orator felt so in both cases. We should strongly sympathize with him in the first, had we no clearer or more solid ground of belief in the immortality of the soul than even the powerful mind of Socrates, groping through heathen darkness, was able to discover. "Life and immortality are brought to light by the gospel." And we should feel like Tully concerning the death of Socrates, were not our minds too busily occupied, despite the admirable simplicity of the narrative, with thoughts upon the horrible depravity of heathen nations, and with the deplorable condition of a man, comparatively virtuous, dying without any certain knowledge "of the way, the truth and the life."

The main subject of the whole day's conversation was that of the immortality of the soul, a subject well suited to the thoughts of a man so near the solemn close of his earthly existence. One cannot refrain from comparing the conduct of Socrates, on this, the last day of his life, with the account Dr. Adam Smith gives of the last days of David Hume. The Athenian is serious, calm and dignified; the Scotsman plays the jester and the buffoon. The former seems to be almost struggling to become a Christian, though in the midst of heathendom; the latter seems anxious to be a heathen though in the most enlightened kingdom of Christendom. It is not our purpose to review the argument of Socrates on the immortality of the soul. It could hardly be abbreviated without making it obscure. Parts of it, indeed, are clearly unsound, depending on the doctrine of the pre-existence of souls, and on the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. Still, there is a candour and an earnestness in his statements, that must deeply impress every thinking man. The iron fetters had

been removed early in the morning, and the day passed off in easy and serious conversation with his friends, till the shadows of the mountains began to stretch far over the valleys. At last Socrates said, "Now destiny summons me, as a tragic writer would say, and it is nearly time for me to betake myself to the bath; for it appears to me to be better to drink the poison after I have bathed myself, and not to trouble the women with washing my dead body." When he had thus spoken, Crito said, "So be it, Socrates, but what commands have you to give to these or to me, either respecting your children, or any other matter, in attending to which we can most oblige you?" He replied, "What I always say, Crito, nothing new: that by taking care of yourselves you will oblige both me and mine, and yourselves, whatever you do, though you should not now promise it; but if you neglect yourselves, and will not live as it were in the footsteps of what has been now and formerly said, even though you should promise much at present, and that earnestly, you will do no good at all." "We will endeavour then so to do," said Crito; "but how shall we bury you?" "Just as you please," said Socrates, "if only you can catch me, and I do not escape from you." And at the same time smiling gently, says Plato, and looking round on us he said: "I cannot persuade Crito, my friends, that I am that Socrates who is now conversing with you, and who methodizes each part of the discourse; but he thinks that I am he whom he will shortly behold dead, and asks how he should bury me. But that which I some time since argued at length, that when I have drunk the poison I shall no longer remain with you, but shall depart to some happy state of the blessed; this I seem to have urged to him in vain, though I meant to console both you and myself. Be ye, then, my sureties to Crito," he said, "in an obligation contrary to that which he made to the judges; for he undertook that I should remain; but do you be sureties that, when I die, I shall not remain, but shall depart, that Crito may more easily bear it, and when he sees my body either burnt or buried, may not be afflicted for me, as if I suffered some dreadful thing, nor say at my interment that Socrates is laid out, or is carried out, or is buried. For be well assured," he said, "most excellent Crito, that to speak improperly is not only culpable as to the thing

itself, but likewise occasions some injuries to our souls. You must have a good courage then, and say that you bury my body, and bury it in such a manner as is pleasing to you, and as you think it most agreeable to our laws."

When he had said thus he rose, adds Plato, and went into a chamber to bathe, and Crito followed him, but he directed us to wait for him. We waited, therefore, conversing among ourselves about what had been said, and considering it again, and sometimes speaking about our calamity, how severe it would be to us, sincerely thinking that, like those who are deprived of a father, we should pass the rest of our lives as orphans. When he had bathed, and his children were brought to him, (for he had two little sons and one grown up), and the women belonging to his family were come, having conversed with them in the presence of Crito, and given them such injunctions as he wished, he directed the women and children to go away, and then returned to us, and it was now near sunset; for he spent a considerable time within. But when he came from bathing, he sat down, and did not speak much afterwards; then the officer of the Eleven came in, and, standing near him, said, "Socrates, I shall not have to find that fault with you that I do with others, that they are angry with me, and curse me, when, by order of the archons, I bid them drink the poison. But you, on all other occasions during the time you have been here, I have found to be the most noble, meek, and excellent man of all that ever came into this place: and, therefore, I am now well convinced that you will not be angry with me (for you know who are to blame) but with them. Now, then, for you know what I came to announce to you, farewell, and endeavour to bear what is inevitable as easily as possible," and at the same time, bursting into tears, he turned away and withdrew.

Socrates, looking after him, said, "And thou too, farewell, we will do as you direct." At the same time turning to us, adds Plato, he said, "How courteous the man is; during the whole time I have been here he has visited me, and conversed with me sometimes, and proved the worthiest of men; and now how generously he weeps for me. But come, Crito, let us obey him, and let some one bring the poison, if it is ready pounded, but if not, let the man pound it."

Then Crito said, "But I think, Socrates, that the sun is still on the mountains, and has not yet set. Besides, I know that others have drunk the poison very late, after it had been announced to them, and have supped and drunk freely. Do not hasten then, for there is yet time."

Upon this Socrates replied, "These men whom you mention, Crito, do these things with good reason, for they think they shall gain by so doing, and I too with good reason shall not do so; for I think I shall gain nothing by drinking a little later, except to become ridiculous to myself, in being so fond of life, and sparing of it, when none any longer remains. Go then," he said, "and do not resist."

Crito, having heard this, nodded to the boy that stood near, and the boy having gone out, and staid for some time, came, bringing with him the man that was to administer the poison, who brought it ready pounded in a cup. And Socrates, on seeing the man, said, "Well, my good friend, as you are skilled in these matters, what must I do?"

"Nothing else," he replied, "than when you have drunk it, walk about, until there is a heaviness in your legs, then lie down, thus it will do its purpose." And at the same time he held out the cup to Socrates. And he having received it very cheerfully, adds Plato, neither trembling, nor changing at all in colour or countenance, but, as he was wont, looking steadfastly at the man, said, "What say you of this potion, with respect to making a libation to any one, is it lawful or not? "We only pound so much, Socrates," he said, "as we think sufficient to drink."

"I understand you," said Socrates, "but it is certainly lawful and right to pray to the gods, that my departure thither may be happy; which therefore I do pray, and so may it be." And as he said this, he drank it off readily and calmly. Thus far, adds Plato, most of us were with difficulty able to restrain ourselves from weeping; but when we saw him drinking, and having finished the draught, we could do so no longer; but in spite of myself the tears came in full torrent, so that covering my face, I wept for myself, for I did not weep for him, but for my own fortune, in being deprived of such a friend. But Crito, even before me, when he could not restrain his tears, had risen up. But Apollodorus, even before this, had not ceased weeping, and

then bursting into an agony of grief, weeping and lamenting, he pierced the heart of every one present, except Socrates himself. But he said, "What are you doing, my admirable friends? I indeed, for this reason chiefly, sent away the women, that they might not commit any folly of this kind. For I have heard that it is right to die with good omens. Be quiet, therefore, and bear up."

When we heard this, says Plato, we were ashamed, and restrained our tears. But he, having walked about, when he said that his legs were growing heavy, lay down on his back; for the man so directed him. And at the same time, he who gave him the poison, taking hold of him, after a short interval examined his feet and legs; and then, having pressed his foot hard, he asked if he felt it; he said that he did not. And after this he pressed his thighs; and thus going higher, he showed us that he was growing cold and stiff. Then Socrates touched himself, and said, that when the poison reached his heart, he should then depart. But now the lower parts of his body were almost cold, when uncovering himself, for he had been covered over, he said, and they were his last words, "Crito, we owe a cock to Æsculapius; pay it, therefore, and do not neglect it." "It shall be done," said Crito, "but consider whether you have any thing else to say." To this he gave no reply; but shortly after he gave a convulsive movement, and the man covered him, and his eyes were fixed; and Crito, perceiving it, closed his mouth and eyes. Plato adds, "This, Echerates, was the end of our friend, a man, as we may say, the best of all of his time that we have known, and, moreover, the most wise and just."

No doubt the reader's mind, like our own, has been wrought up to a high degree of painful interest, by this affecting narrative. Such an account could not well be fictitious. It is too simple, and bears all the marks of truthfulness. Its tragical effect on the mind depends rather on our being alone than in company. The death of Socrates has never been well acted on the stage. Indeed, it has seldom been attempted. One cannot, however, but admire the friendly attachment of Plato to Socrates, which leads him to "linger and dwell upon the circumstances of that awful tragedy with minuteness and particularity of

detail." This was natural and proper in a disciple of so great a man. A greater disciple did the same of a greater Master, as we see in John's Gospel. But enough of this.

The history, character, and fate of Socrates teach us lessons which we should endeavour to learn and remember. Some of these have been already hinted at. Others may be gathered from other fragments of his life and teachings. First of all, Socrates is to be added to that long list of distinguished men, whose eminence is traced to the mighty influence of their mothers. To write a book in praise of such, and recount all their deeds, so far as they can now be gathered, would be no mean service to the world. But however long any mortal could make his history, he ought to close his book by saying that the half was not told, and that the time would fail him to tell of all whose lives deserved honourable mention in such a catalogue of female worthies. That Socrates was greatly indebted to his mother, may be inferred from his great admiration of her. In the *Theætetus* of Plato, he calls her "a very noble-minded woman." The longer we live, the more do we feel the vast importance of female, and especially of maternal influence; and we were not willing to let this single expression pass without embracing the opportunity of saying, that as it always has been, so it will be to the end of the world, that ordinarily a man must ask his mother whether he is to be a wise man or a fool, a blessing or a curse to his race, and we may add, a saint or a fiend for ever.

Nor is it possible for mankind to over-estimate the importance of a close adherence to the true principles of conducting our quest after knowledge. A eulogy on the Baconian system of philosophizing is not called for, because its praise is in the mouth of all who know what it is, and of multitudes, who are wholly ignorant of its leading principles. But there is great need of strict adherence to those principles in all departments of instruction. Sometimes, when we read the conversations of Socrates, we almost imagine that we are reading Locke or Bacon. But then ere long we are plunged into errors by a disregard of the true principles of conducting the inquiry. This is more so in physical than in mental and moral science. Indeed, Socrates seems never to have made any considerable

progress in physical science, even according to the crude opinions of his day. He says himself, "I once heard a person reading in a book, which he said was written by Anaxagoras, and saying that reason arranged all things, and was the cause of them. With this cause I was much delighted, and in some manner it appeared to me quite correct, that reason should be the cause of all things. If it be true, I thought, that reason arranges all things, it arranges and places every thing where it is best. Now, if any body wanted to find the cause by which every thing arises, perishes, or exists, he must find the manner in which a thing exists, suffers, or acts best. For this reason I thought only that investigation, the object of which is the most excellent and the best, to be adapted for man both for himself as well as other things; and he who succeeded in this must, at the same time, know that which is bad, for both are objects of the same science. Reflecting upon this subject I was delighted, as I thought I had found in Anaxagoras a teacher after my own heart, who could open my eyes to the causes of things. Now he will first tell thee, I thought, whether the earth is flat or round; and after he has done this, he will also show thee the cause and the necessity of it; and which ever is the better, he will prove that this quality is the better one for the earth. If he tell thee that the earth is in the centre, he will at the same time show thee that it is better for it to be in the centre. I was willing, if he would show me this, not to suppose any other kind of causes, and hoped soon to receive information about the sun, the moon, and other stars, pointing out the mutual relation of their rapidity, their rotation, and other changes, and how it was better that each should act as it acts, and suffer as it suffers [or be acted on as it is acted on.] For, as he said they were arranged by reason, I did not think that he would assign any other cause to things than that their actual qualities were the best. As he assigned to all things their causes, and ascertained them in all things in the same manner, I thought he would represent that which is the best for each, as the good common to all. I would not have given up my hopes for any thing; with great avidity I took up his books, and read them as soon as I found it possible, in order that I might quickly learn the good and the bad. But, my friend, [he is addressing

Cebes] I was soon disappointed in this hope; for in the progress of my reading, I discovered that the man no longer applied his principle of reason, and mentioned no causes by which to classify things; but declared air, ether, water, and many other strange things to be causes. This appeared to me just as absurd as if somebody should say, Socrates does every thing which he does with reason; and afterwards endeavouring to point out the motive of every single action, he should say in the first place, I am sitting here because my body is composed of bones and sinews, &c. I should have liked very much to have obtained some instruction, from whomsoever it might have proceeded, concerning the nature of this cause. But as I did not succeed, and as I was unable to find it out of myself, or to learn it from any one else, I set out on a second voyage in search of the cause."

In moral philosophy Socrates was certainly more successful. He had no doubt some aid from the prevailing opinions both of the common people and of the philosophers of his day; yet the notions that obtained in the best systems were so crude, so mixed up with fatal errors, and withal so modified to suit a depraved heart and depraved manners, that it is not easy to decide either how much he was indebted to his predecessors, or how much posterity was indebted to him. When he succeeds in making any thing of importance plain and clear, it is evident that he has either received it from tradition, or that he obtained it by means of the inductive system of philosophizing. But how much is attributable to the one cause, and how much to the other, no man can now certainly decide. We are inclined to the opinion, that the influence of Socrates for good, was rather in bringing into merited disrepute prevailing errors, and even systems, than in developing new ideas or notions. It must also be acknowledged that he did important service in presenting, both by precept and example, in the most striking manner, the necessity and value of strict, unbending justice. We have already seen Plato's estimate of him. Xenophon says that he "was so pious that he undertook nothing without asking the counsel of the gods; so just, that he never did the smallest injury to any one, but rendered essential services to many; so temperate, that he never preferred pleasure to virtue; and so

wise, that he was able in the most difficult cases, to judge what was expedient and right. He was eminently qualified to aid others by his advice; to penetrate into men's characters; to reprehend them for their vices, and to excite them to the practice of virtue. Having found all these excellencies in Socrates, I have always regarded him as the most virtuous and the happiest of men." But in estimating the value of the testimony of both Plato and Xenophon, we must remember that they were intimate friends and followers of Socrates; and, what is more, their standard of piety, justice, temperance, and wisdom, was very different from that adopted even by the masses of men in countries where the light of God's word clearly shines among the people. Yet it is impossible to read the apology of Socrates without being struck with the inflexibility of his mind on such matters as seemed to involve justice and the laws. In one place he observes, "Perhaps, however, some one may say, 'Socrates, are you not ashamed to have pursued a study, from which you are now in danger of dying?' To such a person I should answer with good reason, you do not well, friend, if you think that a man, who is even of the least value, ought to take into the account the risk of life or death, and ought not to consider that alone when he performs any action, whether he is acting justly or unjustly, and the part of a good man or bad man." Afterwards he says, "To act unjustly, and to disobey my superior, whether God or man, I know is evil. I shall never, therefore, fear nor shun things, which, for aught I know are good, before evils, which I know to be evils." "O Athenians, I honour and love you: but I shall obey God rather than you; and as long as I breathe and am able, I shall not cease studying philosophy, and exhorting you, and warning any of you I may happen to meet, saying as I have been accustomed to do, "O best of men, seeing you are an Athenian, of a city the most powerful, and the most renowned for wisdom and strength, are you not ashamed of being careful for riches, how you may acquire them in greatest abundance, and for glory and honour, but care not nor take any thought for wisdom and truth, and for your soul, how it may be made most perfect?" "Be well assured, if you put me to death, being such a man as I say I am, you will not injure me more than yourselves."

It was customary in capital cases both in Greece and Rome, for the prisoner to have his family and relatives brought into court, that their presence might plead his cause. Socrates would not resort to such an artifice, but said, "I too have relatives; for to make use of that saying of Homer, I am not sprung from an oak, nor from a rock, but from men, so that I too, ye men of Athens, have relatives, and three sons, one now grown up, and two boys: I shall not bring any one of them forward and implore you to acquit me. Why then shall I not do this? Not from contumacy nor from disrespect to you, O Athenians. Whether or not I am undaunted at the prospect of death is another question, but out of regard to my own character and years, and that of the whole city, it does not appear to me to be honourable, that I should do any thing of the kind at my age, and with the reputation I have, whether true or false." "It is not difficult to avoid death, but it is much more difficult to avoid depravity, for it runs swifter than death. And now I, being slow and aged, am overtaken by the slower of the two; but my accusers, being strong and active, have been overtaken by the swifter, wickedness. And now I depart, condemned by you to death; but they condemned by truth, as guilty of iniquity and injustice: I abide my sentence and they abide theirs." Indeed Socrates often teaches in substance that a man is not hurt till his soul is hurt, that wickedness depraves the soul, and that no natural evil, not death itself, is to be compared to moral evil.

Schleiermacher thus estimates the value of Socrates as a philosopher. He says, "With Socrates most writers make a new period to begin in the history of Greek philosophy; which, at all events, implies that he breathed a new spirit and character into those intellectual exertions of his countrymen, which we comprehend under the name of philosophy, so that they assumed a new form under his hand, or at least, that he materially widened their range. But if we inquire how the same writers describe Socrates as an individual, we find nothing that can serve as a foundation for the influence they assign to him. We are informed that he did not at all busy himself with the physical investigations which constituted a main part of Greek philosophy, but rather withheld others from them; and that even with

regard to moral inquiries, which were those in which he engaged the deepest, he did not by any means aim at reducing them into a scientific shape, and that he established no fixed principle for this, any more than for any other branch of human knowledge. The base of his intellectual constitution, we are told, was rather religious than speculative, his exertions rather those of a good citizen, directed to the improvement of the people, and especially of the young, than those of a philosopher; in short, he is represented as a virtuoso in the exercise of sound common sense, and of that strict integrity, and mild philanthropy, with which it is always associated in an uncorrupted mind; all this, however, tinged with a slight air of enthusiasm. These are no doubt excellent qualities; but yet they are not such as to fit a man to play a brilliant part in history, but rather, unless where peculiar circumstances intervene, to lead a life of enviable tranquillity, so that it would be necessary to ascribe the general reputation of Socrates, and the almost unexampled homage which has been paid to him by so many generations, less to himself than to such peculiar circumstances."

Subsequently Schleiermacher supposes that much, which Plato ascribes to Socrates, was rather out of compliment to his master than out of regard to truth. Like Dr. Johnson, who chose to ascribe to a living man the poems of Ossian rather than to any bard or bards, who might have lived in former days, seeming to forget that to be the author of such poems was far greater honour than to be their compiler. The conclusion of Schleiermacher's observations is this: "On the whole we are forced to say, that in giving Socrates a living share in the propagation of that philosophical movement, which took its rise from him, Plato has immortalized him in the noblest manner that a disciple can perpetuate the glory of his master; in a manner not only more beautiful, but more just, than he could have done it by a literal narrative."

We believe it was never contended that Plato wished to make mankind think that Socrates uttered every word or idea that he ascribed to him; but it must be admitted, we think, that the Platonic philosophy was vastly indebted to Socrates, that its main principles on moral subjects were drawn from him, that he gave an impulse to the minds of his followers, and

opened up to their view a new world of thought and inquiry, and that this was so true of Plato, that he felt rather honoured than degraded, by acknowledging at every step his indebtedness to his master.

Nor should it be forgotten that Schleiermacher was a German, and loved "the infinite," which in plain Anglo-Saxon means something which a class of men think they know, but do not; while Socrates had a mind that constantly sought clear, definite, exact ideas of all subjects. Had Socrates and Schleiermacher lived in the same age and been in the same University, the German would have despised the Greek until he had felt his power in bringing down the self-conceited, and then he would cordially have hated him, because he must have feared him. Indeed it is impossible for us to read Plato without receiving the impression, that Socrates had as powerful an intellect as we have any record of in the annals of mind.

Schleiermacher says that Socrates was tinged with enthusiasm. He, doubtless, refers to the belief of the Athenian, that he was guided in his course of life by a *dæmon*, or good spirit. That Socrates did so believe, cannot be denied. Thus in his *Apology* he says, "Perhaps, however, it may appear absurd, that I, going about, thus advise you in private and make myself busy, but never venture to present myself in public before your assemblies and give advice to the city. The cause of this is that which you have often and in many places heard me mention: because I am moved by a certain divine and spiritual influence, which also Melitus, through mockery, has set out in the indictment. This began with me from childhood, being a kind of voice which, when present, always diverts me from what I am about to do, but never urges me on. This it is which opposes my meddling in public politics; and it appears to me to have opposed me very properly. For be well assured, O Athenians, if I had long since attempted to intermeddle with politics, I should have perished long ago, and should not at all have benefitted you or myself. And be not angry with me for speaking the truth. For it is not possible that any man should be safe, who sincerely opposes either you or any other multitude; and who prevents many unjust and illegal actions from being committed in a city; but it is necessary that he who in earnest contends for justices

if he will be safe for but a short time, should live privately, and take no part in public affairs." So far as we remember, this is the fullest account any where given by Socrates of this mysterious subject. When Simmias asked Socrates about the nature of this dæmon, he received no answer at all. The conjectures on the subject have been almost endless. Some have supposed the dæmon to be a guardian angel, while others have said it was the devil. Some have said it was all a fiction, on the part of Socrates, to inspire reverence for his character. The following remarks are offered as containing the sum of all that appears clear to us. The first is, that the word dæmon, as used by Socrates, was always used in a good sense. This was universally understood. Aristotle explains it to mean either the Deity, or an effect produced by the Deity. The second is, that such was the ignorance and superstition of those times in Athens, that it is impossible to learn, from the terms used on psychological subjects, what were the precise ideas often intended to be conveyed by the shrewdest men. The third is, that there is not the slightest evidence that Socrates was inspired by the Holy Ghost, and supernaturally instructed by Jehovah in the way of knowing and pleasing him. The fourth is, that no effect or influence is ascribed to this dæmon beyond what might be accounted for on purely natural principles, provided a man had strong common sense, were capable of acquiring prudence by experience, were in the habit of obeying his conscience so far as he had light, and withal were sufficiently superstitious to regard certain opinions or presentiments as divine monitors. We do not profess to solve the whole matter, much less would we intimate that much could not be said against our mode of accounting for the effects produced, but to us it seems sufficient. If any can present a better hypothesis, it will be no offence to us.

We had designed giving some extended views on the Socratic method of teaching and reasoning, but this has been done so often and so fully, that we hasten to make remarks on two points, rather more germane to the general design of this journal. The first is that Socrates possessed great earnestness of character and uncommon firmness of belief in the religious opinions which he held. Whatever greatness he possessed over the mass of thinking men in his own age, seems to have been

attributable to these causes, and especially to the latter, as the parent of the former. One can but admire to hear him saying, "What has befallen me appears to be a blessing: and it is impossible that we think rightly who suppose that death is an evil. A great proof of this to me is the fact, that it is impossible but that the accustomed signal [from the dæmon] should have opposed me, unless I had been about to meet some good. Moreover, we may hence conclude that there is a great hope that death is a blessing." "We are not to be anxious about living, but about living well." "It is on no account good or honourable to commit injustice." "Neither ought one who is injured to return the injury, as the multitude think, since it is on no account right to act unjustly." "It is by no means right to do evil in return when one has been evil-entreated." "It is right, my friends, that we should consider this, that if the soul is immortal, it requires our care not only for the present time, which we call life, but for all time; and the danger would now appear dreadful, if we should neglect it. For if death were a deliverance from everything, it would be a great gain for the wicked, when they die, to be delivered at the same time from the body and from their vices together with the soul: but now, since it appears to be immortal, it can have no other refuge from evils, nor safety, except by becoming as good and wise as possible." "I should choose rather to suffer unjustly than to act unjustly." "There is a certain depravity in the soul."

These and many like religious and moral opinions, Socrates expressed with a degree of earnestness quite peculiar to himself, and with a degree of firmness in his faith that probably has no parallel among the heathen. The truth is that the element of faith in some form, and to a considerable extent, must enter into every truly great character. In the formation of a virtuous character it is essential. If Socrates rose far above his contemporaries, it seems to us that it was more owing to this than to any other one cause. We need not assure our readers that we use the word *belief*, in this connection, in the general and not in the evangelical sense.

The other leading remark that presses itself upon us, in the review of the life and teachings of Socrates, is that a revelation from God is absolutely necessary to prevent, even in the most

sagacious men, fatal errors both in faith and practice, and to give a necessary degree of certainty to our religious belief. Indeed, it seems to us that one of the most powerful popular arguments might easily be constructed, out of the admissions of Socrates, in favour of the indispensable necessity of a well-authenticated and well-proven revelation from heaven. If native strength of mind, prodigious powers of reasoning, conversation with the most learned men among the heathen of many countries, and incessant reflection and inquiry on such subjects, could in any case have given sufficient light to guide the soul, it would have done it in the case of Socrates. Yet what do we find? In his practice he interlards his conversation with oaths, swearing by the names of the gods of his country, when an oath is by no means called for. Sometimes he speaks of the Deity, of God, and then again of the gods, so that whether he worshipped one, or twenty, or a thousand gods, none can tell. Even when *in extremis* he calls on Crito to sacrifice a cock to Æsculapius. What miserable uncertainty is here! In his Apology he says, “Do I not, like the rest of mankind, believe that the sun and moon are gods?” Indeed the whole subject of futurity, and of religious truth in general, was in his mind dreadfully vague. Hear him: “To die is one of two things; for either the dead may be annihilated, and have no sensation of any thing whatever; or, as it is said, there is a certain change or passage of the soul from one place to another. And if it is a privation of all sensation, as it were a sleep in which the sleeper has no dream, death would be a wonderful gain. For I think that if any one, having selected a night, in which he slept so soundly as not to have had a dream, and having compared this night with all the other nights and days of his life, should be required on consideration to say how many days and nights he had passed better and more pleasantly than this night throughout his life, I think that not only a private person, but even the great king himself would find them easy to number in comparison with other days and nights. If, therefore, death is a thing of this kind, I say it is a gain; for thus all futurity appears to be nothing more than one night.” Here is the light of nature shining to guide a man, and it brings him to the conclusion that the gulf of annihilation is not so dark and dreary

after all; that to be annihilated is gain over this life. But let us hear him through. "But if on the other hand, death is a removal from hence to another place, and what is said be true, that all the dead are there, what greater blessing can there be than this, my judges? For if, on arriving at Hades, released from these, who pretend to be judges, one shall find those, who are true judges, and who are said to judge there, Minos and Rhadamanthus, Æacus and Triptolemus, and such other of the demi-gods as were just during their own life, would this be a sad removal? At what price would you not estimate a conference with Orpheus and Musæus, Hesiod and Homer? I indeed should be willing to die often, if this be true. For to me the sojourn there would be admirable, when I should meet with Palamedes, and Ajax son of Telamon, and any other of the ancients who has died by an unjust sentence. The comparing my sufferings with theirs would, I think, be no unpleasant occupation. But the greatest pleasure would be to spend my time in questioning and examining the people there as I have done here," &c. One cannot but exclaim, what a poor miserable place is even the fancied heaven of the heathen. On the morning of the day of his death, he says to Cælia: "To commit violence on one's self, they say, is not allowable." Even self-murder was only *reported* to be a sin. He says expressly, "I speak from hearsay." Then speaking of his own death he says, "I hope to go amongst good men, though I would not positively assert it; that, however, I shall go among gods, who are perfectly good masters, be assured I can positively assert this, if I can any thing of the kind." Afterwards he says: "I am well aware that arguments which draw their demonstrations from probabilities are idle; and unless one is on his guard against them, they are very deceptive, both in geometry and all other subjects." In this way he himself surrenders no small part of the ground taken for the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Indeed, wherever we turn in his writings we find him stumbling at straws, perplexed with things made so plain in Scripture, that a little child in a Christian family knows them, and the whole future enveloped in doubt. We turn from even the greatest heathen philosophers to the holy men of God, who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, and we bless

Him, who is the Father of Lights, and who revealeth these things to babes. For ever blessed be God for his written word. It is indeed a light shining in a dark place.

Socrates was hardly dead till the Athenians repented of that injustice, which had deprived their city of so great a man. They closed all the palaestra and gymnasia. They condemned Melitus to death, and banished his other accusers. They are even said to have erected a bronze statue to the honour of Socrates. This would not reprove their vices. So fickle is popular opinion of merit and demerit. But we must come to an end.

ART. IV.—*Three Absurdities of certain Modern Theories of Education.*

ETYMOLOGICALLY regarded the words *synthesis* and *analysis* may be said to define themselves. The one is a *separation*, a *taking apart*, the other a *putting*, or *binding together*. And yet, like other terms, which are the converse of each other, they may be and often are, both mentally and practically interchanged. What is synthesis, when viewed under one aspect, is analysis when regarded under another. What is analysis practically, becomes synthesis theoretically. What is analysis chronologically, or in the order of time, becomes synthesis logically, or in the order of ideas. The process from particulars to universals experimentally, is often the index of just the reverse proceeding in the operations of the mind. For example, the analysis of water outwardly, into the elements oxygen and hydrogen, may be the mere proof of the assumed mental synthesis. Again, they necessarily imply each other. Every true view of a whole, as a whole, implies some scientific consideration of parts, regarded as parts of that assumed whole; and every scientific examination of parts, as parts, implies some consideration of a whole, as the whole of which they are parts. In other words, not only does every true theory imply some induction, but every sound induction implies some *a priori* view (*a priori* we mean in respect to this particular induction) to make

that induction rational instead of arbitrary or nakedly empirical.

These terms, too, often seem to change places according as they are used in respect to the acquisition, the holding, or the imparting of knowledge. What comes to us analytically, is retained in the mind, and given forth from it in the synthetical form. Again, that which is taught to us as synthesis, takes its place afterwards in the mind analytically; but even the more accurately and scientifically according to the wholeness and completeness of the first synthetical view.

To give some examples of these seeming paradoxes, we may be said to know water, as a matter of *sense*, (or as far as sense alone can be called knowledge) before we know hydrogen and oxygen; but without in some way knowing the latter, either from outward instruction or otherwise, we cannot be said to know water as matter of *science*. The original discoverer may have suspected something, that is, may have had a half formed *a priori* view; or it may have been the result of a blind chance experimenting. On the first supposition, there must have been an assumed mental synthesis of some imperfect kind, to which the mind had somehow groped its way, and which led to the practical analysis. So that this method must be supposed to have some place even in the original discovery of truth. There must have been, even here, a mental synthesis, or assumption of antecedent elements, to give any cause, or motive, or reason, for the practical analysis. In other words, there must have been some grouping together in the mind, before there could have been any rational attempt at an experimental separation.

This we have said, is, to some extent, the case, even in the original investigation of truth, or the order of discovery, where analysis is admitted to be the main, if not the only mode of proceeding. But in stating that knowledge, even to itself, the mind reverses the process, if it would follow the order of nature. It takes the constituting elements (in the example just cited) as something antecedently known, and thus combining them in the thought, enunciates the proposition that they constitute water; or if it chooses another form, the definition of water as composed of them, which is now known synthetically, as, to some extent, an object of the mind, and not, as before, of the

sense merely. In this way, too, the teacher naturally communicates his knowledge to other minds. If not, then each subsequent scholar must be supposed to learn it for himself, though the same groping process, partly experimental, partly *a priori*, or, in other words, through successful accidents and shrewd guessing. If, on the other hand, to avoid this, the discoverer or teacher proceeds to communicate it to others in some so called analytical way, supposed to present a resemblance to the mode of original investigation, it will be found, on close examination, to be really nothing of the kind. It is all a mere pretence, a sham proceeding. The pretended practical analysis is all very well, as representing some interesting facts in the mental process of discovery, but it assumes all along, and is known to assume, both for teacher and scholar, the very result or synthetic truth to which it is supposed to lead.

It may be seen from this, how these two terms, although in themselves as distinct as the two poles of a magnet, may be confounded, and even mistaken for each other, according as they are viewed from this or that stand-point. It is in this way that analysis becomes sometimes but another word for synopsis, whilst synthesis is confounded with analysis, because it is applied to express the combined result of analytical experiment.

Without, however, any farther attempt at distinction, it will be best to confine the attention to some precise definition of the terms in their application to methods of instruction, and as they will be used in subsequent remarks; although we are aware that from the peculiar nature of the ideas, some might be inclined to take them in a manner directly the reverse. The great object is to be clearly understood, and in such a way as to avoid all metaphysical difficulties that might arise from the inversion, or rather the conversion of the terms.

We may say, by way of preface to such definition, that one great characteristic of the present day, is the attempt, whether successful or not, at something more philosophical in education than has heretofore been thought of. Hence the great number of new books to which peculiar views, or what were supposed to be peculiar views, have given rise. Hence, too, the various methods of teaching, with their high sounding titles. We have, for example, "the inductive system," the "productive system,"

the "analytical system," the "development system," the "self-educating system," &c. We have "mental arithmetics," and "mental algebras," and "self-teaching English grammars," and "self-developing moral philosophies," and "objective" this, and "subjective" that, in ways too long to enumerate. We would endeavour to view them all in their relation to the two terms to which attention has been called, and present a series of general remarks, which may be applied to instruction of every kind, moral or scientific, and of every degree, from the primary school to the college.

In the one mode, then, or that which we have chosen to style the synthetic, and for which we beg permission to express a decided preference, knowledge first comes to the scholar as announced from the lips of the teacher, or from the text-book in the form of a conclusion given, or of a distinct *a priori* proposition, (that is *a priori* to the learner,) which is first to be taken as true, or received by faith on the authority of the teacher or the book, then investigated, then proved, then understood, that is, seen in its true connexion with other truths previously learned, and then laid up in the individual mind, among its own lawful stores, as thus coming to it by due inheritance from the common mind of the race. In other words, truths first come to the young mind as synthetics, that is, added or imparted truths of *authority* and *faith*, transmitted from older and wiser persons, who know more, or are supposed to know more, than their pupils, and which are afterwards to be so explained, and philosophically investigated, that they become in the second place, truths of *reason* and *science*, in their highest and strictest sense.

The idea may be illustrated by an example drawn from the mode of the old geometry, as distinguished from that of the modern French analytical mathematics; which, however, we do not at all travel out of our way to condemn as employed in the higher calculus, although we might think that it is sometimes too early introduced into the more elementary stages. In the old Greek geometry, the proposition to be learned (which is strictly a conclusion) is presented first in the text; then follows a statement of the general conditions with reference to the particular diagrams with which they are illustrated; or, in other

words, the general truth reduced to a particular case or figure for more easy comprehension. Next comes the demonstration, or the exhibition of the link by which it is connected with previous propositions, and thus bound firmly to what was previously in the mind. In this way there is finally established and made the mind's own, what was before received as a truth of authority to be proved or tested, not discovered for the first time. Such a pretence of discovery would be an unreality, a sham, unworthy the dignity of science, and rather enfeebling the mind (as every mock process must) for that real analysis and discovery in which the student may be called to exercise himself when he reaches the boundary of the really unknown, (that is, as yet unanalyzed by any mind, or brought within the enclosures of known truth,) and for which previous accurate knowledge is the most thorough and effective preparation.

It might be interesting to trace the process, could we do so, through which Pythagoras, or whoever he was that first discovered the proposition generally known as the 47th of Euclid, arrived at the result. We may be quite certain that it was not in that perfectly logical order, by which it is approached in the Elements. It may have been through much guessing, or confused insight just enough to give a strong persuasion of the truth, and yet unable for a long time to connect it with previous acquisitions. It may have been aided by a crude experimenting, assuming the truth for that purpose as a temporary hypothesis, although as yet unproved. There may have been even a resort to actual measurement, and imperfect trials of various kinds, both practical and theoretical, until finally, after much groping in this way, although with strong assurance of something to reward the search, the hidden connecting links were seen, and the position to which the soul had thus, as it were, reached out in advance, is at length apprehended, made fast, and firmly bound to the previously known; that is, to that which had itself before this been thus vaticinated, and secured, and bound fast in like manner. Then might have been raised the cry of *Eureka*, for then was found not the lost, but what had previously been lying in the chaos of the mind's unread thoughts, dimly apprehended, and obscurely seen, until brought at last into the clear light of its connexion with other truth. It is first guessed,

(we use this term not as excluding reason, but as implying a demi-conviction of some ratio or reason not yet clearly traced) then assumed as a stand-point, from whence to reason back, until by reaching in this way some previously known and fixed position, the guess at last is verified.

It may have been that in the mind of the first geometrical explorer, the greatest part of the previous propositions in the first book of the *Elements*, had been thus, one after another, brought in to make a bridge from this great suspected truth to the elementary axioms and definitions from which it seemed to stand at so great a distance; and thus this theorem, so important in all other applications of the mathematics, may have been the suggestive mother of that whole system of geometry, which has come down to us under the name of Euclid.

This, or something like this, may have been the order of geometrical discovery; and yet, except as a problem of interest in mental philosophy, it would be very unwise to attempt to teach geometry in the way in which Pythagoras, and Euclid, and Archimedes, and Descartes, may have discovered it, and not in the way in which they afterwards scientifically arranged it, making of it a logical harmony far more important and interesting than the mere amount of mathematical knowledge conveyed, and presenting the eternal truths of space and figure in that perfect order in which they are ever seen by the perfect mind, instead of that in which they were reached by the groping human intellect.

And here, although it may seem a digression from the main subject, we cannot refrain from expressing regret, that this great excellence of the old Greek geometry, its perfect logical harmony, has been so much sacrificed in methods aiming rather at what is comparatively of secondary importance, the mere amount of mathematical knowledge, and the shortest methods by which it might be reached. We may smile at the apparent simplicity of some of the more elementary propositions in Euclid; teacher and scholar, in their impatience, may pass them by with affected contempt; the rigid adherence to a certain order may seem an unnecessary restraint; and yet we may well doubt, whether some of the profoundest modern developments of the analytical calculus required higher powers of mind,

logical and metaphysical, as well as mathematical, than were called out in the construction of that most splendid synthesis of the human intellect. How much may even the sublime structure of the modern mathematics, ever rising higher and higher into the illimitable relations of space and quantity, be indebted for its security and fair proportions to the strength of the foundation, which was so rapidly laid by the Grecian mind. Archimedes is mainly known from the semi-fabulous stories of Plutarch respecting his machines; to the scholar and the historian of science, the chief interest respecting him will ever come from the deep mason-work of his conical and spherical geometry. Among the changes in modern education, there is no one, we think, more questionable than the substitution of Legendre for Euclid. One great end of mathematical, and especially of geometrical study, is almost wholly lost by it. The logic, which led to that most perfect idea of synthetical truth, seems to have formed no part of the Frenchman's plan. Should it, however, be thought to betray a want of modesty for one who is not a mathematician to make some of these declarations, we can only plead the relations of the subject to other departments of education. There is much more than a mathematical interest involved. It reaches to all the other provinces of the mind's culture. In respect to the higher and more analytical branches of mathematical science, all deference would be shown to those whose peculiar department of knowledge it may be said to be; yet even here, the opinion may be modestly hazarded, that something of a more synthetical nature, consisting of texts, and propositions, and formal rules in place of mere symbolical formulas, and also, to some extent, geometrical illustrations, might be of service to the student in some parts of these difficult branches, especially at the commencement. They might give him clearness and solidity when he comes afterwards, in the more intricate winding of the labyrinth, to turn himself through necessity to the tort and firm, yet slender thread of analysis. The old geometry, and indeed all synthetical science, as we have defined it, may be said to have length, breadth, and depth. The analytical mathematics may be compared to an endless line of truth stretching on to infinity, taxing by its exceeding subtlety the highest powers of the human

mind, and yet leaving behind it no satisfactory resting places or land-marks of thought, because of its becoming ever more and more attenuated, and more and more abstracted from all outward application or illustration. A few only of a very peculiar order of mind (and that we have admitted to be of the highest rank) can ever expect successfully to pursue it. To the ordinary scholar, and even to most of those who are supposed to possess a respectable mathematical genius, the higher analysis is like the clue of the labyrinth to which we have already alluded. They will barely be able to follow it, and when it brings them out, they hardly know where they have been, or through what definite localities and deductions they have arrived at the terminus to which they seem to have been conducted.

But to return from what may seem an unnecessary digression. Let us proceed to explain generally, what is meant by the other method, for which the preference is now generally claimed as more philosophical in its application to every department of science. It is enough for us to describe it as in all respects the opposite of the former. Here no truth is, in the first place, formally presented to the student's mind, as an object of investigation or proof; but he is supposed, by commencing with certain principles, to *evolve* something previously unknown scientifically, and never even presented to the mind as a proposition or a fact. This is called *development*—knowledge brought from the student's own mind, a calling out of his own powers, or, to use a very common phrase, a learning him to *think for himself*. Some would be inclined to call it the Platonic method; but this, as could be shown if space permitted, comes from an entire misconception of the doctrine of ideas and reminiscences.

The word *development* is much used, as though it were peculiar to the analytic; but there is true development in what, as the opposite of the other, we have called the synthetic method. The innate ideas of the soul, as far as there are any which can be called such, are brought out in their fairest proportions, and in their most healthy forms, when, at their very birth into the objective world, the best moulds of expression are prepared for their reception. There is also, in what goes under the name of the analytic, as well as in the synthetic, an outward didactic process. The apparent evolving from the student's own mind,

without outward instruction, is, as we have said, all a cheat. It is only substituting leading questions, and sometimes misleading ones, for a direct and frank imparting of knowledge. There is, however, in this counterfeit induction, a worse fault than its deceptiveness and unreality. The steps have not been marked. The boundaries between the old and the new knowledge have not been defined. That which is of far more importance than mere knowledge in itself considered, namely, its relative rank and value in the scale of knowledge, or its right position in respect to previous truth, has not been attended to. The student has arrived at some result in his gropings, but even where this is a right result, there is little or nothing to hold upon the memory, either in the steps or the conclusion, and both are, therefore, soon obscured, if not wholly lost. He knows not how far he has travelled, nor by what road, nor where he is, because there have been no guide-boards nor milestones upon his way.

The whole error of such a course would seem to arise from confounding the natural order of instruction, or of imparting truth, with the order of its discovery. In the one case, we are forced to the latter method, because we have reached the boundary of previous knowledge, and must launch forth beyond what had before been gathered in, and systematically bound together from the chaotic ocean of outward facts.* To require this of the youthful mind, before it had reached that terminus in any science, is to confound and bewilder the student, under pretence of making him think for himself. Just as though this thinking for himself were the great object of instruction, and not that he should think clearly and strongly; and, above all, that he should think right, from whatever source

* Here, too, there might seem to be that interchange of meaning in the use of these terms, to which we have before adverted. It arises from looking at them from different positions. The *addition* to the known of something derived from the unknown, is truly *synthesis*. And so it always is in respect to knowledge supposed to be communicated directly from the teacher to the scholar, or from the master to the disciple. Viewed, however, as an advance position laid hold of by the mind, it is either a sheer guess, or it must be supposed to be some more or less correct vaticination, derived from an analysis of the previous knowledge.

his thoughts may have come. If, moreover, he would ever truly think for himself, with strength and clearness, he must first be content to think with others through the domain of what may be called settled science, and established truth. The other method assumes, or seems to assume, that there is no such domain. All things are to be taken as yet unsettled and unknown. It is made a merit in the student that he thus regards it. All his studies are to proceed upon such a supposition of fancied independence. Other minds have discovered nothing—at least nothing for him. He is to make his own way through the wilderness, and this, too, on the modest assumption that others have failed in finding truth, or, at all events, that there is no path which he can trust on their authority. Any such idea would be only a subjecting the mind to trammels, and an impediment to the freedom of thought. Now, besides the sham and mockery of all this, the great mischief is, that what the student starts with as a hypothesis merely, although a very foolish hypothesis, becomes at length a settled habit of his mind. He grows up with this wretched conceit of thinking for himself, and despising all authority; while the continual effort at independence, or the avoidance of any path marked out by others, take away all true freedom and enlargement, as well as all rectitude of thought. In this way, too, the student loses the invigorating confidence of truth, from the darkening assumption that it is ever to be discovered, even in its elementary foundations.

When, however, he has really reached this terminus of settled science, he may, on that very account, with the stronger faith, launch his boat into the sea of the yet undiscovered and unknown. The art or science of analysis should, it is true, be taught as a distinct branch of culture or mental exercise, to be used when occasion calls for it; but the error complained of consists in reversing the order of nature, and making it the universal method in all departments. Youth are encouraged to be explorers and discoverers before they have learned the foundations of knowledge, or have even ascertained that there are any such foundations.

Thus in religious teaching, the tendency now is to throw

away the catechism, which is but the gathered knowledge of parents, and teachers, and past ages, and have the child learn, or teach himself, directly from the Scriptures, or from reason; just as though in learning natural science, he should be thrown upon the book of nature, as it is called, without other guide, or text-book, or authority. Now, we run no risk in saying, that in both departments, natural as well as moral, he learns little or nothing correctly; and this simply because there are before him no distinct formulas, or propositions, or moulds of thought, the arranged conclusions of older and surer guides, by the aid of which he may gather up and classify his own inductions, if he ever has any that he may call his own. He is to study it all out for himself, on the ground that he is to have confidence in his own immature reason; and what makes this the very sublime of rationality is the ever accompanying hypothesis, that he is to receive with distrust, or as a threatened invasion of his own independence, what has come to us as the condensed reason and the collected science of ages.

By way of illustration of the method of instruction we are defending, let us take some familiar examples from the more ordinary sciences. In arithmetic and algebra, the order of nature, and the method of teaching truth upon it, would require that destined rules and proportions should first be learned in that mode of late so much condemned, namely memoriter, or by rote; secondly, that the processes and operations denoted by these rules, should be known as matters of fact, or things to be done; thirdly, that they should actually be performed in practice and have become perfectly familiar as processes, in matters of skilful manual operation, and all this before there was any theorizing about it, or any attempt at explanation beyond making plain the method of operation. Thus, in the "Rule of Three," to use the common language of the school-house, let the pupil do every *sum*, the hard ones as well as the easy ones, those that have fractions and all, accurately, easily, and rapidly, before he is allowed to ask a single question in respect to what is called its reason and philosophy. It is all the better that these should seem to be, at first, a sort of magical working of the figures, and surprise at the strangely accurate results as tested by some like magical mode of proof. The writer speaks

from experience, both as a learner and a teacher, in saying that this will only call out more strongly the scientific interest, if rightly employed for that purpose, as well as a more distinct apprehension of the rationale itself, than would have been had it been attempted in the beginning, before the process, as a process, had been clearly mastered.

Such we believe to be the order of nature. The thing itself, as something to be done, or as an existing reality like the declension of a noun, or the conjugation of a verb, or a settled construction in syntax, or some fact or proposition in science distinctly set forth, should first be learned and received *as it is*, and then there are some fair grounds for the explanation of its philosophy, that is, its seen connexion with other truths or facts, which by a similar process have been linked to the mind's previous stores. Then is there something distinctly in the thoughts previous to philosophizing, and to which such philosophizing may be applied; something too, with which it afterwards coheres, and which will ever keep the rationale before the mind in clear apprehension and remembrance. The mind now *holds* the truth, because it has a well-fitted instrument by which it *apprehends*, and it retains it strongly and clearly, because in such good rules and formulas, it has the receptacles previously adapted for its indwelling.

In the other process the mind is set to reasoning, before it has as yet any thing properly before it on which it can reason; at least, nothing distinctly. All is chaotic and inaccurate. Hence, too, arise some of the worst of habits in respect to that most important result of right education—precision of language. In algebra, for example, (to take one of the plainest and most common cases,) the student will confound such words as *factor*, *term*, *co-efficient*, *power*, *function*, &c.; he will, in other cases, make no distinction between *quantity*, *magnitude*, *extent*; he will use as synonymous, *proportion* and *ratio*; and when corrected for such *slight* faults as these, will be apt to reply that he meant right, or that his ideas were right; and will perhaps complain that he should be found fault with for so small a matter as a mere error in words, when he has the things themselves and the reason of them. Thus he never learns the prime truths, that distinctness of language, in all departments, is

absolutely essential to distinctness of thought, that words are very important things, and that there can be no true apprehension of things, or of the reason and philosophy of things without them.

These remarks might be extended to the whole circle of education. If there be any truth in them, then Grammar, whether Latin or English, should first be taught and learned as a *positive* system of forms, facts, constructions, rules, or dogmatic propositions, which must first be distinctly learned as laying the foundation for subsequent explanations of their reason or philosophy. Or, to explain the general principle in the briefest terms—In all cases, the fact itself, or rule, or method, or form, must be objectively known as a fact, or method, or form, before there is any thing of which the rationale can be given. Not that the student should be allowed to remain in ignorance of the philosophy of what he is learning. We think our remarks are very far from that tendency—but that he should be conducted to that philosophy in the best, and clearest, and most lasting way through a previous memoriter preparation of dogmatic or synthetic instruction.

There is something about these inductive or analytic systems, as they are sometimes absurdly called, which, at first, strongly commends them to inexperienced teachers. They seem so philosophical. They have so much to say about development, and calling out the faculties, and teaching a student to “*think for himself*.” They make the work, too, so easy to the instructor. All he has to do is to ask prepared inductive questions, as they are termed, instead of devoting himself to the patient labour of enforcing the accurate learning by rote of rules and principles expressed in precise and well considered language. And then, too, the first progress seems so rapid. Results, however, are unmistakably showing that there is somehow a great delusion about this. Such a course has, not unfrequently, been found to be like that of the keel upon the waves, or like water poured into a sieve, or to change our metaphor, there have often been, under such culture, blossoms in plenty, but little or no ripened fruit.

We have spoken of good rules, or formulas, as the proper and natural receptacles of thought after it has been formed. We

may go farther than this, and maintain that they are the very moulds for the casting and formation itself. The mind cannot think clearly, any more than it can well remember without them. If this be so, then there can be no true development without these necessary envelopes previously produced in the matrix of older and wiser minds, and through which knowledge is generated and grows from age to age, just as truly and really as the physical development. Let boys then "think for themselves," but let there be ready these logical swathing bands for the young and tender ideas, when, according to the true Platonic doctrine, they first experience their outward birth. Without this, they will prove, with rare exceptions, monstrous and mischievous abortions, or grow up deformed "misshapen things," the wayward offspring of an unnatural, and irregular, unscientific introduction into the intellectual world. Clear words and formulas are as essential to the new-born thought, as air to the lungs of the new-born infant.

The views we have ventured to condemn have led to the almost entire rejection of memoriter instruction. It has been called slavish, "parrot-like," learning "by rote," &c. We hear it often said, to the supposed credit of certain schools, that their pupils are encouraged to think for themselves, or, according to another famous phrase of the day, to *express their ideas in their own language*, as being a much better thing than loading the memory with *forms* of words prepared for them by others. Such a style of expression may frequently be met with in published accounts of committees for school examinations, or in the inflated prospectus of some ambitious teacher, who wishes to call the attention of the public to it as a method very peculiar to himself. It is generally thought, too, to convey a severe condemnation of the opposite system. But there is certainly a delusion here. We have no desire to defend the manifest abuses, into which memoriter instruction, unless great pains are taken to guard against it, may naturally fall; yet still we must repeat the conviction, a conviction derived far more from experience than from theory, that there is, somehow, a great mistake about the ultra-opposite view, which is now so popular. It is not so clear that this unlimited right of *private judgment*, this encouraging pupils to think for themselves, and to express their

ideas in their own language, is, of itself, a better thing than thinking right, and being taught to express those ideas in right and proper language. It is not so certain that it will make stronger and clearer minds, or better developed intellects. It may be maintained, too, as a matter of fact, that no persons are more justly chargeable with talking parrot-like, than some who are ever repeating these phrases in their stereotyped caricatures of memoriter instruction.

“Words fitly spoken,” says Solomon, “are like apples of gold in pictures of silver.” Without meaning to be pedantic, we may say, what is probably known to most biblical scholars, that in the Hebrew it is “*words upon their wheels*,” (Prov. xxv. 11.) or *super rotis*, (by rote), precisely the phrase of which we are speaking. The metaphor is the same in both. It denotes the exact fitness, or truthfulness, of the words employed—no impediment, no discord, no jar or jargon—all smooth and easy, without redundancy or defect—the language precisely adjusted to the thought, so that it has an easy flow or passage, or runs smoothly upon it in the *discourse*, (*dis-cursus*) in which it may be used; or, to take the other metaphor, is in perfect adaptedness to the idea, or the “apples of gold,” to which it is the appropriate frame or setting.

Let pupils express ideas in their own language. We would cheerfully subscribe to the doctrine on one very fair condition. Let them be told that they may think for themselves, and speak for themselves; but only provided they have the right idea, and can express it in language better adapted to it, than that employed by the text-book they are studying, or than can be given to them from the lips of the teacher. Such an exercise, and such a comparison, might be of the highest utility, not only in learning accuracy of language, but also docility and modesty, as well as clearness of thought. “*Good forms of sound words*” in all departments of instruction, and those forms firmly treasured and arranged in the memory;—this is the motto we should like to see engraved on every school-house throughout our land; this is the maxim, which, however it may have been formerly abused, is now the one most requiring to be called up and enforced. In no dogmatic spirit would we express the conviction, that, at the present day, nothing can be more essen-

tial to accurate scholarship, or to that cultivation of the power of accurate thought, which is the best means to enable us afterwards truly "to think for ourselves."

If the result of the opposing course were simply inaccurate knowledge, it would be bad enough; but one of its worst effects is mental imbecility. This, however strange the assertion may seem to the boasting advocates of the other method, will appear from the following considerations. Nothing so tends to invigorate the mind as the delightful consciousness of clear and precise knowledge; be it on the humblest subject, and of the humblest kind. We have no doubt that many a backward pupil might be saved by a well-planned effort proceeding on this principle. Let the teacher, for a short period, abandon every thing else, and make such an one a special object of his care. Let him, in the exercise of the most unwearied patience, secure the thorough acquisition of one or two lessons, and often will he find that the work is done. The pressure, which rested like an incubus upon the soul is found to be strangely lightened; the right spring has been touched; the dormant energy has been aroused; the elastic impulse has been communicated. The exquisite satisfaction of knowing even one lesson well, so that the soul can call the knowledge its own, will be a stronger, as well as a purer, stimulus to further effort, than any false praise, or any excitement to mere emulation, or any device to render study attractive, without severe and continued labour. This delightful consciousness, we say, of accurate knowledge is the only legitimate stimulus; because, instead of relaxing, like other bracing applications, it becomes continually more and more intense by repetition. One lesson thus patiently and thoroughly learned will, almost certainly secure a second, and that a third, and so on, until the mind so gathers strength, that the future success of the scholar is placed beyond all reasonable doubt.

The simple philosophy of the whole matter is this. In the acquisition of knowledge, or in mental effort, clearness is strength—confusion is weakness. The latter is worse than ignorance; for it does not leave the mind as it found it. On the other hand, nothing more tends to weaken its powers of thought and reasoning, than those obscure apprehensions and chaotic ideas, which are the result of despising nature's method.

This consists in the simple process of conveying knowledge, as it clearly exists in one mind, from that mind to another in the form of distinct propositions; then connecting it with other truth previously lodged in the soul to which it is thus conveyed, or, in other words, making it to be understood; and then giving it up with confidence to the future action and modification of the recipient's own mental powers; so that it at last becomes his knowledge, virtually combined with his own mental organization. This is *instruction*—a *building in*, not upon a mere blank place, or capacity, but upon the soul's own ideas, or reminiscences thus, through the careful training of other minds that have grown on in a similar way, brought out in fair proportions and harmonious development.

There is no mystery in this simple process of teaching, and, therefore, to some it cannot seem to be philosophical. It merely requires clear knowledge on the part of the teacher, and then a determination to make patience and accuracy the prime things in all his aims and efforts. Out of the docile reception of instruction thus effected, springs up afterwards that true independence or power of thinking for ourselves, which can only really exist in a mind conscious of its own strength, as derived from the distinctness of that knowledge, from which and with which it thinks. Let facts decide the questions here involved. Let them determine which method of instruction produces the greater number of men who may be truly said to think for themselves; and from what schools, on the other hand, come the most of those, who are after all but the slaves of the public sentiment of the passing hour, whilst in their extravagant conceit, they are led to despise that accumulating inheritance of truth, which all ages have left behind them, after the froth and foam of each has passed away.

It is itself a parrot-like caricature, which describes all teaching of the memoriter kind as excluding philosophical explanation. If former times have erred in making instruction depend too much on the memory alone, or on naked forms of words, the present tendency is certainly to the other, and, we think, worse extreme. The mischief of the first error is sooner cured, because more easily discovered, and carries with it, besides, its own remedy. Without entering here into the philosophy of

language, it will be sufficient to appeal to the common experience in proof of the intimate connexion between right words and right thoughts. We have already given two examples of the current cant of the times. One is the famous maxim which exhorts the student to think for himself; the other is the making it a merit that he should express his ideas in his own language. We may complete the trio of absurdity, by referring to the common laudation of the knowledge of things as contrasted with the study of words. Now this is sheer nonsense. Common as it is, we make no apology for thus styling it. It is sheer nonsense thus to separate, or attempt to separate, what God has joined together in the constitution of the human mind; in other words, to sever thought from the mould or medium through which alone it becomes thought, either for those to whom it is to be communicated, or for the contemplation of the mind itself that *thinks the thought*—that is, holds it out as something objective to itself. Language is itself an emanation of the mind, but as existing objectively, it is the outward medium by which the soul reads itself. There cannot, therefore, be exact thoughts without exact words; and nothing is more idle than to talk of men's having ideas they cannot express, or which cannot be expressed. If this is so, it is because they have not been truly formed in the soul; there is yet a haze about them that prevents their assuming distinct outline or feature; for the moment this takes place, that moment do they clothe themselves in right words. The assertion may be true of mere feeling, or of what is sometimes called sentiment. These may be ineffable, because possessed of no real objectivity. But ideas are for all minds; and it is no true *idea*, if it cannot be *seen* by the soul; for this is implied in the very etymology of the term; and it cannot be seen except in the light through which alone it becomes visible; and this diaphanous medium is language, which, although emanating from the mind itself, becomes, in this way, to the inner what the optical light is to the more outward sense.

If the light is but darkness without the eye, so is the eye but blindness without the light. Let proper language be prepared, then, as this true mould or medium of the intelligence, that it may read its own thoughts, and when matured vision comes, it

will see correctly what otherwise would be distorted or obscure. From mere facts and rules, and we will even venture to say, from words alone, thus treasured in the memory, even with little or no explanation at the time, the mind may afterwards of itself wake up to a right apprehension of the truths conveyed and so well expressed in these formulas; and when it does so, there is a spirit in good, well-chosen words, which gives a life-like distinctness to the thought it would never have possessed had it been born in some other way.

The effect of the other process, when exclusively pursued, is like the growth of the seed sown on the barren rock, or on the light soil. It may suddenly spring up, but having no depth of well-prepared, or cultivated earth, into which its roots may penetrate, it soon withers away, or else spreads abroad in a rank, irregular growth. And thus this lauded process of thinking for one's self—of thinking, in other words, without distinct thoughts or propositions to think upon, results so often in the blighted harvest of confused knowledge and mental imbecility.

Aristophanes, in his caricature of the Socratic doctrine of ideas, has a scene in which an ignorant booby is represented as placed on a pallet, in a dark room, and full of fleas, for the purpose of compelling him to think out for himself the abstract, or abstracting idea (if we may use the Greek pun) which was required. In some like incomprehensible manner, do those who are fond of this style, and who may be taken as the representatives of the school, regard every thing as having been elaborated or thought out by themselves. History, philosophy, morals, theology, natural science even—all take a new aspect from the transforming individuality of their own minds. They have thought for themselves, and know for themselves, and deem it therefore no violation of modesty to impose their own most original views on those, who have thought it wisest to try, at least, to take some general inventory of the world's stock of knowledge, before assuming to have added what will often be found, in the end, to be either gross error, or some marred aspect of truths as old as humanity.

This class of thinkers are, in general, the greatest foes to all those views of education, whose fundamental principle it is to enlighten and strengthen the individual mind by bringing it, as

far as can be, into organic communion with the mind of the race, and which therefore, would inculcate authority as the first great lesson for the intellectual as well as the moral nature; demanding faith, in this sense, as an indispensable prerequisite to the first true exercise of right reason, and as furnishing the finest ground for subsequent mental independence. Hence their first, and last, and sole admonition, when giving advice to the young, is ever—think for yourselves—whether you think rightly, or clearly, or not, at all events *think for yourselves*—reject all mere authority that will not, in the very start, satisfy your private judgment, or individual reason, before it requires submission; indulge, accordingly, in the highest estimate of your own powers, for this necessarily follows from the spirit of the preceding advice;—be the “formers of your own minds,” and ever regard the knowledge and the “problem of life” as something to be worked out by each one, of himself, and for himself.

Thinking for ourselves! What meaning is there really in this so common phrase? Wherein is the true value of knowledge, or the essential nature of truth, varied by the mode of its acquisition? even should it be granted, that it might be well attained without a previous well-settled foundation of authority as the initial ground of solid future progress. If it be said, that acquisitions thus made are the more lasting, because the result of a greater effort, the answer, to which we have before alluded, is at once at hand—Such internal effort is never truly called out in this way. It has been said before, but we cannot too often repeat it, that the power of the mind is in proportion to the distinctness and accuracy of its knowledge. Its strength is its clearness. A little in this way well known—even a very little—leads on to a higher and more intense energy of thought and thinking, than ever came from those crude and obscure conceptions, clothed in indefinite and ill-chosen forms of speech, which characterize this lauded process, wherein from the very start, the pupil is exhorted to think for himself, to express his ideas in his own language, and to study things instead of words. With rare exceptions, such a course must lead to one of two results. It either produces a flatulent state of mind, full of falsities both of thought and language; or else, after a brief

period of seemingly rapid advance, involves the soul that would think in utter confusion, bringing along with it as its natural consequences perplexity, discouragement, the painful sense of loose and chaotic knowledge, ever enfeebling, as it bewilders the intellect, and thus rendering it more and more incapable of any earnest and vigorous effort.

But there is another department of our general subject, which is not to be overlooked. The moral and social influences of the two courses of education are to be considered, as well as their mere intellectual bearings. The one, as we have endeavoured to show, actually enfeebles the mind, but at the same time, fills it with a vain conceit of independence and originality even in the very alphabet of knowledge. The other, whilst it strengthens, at the same time inculcates a docile humility. It inspires true confidence in itself, whilst it cherishes also the humane or fraternal, instead of the individualizing, selfish spirit. The soul is led to feel an enhanced interest in its acquisitions as connected with the previous common stock of a past humanity. It rejoices in any additions it may itself make, by way of discovery, as deriving their value mainly from their relation to such a former knowledge of the race, and as actually growing out of it after the law of a natural and rational progress. Instead of finding gratification in the narrow and selfish idea of thinking of itself, and for itself, it has a most exquisite pleasure in the consciousness of a communion of thought with the wise, and good, and sober-minded of all ages.

With those who maintain the view against which we contend, education is mainly and pre-eminently individualizing. At least such is their claim. They boast of this as being not only its peculiar result, but also its peculiar merit. The knowledge acquired, the strength of mind, the mental habits, or the intellectual and moral position, are of little or no account *per se*, when compared with their fancied originality, or with what they would style the development of the strongly marked independent, and free thinking individual character.

Now the first and most obvious objection to this, arises from the fact of its creating for the soul another interest, controlling, if not wholly superseding that which should ever be highest and strongest—the interest of truth. This is something more than

an intellectual evil, or a wrong done to the intellect. It is a most serious moral mischief, thus to produce a habit of mind in which everything must tend to make individuality of thought, or, in other words, thinking for ourselves, of more account than thinking right, even though it be with others, and which thus produces, not only an interest higher than truth, but also a temptation to prefer even wrong thinking, if supposed to be original, to acquiescence in old and well-settled opinion. We believe that one who has been trained under such an influence, is much less likely, on that very account, to become a true Christian, or even to develop the fairest traits of what is commonly called morality. There is great reason for regarding this false interest as the chief moral taint of our literary period, carrying with it many other moral evils in its train, and thus bringing that class who ought to be the refiners and the elevators of our humanity, under the influence of some of the lowest passions of our nature.

But waiving all such considerations, and even admitting, for the sake of argument, that such individuality might be secured without this danger of sacrificing the higher interest of truth, we may still doubt whether it is really desirable in itself, or is even a true result of right education. In opposition to all that is now so frequently said, it may be maintained, that the more a man has been brought under the power of a true *educating* process, be it limited or extensive, (provided only its several parts be adjusted to a proper harmony,) the more is he *drawn out* of himself, (*educatus*, educé), or out of his native individualism, into a harmonizing community of sentiment with the thoughtful and reasoning humanity of all ages. The other idea, although held by many who profess the most philanthropic zeal, does in fact cherish a partial and one-sided interest in humanity, or rather a more intensely selfish love of certain partial opinions assuming the name of universal benevolence, whilst all experience shows, that, in the end, it ever manifests its real nature in the exhibition of a fanatical and ferocious spirit.

The true view of education, as the carrying on the collected knowledge of the race, or the handing down the torch of truth as it steadily grows in distinctness and splendour from age to

age, must, from its very nature, more and more cherish in the soul the noble sentiment of the Roman poet,

“Homo sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto.”

We may also illustrate the thought by the old comparison of the statue in the block of marble; although this, at first, might seem rather to favour the individualizing view. It may be said, however, with perfect consistency, that the true mental culture, the farther it is carried, ever chips off the projecting and distorting individualism, and thus educates, that is, brings the subject out of his native rubbish, into the form, and measure, and proportions of the truest humanity.

Seldom has more truth and wisdom been conveyed in few words than in that short aphorism of Burke, “*the individual man is weak, but the race is strong.*” All true education should recognize it, not only as the foundation, but as the keystone and finish of mental culture. Of this, the design and tendency should ever be to harmonize the mind with itself, and with all other minds that have been the subjects of a similar discipline. Such a uniting process may be traced in any one science viewed solely in reference to itself, without regard to its general effect in connexion with others. Take musical culture for example. Before the soul has experienced its influence in attuning to a common temperament, each man has his psalm, or his song, or what is absurdly called his natural taste. It is contended that there is the same right to differ here as in the gratification of the mere animal appetites. The maxim, *de gustibus non est disputandum*, is applied with as much confidence to the semi-intellectual eye and ear, as to the merely sensual nose and palate. We have a right, it is said, to love what is inharmonious in theory, if we choose; or to be fond of the mere lusciousness of unregulated concords, tickling the sense, but having no science, and no relation to a common reason, which commands us to love and admire only what it approves. When, however, the attention is closely given to music as a system, it is found to be something more than a matter of sense. The mere animal tastes of individuals, (diverse and individual because they are sensual) converge more and more to a common standard. Individual characteristics and peculiarities will

still exist; but, as real advance is made, there is also discovered, more and more, a growing unity, in which all truly scientific musicians tend to an agreement, and which becomes the common measure of what is truly right and excellent. The discords arising from ignorance and want of culture are one after another resolved. Each is enabled to determine *a priori*, what would be pleasing to all, and thus do they continually draw nearer to the true natural taste, instead of that which each man had previously claimed as being one with the decision of his own individual sense. It may be called the true natural taste, because it lies under all these individual sensitivities, which are ever varying with the outward influences, and because it is only brought out by going down below the sense to some ratio or reason that is universal, and may, therefore, become the foundation of a common science.

Should it be said, by way of objection to the illustration, that this unity, or tendency to unity, is the result of a common system controlling the more natural or genuine tastes, and forcing them into agreement, the answer is promptly furnished by the fact, that such a musical system has been for ages growing out of the scientific cultivation, and that, therefore, there must be some deep ground for it lying farther back than those individual preferences that are ever different according to the circumstances of time, and place, and physical temperament, that go to form them.

As with the particular science of music, so also is it in respect to that culture which consists in a harmonious combination of the various departments of knowledge, physical, political, social, moral, metaphysical, and theological. Just in proportion as such culture has been thorough and extensive, will there be a drawing together of all cultivated minds, a merging of those ideas, so prized by some for their fancied novelty, which grow out of the individualizing spirit, and are the peculiar boast of those who call themselves self-educated men, and of what is so appropriately styled the self-educating method. Just as the true and well-harmonized educational process goes on, are these conceits dropped one by one, as doctrines that have over and over again been broached and exploded under ever shifting aspects, whilst there is brought out, more and more, that con-

servative harmony of thought in reference to all great fundamental truths, which constitutes the only solid basis for an organic, and, therefore, a real and permanent progress.

Let education, then, be thorough and well-proportioned, as far as it goes, or, in other words, combining a proper adjustment of the several departments of knowledge; let it be liberal, *παιδεία ἐλευθέριος*, as Aristotle calls it, that is, for man as man, instead of being ever warped to those one-sided, partial pursuits, that have falsely usurped the name of the practical, and which will ever take care of themselves, without any special patronage; let it, in short, be predominantly spiritual, in the most catholic sense of the word, as opposed generally to the materializing tendency of almost all that goes under the name of business, and which needs to be repressed rather than stimulated in the soul's early training: let education have these characteristics, we say, and without doubt will it be conservative, constructive, truly progressive, and humane—that is cherishing a respect for the common reason and universal sentiments of the race, and for all those institutions which have ever grown out of their spontaneous action, or which justly claim for themselves a divine appointment. Such institutions, instead of destroying for the sake of any untried forms or fancied reforms, it would ever conserve, by making them share in the true progress of the race, so far as such progress may be an upward as well as an onward movement of our humanity. It would thus conserve, by ever modifying them into fresh channels for good, and thus regarding them as the abiding media, through which the best and highest life of which we are capable in this world is to be developed. Let education, on the other hand, be every where partial, utilitarian in the ordinary sense of the word, one-sided—let it be rapid and superficial in its course, as it can, must, and will be, when regarded as a means to success in what is called business, or as subordinate to any end that is actually of a lower nature than itself—let it be predominantly physical and materializing—let it cast off all deference to authority, and all connexion with the past—let it be proud of an assumed independence, clamorous for private judgment in that sense which denies that any truths are conclusively settled for the human reason, boastful of the present, ever strain-

ing its vision upon the dim and shadowy future, and it will inevitably be radical in the worst sense of the term, disorganizing, destructive, individualizing, truly unfraternal with all its pretensions to the contrary, ever cherishing jealousies in regard to personal rights and social distinctions, and, therefore, amid all its boasts of progress in the physical and material, actually tending to a degeneracy both of the intellectual and the moral nature.

It may be said, too, of education regarded under the first of these aspects, that whilst it brings out the humanity, it at the same time more distinctly develops the higher and stronger individual characteristics than the opposite course, although the latter makes this last result one of its loudest boasts. We often hear it said that the worth of the individual man has but just now been discovered and acknowledged; heretofore he was regarded only in connexion with his race, or as a member of the State or of the Church. This, it has been alleged, is brought about mainly by these new views of education, which refuse a servile submission to authority, which teach every man to think for himself, and be the "former of his own intellectual character."

Let it however be tested at once by an appeal to the facts of human history. When have the individual strength, and characteristics, and power for good, been most strongly developed? under that view of culture which magnifies the claims and rights of the private man and of the private mind regarded by itself, or that which attaches importance to it mainly in its relations to the common institutions of humanity? Under which view is man more truly elevated? Which confers upon him a more real dignity—that which regards him as a fragment of a mass, each separate segment of which is striving to individualize itself, or that which treats him as a living member of a living organism, from whence is derived, not only the utilitarian value of each member, but also its distinct individuality as a part, and aside from which it becomes dead, and worthless, and nameless, as a severed limb, when taken out of its relation of membership to a living body? Again, under what circumstances, and at what periods, may we expect more of a mediocre sameness, than when the age is every where boasting of this very tendency to

individualism? Or when may we look for less of true originality than at a time when every child is taught to repeat this inane self-laudation, and all distinction of individual thought is lost, because no man has room for anything else than a barren idea of progress, a contempt for the past, and a blinding reverence for an unknown future? The appeal is made to history and experience; let them answer.

When, on the other hand, a broad humanity is thus made the pervading and controlling idea of education, especially of what we call liberal education, the individual characteristics themselves, it may be repeated, are more truly brought out and made available, because grounded on so sure a foundation. He stands out most distinctly from the rest, who has the most of this common humanity. All genuine reformers have ever first looked back, and built on old fundamental principles which had become unsettled or obscured. Such have been the most prominent as individuals, from the very fact that more than others have they exhibited in themselves the power of the common mind. They have led and fashioned the spirit of their own age, because, more than other men have they possessed the spirit of all ages.

The world has seldom, if ever, been truly carried forward by minds of an opposite class. Whenever and wherever there has been a true and powerful awakening of the human soul, such as has left its deep mark on succeeding times, then and there we look in vain for any of that cant which now presents itself in so many boasting and offensive forms. There is more talk of "new ideas," and "great developments," and the "wonderful age," and "our most remarkable period," in one modern lecture before a young men's association, than in all the political and philosophical writings which distinguished the stirring periods of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We may often hear more of it in one sermon than the most thorough search could find in all the writings of the Reformation; although every thing in that new, and changing, and deeply exciting state of things, might be naturally supposed to stimulate to such a style, had there not been something of an opposite nature which tended to keep down all false inflation. In fact, the age was too serious a one for any such gasconade; it was too deeply occupied with an

earnest search for truth to talk much of its originality; it was too intent on getting a strong and sure foundation to be ever eulogizing its own work, or boasting of its superiority to all others.

ART. V.—*The True Test of an Apostolical Ministry.*

THE Apostles governed the primitive Church, not in dioceses or fixed districts, but with an ambulatory and convenient jurisdiction. The power of each extended to the whole. Still, in the exercise of this extraordinary power, they appear to have had some regard to a division of labour. Paul expresses his unwillingness to interfere with other men's labours, and his earnest wish to preach the gospel where it had not yet been heard. (Rom. xv. 20, 21.) In accordance with this method was the general distribution of the Jews and Gentiles between Paul and Peter. (Gal. ii. 7.)

When a church was founded by an Apostle, he seems to have sustained a peculiar relation to it afterwards, as its spiritual father, and as such bound still in some degree to watch over it, and for that purpose to keep up a correspondence with it by personal visits, or by messengers or letters. Among the churches, which appear to have been organized by Paul in some of his mission journeys, were the churches of Galatia. We know that his practice was to ordain elders in every city where he left a church. (Acts xiv. 23, Tit. i. 5.) To these he committed the government and instruction of the infant churches, when he turned himself to other fields of labour or of suffering. That these successors would in every case be faithful and successful substitutes for apostolic care, was not to be expected. Nor is it surprising that in some instances abuses and corruptions, both of doctrine and of practice, should have soon sprung up. A remarkable example of abuse in practice is afforded by the case of the Corinthian church with respect to the communion. (1 Cor. xi. 20–34.) A no less remarkable example of doctrinal declension is afforded by the case of the Galatians. After Paul's

departure they were led by certain teachers who succeeded him to exchange the doctrine of gratuitous salvation for a slavish reliance upon legal ceremonies. This was the occasion of the Epistle to the Galatians, in which the Apostle expresses his surprise, his grief, his indignation, at the change which had befallen them, and eloquently pleads with them, in warm and cogent argument, to come back to the elevated ground where he had left them. From this interesting case, and the Epistle growing out of it, we may gather some instructive facts respecting the condition of the early Church, under the government of the Apostles.

It shows us, in the first place, that there were doctrinal differences, even in the primitive Church; that such differences do not result merely from the lapse of time, or grow out of a departure from the primitive organization of the Church. On the contrary, they seem to have been included in the course of discipline, through which it pleased God that the Church should pass; a discipline involving doubt, perplexity, temptation, conflict; the necessity of using means for the attainment even of what God had promised; and especially of ascertaining truth by diligent investigation, careful comparison, and deliberate judgment. The Church was indeed to be secure from all her enemies, and to pass triumphantly through all her trials; but through them she must pass, that the trial of her faith, being much more precious than of gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto praise and honour and glory, at the appearing of Jesus Christ. (1 Pet. i. 7.) She was to surmount all difficulties, but she must first grapple with them. She was to conquer all her enemies, but she must first encounter them. That this was God's providential purpose with respect to the Church, is evident from the whole tenor of his dispensations towards it; and a part of this disciplinary system was the permission of doctrinal diversities, even in her infancy. Let it be observed, too, that the doctrinal differences of which we speak, were not mere trifles, but related to the most momentous doctrines of religion. In the case before us, the point of difference was no less than the method of salvation, whether by faith or by the works of the law, and the divergence of the parties so extreme that the Apostle calls the doctrine which he con-

demns "another gospel." True, he immediately recalls the expression and adds, "which is not another;" but this, so far from extenuating the diversity, enhances it by intimating that the error was so great as not to be entitled to the name of "gospel."

These differences, too, existed not merely on the part of private Christians or unauthorized teachers, but, it would seem, also among those whose external commission and authority were undisputed. This may be gathered from the very great influence ascribed in the New Testament to erroneous teachers; an influence, which could hardly have been exerted to such an extent, and with such success, in the absence of a regular external warrant. That such a warrant would not of itself ensure soundness in the faith is plain, because it did not profess to convey inspiration or infallibility, and because it is a notorious fact, admitted upon all hands, that error may be, and has often been, inculcated by those who were regularly authorized to exercise the functions of the ministry. That the Galatians could have been so easily, so soon, and so completely led away from the faith which Paul had taught them, by their own speculations or by self-constituted public teachers, is in itself exceedingly improbable; and this improbability is aggravated by the allusion to their undue reliance upon human authority. If their departure from the faith had been occasioned by the mere indulgence of their own rash speculations, or the suggestions of obscure men, having no claim to their confidence, it would have been abundantly sufficient to condemn the error without any reference to those who broached it, or with explicit reference to their acting without any due authority. In that case the Apostle would no doubt have warned them against trusting in themselves, or in the teachings of those who were without an apostolical commission. But when he says, "though I or an angel from heaven preach another gospel," it is clearly implied that they might naturally be disposed to justify their change of opinion by appealing to the authority of those who had produced it. As if he had said, it is in vain for you to plead the apostolical commission and authority of these erroneous teachers; for if even I myself, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be

accursed. Such expressions would be wholly unaccountable, if not unintelligible, on the supposition that there was no undue regard to human authority involved in their departure from the truth. From these considerations it becomes quite evident, that the doctrinal differences in the early Church not only extended to the most important subjects, but existed among the authorized public teachers of religion. How long such were permitted to continue the dissemination of important error, is another question, which, as we shall see, the Apostle virtually answers; but all that we insist upon at present is the fact, that serious departures from the apostolic doctrine appear to have originated sometimes with the regularly authorized instructors of the people, in this case perhaps with the very elders whom Paul and Barnabas ordained in every city.

Now from these facts, that doctrinal diversities existed at a very early period, and among the authorized teachers of religion, some may be disposed to infer that the Apostles did not regard uniformity of doctrine as a matter of much moment. It becomes a matter of some interest, therefore, to observe the view which Paul takes of this subject in the case before us, and more particularly to compare his views with two rival theories which have been prevalent in modern times.

The first of these is what may be called the latitudinarian hypothesis, which reduces the essentials of belief to the smallest possible compass, and regards all beyond it as debateable or neutral ground, representing even what are acknowledged to be errors, as mere modifications of the truth, varied developments of one and the same substance, or successive phases of an invariable orb; while one class of the same school gain the same end, by explaining away doctrinal distinctions of the most important kind, as distinctions in philosophy rather than theology, various methods of explaining and accounting for the same undoubted fact.

The other hypothesis referred to is, that purity of doctrine is indeed important in the last degree, but that its security depends upon external regulations and connexions; that the truth is intrinsically of the highest value, but that in practice the first duty is to be connected with the true organization of the Church,

from the neglect of which all error springs, and by a due regard to which it can alone be avoided.

If either of these views had been entertained by the Apostle, it is easy to imagine how he must have expressed himself on this occasion. If, for example, he had regarded doctrinal distinctions as intrinsically unimportant, he would either have forbore to address the Galatian errorists at all, or he would have addressed them only to assure them that between his views and theirs there was no essential difference, but merely one of language or philosophy. You, he might have said, see one face of the orb of truth, I see another; you through one medium, I through another. Sooner or later we shall see alike; and even if we should not, it would be unwise to exasperate our spirits by mutual contention. Since we cannot think alike, let us agree to differ.

How widely does this differ from the strong and almost passionate expressions, in which Paul speaks of the foolish Galatians, as bewitched, and as having been so soon removed from him that had called them into the grace of Christ unto another gospel, and of those who were the authors of this dereliction, as accursed of God.

If, on the other hand, he had regarded purity of doctrine as in practice secondary to ecclesiastical relations and communion with a certain body, how would such a principle have led him to express himself in this case? Might he not have been expected to address them thus? You have departed from the faith. You have fallen into dangerous and soul-destroying error. But this has arisen from your culpable neglect of the external safeguards which the Church affords you. You have listened to the teachings of unauthorized instructors. You have submitted to invalid ministrations. You have forsaken the Church, and God has forsaken you. But in the Epistle there is nothing of all this, no allusion whatever to the want of authority and ministerial warrant on the part of those who had seduced them; but rather, as we have already seen, an implication of the contrary. There is no intimation that the evils he describes, had been occasioned by outward irregularities or mere defects of form; while at the same time, he speaks of the evil in itself as most momentous, as

subversive of the gospel, as not a mere misfortune, but a grievous fault, dangerous to themselves, injurious to the Church, dishonourable to Christ, and offensive to God.

All this implies, that the error, into which they had fallen, might have been avoided. But in what way? They might well have asked, how could we have foreseen the error or unfaithfulness of those, who were placed over us as spiritual guides? Would you have us to withdraw our confidence entirely from public teachers, and rely exclusively upon our private judgments? This would have been wholly at variance with Paul's instructions, who abounds in exhortations to obedience and docility. In no way then could the offence have been avoided, but by carefully distinguishing between the true and false, between the messenger of God and the unauthorized intruder between the faithful shepherd and the hireling, the thief and the robber, or the wolf in sheep's clothing; in short, by the rigid application of a test to the pretensions of all public teachers, even of such as were possessed of the most regular external call to rule the Church and teach the people.

And now the interesting question meets us, What shall this test be? This is a question not of temporary but perpetual interest; one which, far from having lost its original importance, is as violently agitated now as ever. There never was a stronger disposition than at present to lay down rules for distinguishing a true church and a valid ministry from counterfeits. Even those, who refuse to take a part in the invention of these tests, cannot expect to be exempted from their application. If we will not try others, we must be tried ourselves. It is our interest, therefore, no less than our duty, to discover, if we can, what test of ministerial authority is warranted by Scripture, and by primitive usage. And in no way can this be more easily and certainly effected, than by duly considering the language used by the Apostle Paul, in a case which required the application of precisely such a test as that in question.

We have seen that he represents the error, into which the Galatians had been led, as a most serious one, both in itself and in its necessary consequences, and at the same time, as one which might with proper care, have been avoided. But as they had been seduced by erroneous teachers, the only way in

which they could have shunned the evil into which they fell, was by refusing to obey these leaders. And unless the Apostle meant to teach, in contradiction to his teachings elsewhere, that they ought to have acknowledged and obeyed no spiritual guides whatever, the only way in which the evil could have been escaped was, by the application of a test to the pretensions of their public teachers, by trying the spirits whether they were of God, (1 John iv. 1.) by proving all things and holding fast that which was good. (1 Thess. v. 21.) It was evident, however, that the Galatians were possessed of no such test, or they would not have yielded blindly to the authority of their instructors. It was necessary therefore to acquaint them with it. Otherwise all the Apostle's exhortations and rebukes would have been unavailing to preserve them from a repetition of the same mistake. But he does lay down the rule by which true ministers and churches might for ever and in all parts of the world be infallibly distinguished. This he does in the form of a solemn malediction. "But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. As we said before, so say I now again, if any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed." (Gal. i. 8, 9.)

In this test the first thing which demands attention is its comprehensiveness, both with respect to the curse pronounced, and to the persons upon whom it is pronounced. The phrase ἀνάθεμα ἔστω, *let him be anathema*, was early adopted as a standing formula of excommunication in the Christian Church. This use of it is founded on the text before us and the similar expressions of the same Apostle elsewhere. That he used it himself in this ecclesiastical and technical sense, there seems to be no reason for believing. The Greek word is the equivalent of the Hebrew קדש, denoting that which is irredeemably set apart or consecrated, or more particularly that which was to be destroyed without reserve. As some things under the Old Testament were consecrated to God, to be employed in his service, such as sacrificial animals, the first fruits of the earth, etc.; so other things were consecrated to him, in the sense of being doomed to destruction. These it was unlawful to apply to any other

use. To represent this Hebrew term the Greek translators used a word denoting any thing deposited in the temples as a gift to the presiding deity. This word is *anathema*, which is therefore used in the New Testament to signify one doomed to destruction, and with a natural departure from the primary import of the Greek word, one cast out from God, and cut off from communion with him. The votive offerings in the heathen temples were given to the gods, and supposed to be accepted by them in the proper sense. The Hebrew *אנאשמה* or *חרם* was given to God only in the sense of being cut off from the use or society of man and doomed to irredeemable destruction.

But though the terms of this malediction do not specifically denote ecclesiastical censure, they include them. He, who is cut off from God, is cut off from the Church; and he, who is cut off from the Church, can have no official authority in it, nor any claim to the obedience of its members. If it be said that a man may be accursed of God, and yet retain his standing as an office-bearer in the Church, and in that character may claim obedience, as Judas Iscariot was entitled to the same respect as the other Apostles, although secretly accursed and doomed to perdition; this objection applies only to those cases where the curse is not revealed. But in the case before us, we are distinctly told who are accursed; and the very form of expression which Paul uses necessarily implies, that he is not merely declaring a secret divine purpose with respect to false teachers, but the duty of the Church. When he says "let him be accursed," it is not the expression of a wish that he may be accursed, but an injunction to regard him as accursed already. If not, the Apostle's language would be quite irrelevant. The sin and folly of the Galatians in leaving the gospel preached to them by Paul, under the guidance of false teachers, could not have been made apparent, by declaring that all such teachers would be ultimately punished, or were already secretly condemned. They had been guilty of culpable neglect in not judging these false teachers by the rule laid down. They ought to have known that all who taught another gospel were to be regarded as accursed, *anathema*, without authority from God, or standing in his Church. The Apostle's malediction, therefore, comprehends an absolute unerring test of ministerial authority.

Nor is the test less comprehensive with respect to the persons upon whom the malediction is pronounced. Had the Apostle said, If any private person, or unauthorized teacher of religion, preach another gospel to you, let him be accursed; the application of the test would necessarily have been suspended on the question, whether the person whose pretensions were to be determined by it, was regularly clothed with a commission from the proper Church authorities. If so, he would of course have been exempted from the operation of the rule. Again, had he said, If any authorized minister, of ordinary rank, preach another gospel, let him be accursed; the previous question would, in that case be, whether the teacher was not more than an ordinary minister. If, for example, he was an apostle, he might plausibly have laid claim to an exemption from the operation of the rule here given, not by contending that he was at liberty to preach false doctrine, which would be absurd, but by claiming for his own instructions, be they what they might, the character of truth, without appeal to any other standard than his own apostolical authority. Again, let us suppose Paul to have said, if any other of the apostolic body preach another gospel, he would then have provided for his own case as exempt from his own rule. Or if he had said any human being, he would still have left, as it were, a special immunity to beings of a higher order. But as if to provide for the most improbable contingencies, he frames his malediction, so as to include not only private Christians or self-constituted teachers, but those possessing the most regular external call to exercise the office; not only those of ordinary rank, but even the Apostles; not only his associates, but himself; not only all men, but the angels from heaven. There is neither exception nor reserve. The terms are perfectly unlimited. Whoever, whether man or angel, preaches any other gospel, let him be accursed. Thus the test is no less comprehensive in relation to the persons upon whom it is to operate, than in relation to its practical effect upon their standing and authority. As it extends to the destruction of all authority in the Church, so it extends to all by whom such authority could be claimed or exercised. Having shown that the Apostle here establishes the test of a true ministry, from the application of which no man nor class of men can claim exemp-

tion, we proceed to consider what the test itself is. "Though we, or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. As we said before, so say I now again, if any one preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed." This is the test that Paul prescribes, conformity of doctrine to the apostolic teaching under which the church among them had been organized. It is wholly unnecessary to inquire what was the gospel which Paul preached, and wherein the Galatians had departed from it. These are inquiries, which might easily be answered, which the whole Epistle was designed to answer; but for our present purpose it is quite enough to know that the Galatians were in no doubt as to these points. They knew what gospel Paul had preached, and what other gospel their subsequent instructors preached; and knowing these things, they are told by the Apostle, that conformity to what he had originally taught them, is the test by which they ought to have distinguished, not only between the truth and falsehood of the doctrines which they heard, but between the claims of authorized ministers and those who were usurpers of the name.

Observe, too, that he speaks of this conformity of doctrine as of something which they were to measure for themselves, not only able so to do, not only authorized, but bound, and that not merely by his positive command, but by an obligation arising from the very nature of the case, an obligation founded in necessity. For if they did not judge, who would, who could, who ought to judge? Their spiritual guides? But these were the very spirits to be tried. Could they be judges in their own cause, especially when it was undue confidence in them which had produced the very evils here referred to? Could the sin and folly of trusting them too much be retrieved by trusting them still more? To whom then should they look? To the Apostles? But the rule, which Paul lays down, extends to them as well as others. The teaching even of Apostles is subjected to this simple but inexorable law. Yes, even Paul himself was to be judged by it, and by the breach of it to be condemned. The duty, therefore, of comparing all that they should hear with that which they had heard already, was devolved upon themselves, and all attempts to shift it upon others

must be treated as evasions of a solemn obligation. In vain did they object, perhaps, that they were not qualified for such an office, that their judgment was fallible, their knowledge limited, etc. A sufficient answer to all such objections was afforded by the facts, that no one else could do it, and that God required it; to which it may be added, that the allegation involved in the objection is untrue. If they were able to receive and understand the doctrines of their teachers, they were able to determine for themselves, whether the doctrines of their different teachers were identical or opposite, whether the gospel preached by Paul's successors was "another gospel," or the same which they had heard from him. What was essential to conformity of doctrine, and how far diversities of judgment upon certain points might be consistent with it, these are questions not affecting the main principle contended for. In this case, Paul assumes two facts as undeniable; that the Galatians had embraced another gospel; and that they knew, or might have known it, and were therefore chargeable with having fallen wilfully from grace. If Paul is laying down a test at all, he surely must be laying down a test which they were able to apply; and if that test is uniformity of doctrine, it is necessarily implied that they were capable of judging whether what they heard was the same gospel or "another." Observe too, that the standard of comparison, by which they were to measure the instructions of their public teachers, is assumed by the Apostle to be something not only within their reach, accessible, intelligible, and a proper subject of personal inquiry and of private judgment, but also something already fixed, determined, and notorious. This is a circumstance of vast importance in relation to the practical employment of the test, one upon which its efficacy in a great degree depends. Had he said, "if I or an angel from heaven preach any other doctrine than THE TRUTH, let him be accursed," all would have been vague and indeterminate. The very problem to be solved was the true method of discriminating truth from falsehood; and the sin of the Galatians, as denounced by Paul, consisted in embracing error when they were already in possession of a touchstone or criterion, accessible, notorious, enduring, and immutable. The proof of their moral delinquency would have failed, if the test

which he refers to had been something yet to be discovered or revealed. It was, because it was complete and settled, that they were without excuse for their departure from the faith.

If the Apostle had pronounced his malediction upon those who preached a different gospel from the one which he should preach thereafter, he would not only have left the Galatians free from blame, but the whole question as indefinite as ever. For however strong the presumption might have been, that he would still inculcate the same doctrine as before, the minds of men must still have been suspended, lest some future revelation should exhibit the whole method of salvation in a new and unexpected aspect. This uncertainty would have been still greater, if he had referred to the subsequent teachings of the Apostles generally, as the standard of comparison; and greater still, almost beyond comparison, if he had made the doctrines even of the ancient church the test of truth. But how shall we describe the additional uncertainty, in which the matter must have been involved, if the validity of all ministrations had been made to depend upon conformity of doctrine with the Church throughout all ages? But instead of these expedients, which a merely human wisdom might have thought sufficient, he requires conformity with nothing still contingent or yet to be revealed, but with a system of doctrine already developed and notoriously fixed. This circumstance not only makes the Apostle's rule more suitable and applicable to the case of the Galatians, but extends its application to all churches and all ages with a perfect uniformity. For as the personal preaching of Paul had left no possibility of doubt upon the part of the Galatians as to what the gospel was, at least in its essential features, we, notwithstanding the vast interval of time which intervenes, enjoy, in this respect, a great advantage, because we possess the written word of God in its integrity. The canon of Scripture is complete and closed for ever, with a solemn curse impending over any who shall venture to add to it or take from it. If then the Apostle could refer the Galatians to what he had preached to them in person as containing the whole gospel, and insist upon conformity with this as the unerring test of valid ministrations, how much more may we be called upon to act upon the same rule, when the standard of comparison is

complete in writing, and incapable of either diminution or increase. The test then here established is a test of easy application, and referring to a standard of comparison already fixed, and fixed for ever. Our next remark upon it is, that it takes precedence of all other tests. It either includes them as its parts, or excludes them as its opposites. This is a circumstance of great importance, since the practical utility of such a test would be impaired if not destroyed, if its condemning judgments were reversible by an appeal to other standards. That this is not the case, will be apparent from a brief consideration of some other tests which might appear to claim at least equality with this, and which have sometimes been insisted on, to its exclusion.

The first of these is the criterion of a valid ministry afforded by personal character and qualifications, such as talent, learning, eloquence, apparent piety, and blameless life. But it is a historical fact, which will not be denied, that men possessing all these attributes have sometimes preached a gospel differing from that which Paul once preached to the Galatians; not in minor points alone, but in essential principles, and that so doing they fell within the sweep of this divine anathema, and thereby lost all claim to the obedience and the confidence of other Christians.

Another test proposed by some is immediate intercourse with God, and the reception of direct communications from him. But would the fact of such communications, even if admitted, place the person who enjoyed them in a better situation, with respect to this rule, than was held by an inspired apostle, or an angel from heaven? If these preached another gospel, they were to be treated as accursed. What, then, could a pretended, or even a real inspiration now avail to exempt any from subjection to the same inexorable law?

A third test, which has been contended for with greater zeal than either of the others, is that afforded by external connexion with particular societies or churches, claiming a direct and unbroken ministerial succession from the Apostles. Let us grant the existence of such a succession, and the possibility of proving it, and thus allow the advocates of this test an advantage which by no means is their due. Even with this gratui-

tous concession it is evident, that all depends at last upon compliance with the test of doctrinal conformity laid down by Paul. The fact is not disputed on the part of any, that some men claiming, and believed by many to possess, the most complete external warrant for the exercise of ministerial functions, have taught false doctrines, and essentially departed from the faith, while still retaining their ecclesiastical connexions unaltered. Now these, according to Paul's rule, were not only cursed of God, but ought to be regarded by men as having no connexion with the Church, much less any power or authority within it. And this fatal vice in their official character and ministrations cannot possibly be cured by any outward advantage, real or supposed, in point of ordination or church-membership. If they preach another gospel, they are not of God; if not of God, they are not of the true Church; if not of the true Church, they cannot be true ministers—it matters not by whom they were ordained, or with whom they hold communion. It seems, then, that this test is either inclusive or exclusive of all others; that is to say, that others are of value only so far as they agree with this, and become worthless when they diverge from it.

The test of apostolical teaching thus established by Paul is clearly recognized by John in his second Epistle. "For many deceivers are entered into the world, who confess not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh." (ver. 7.) This was, of course, "another gospel." The Apostle therefore adds, "This is a deceiver and an Antichrist; look to yourselves, that we lose not those things which we have wrought, but that we receive a full reward." (ver. 8.) In like manner Paul seemed to fear that the fruit of his labours in Galatia might be lost. (Gal. iv. 11.) But how does John lay down his rule of discrimination? "Whosoever transgresseth and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God; he that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the Son." (ver. 9.) Here is no allusion to a want of outward calls, and ordinations, and successions, but the primary test, failing which all others must be insufficient, is made to consist in uniformity of doctrine. And that this was not meant to be without effect in practice, is sufficiently apparent from what follows. "If there come any unto you, and

bring not this doctrine," whatever other claims to your obedience and confidence he may assert, "receive him not into your house, neither bid him welcome," (χαίρειν λήγῃ) much less believe him and obey him as a spiritual guide; "for he that biddeth him God-speed (or welcome) is partaker of his evil deeds." (ver. 10, 11.)

From these two passages it fully appears that THE PRIMARY AND PARAMOUNT CRITERION OF AN APOSTOLIC MINISTRY IS CONFORMITY OF DOCTRINE TO THE APOSTOLIC STANDARD.

ART. VI.—*Remarks on the Princeton Review*, Vol. XXII. No. IV. Art. VII. By Edwards A. Park, Abbot Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January 1851. Art. IX.

WE are really sorry to find that Professor Park has been so much pained by our review of his Convention Sermon. His reply evinces a great deal of wounded feeling. The transparent veil which he has thrown over his acerbities, only renders them the more noticeable. A homely face may pass in a crowd without attracting much attention; but if its unfortunate owner attempt to conceal it by a gauze mask, every eye will be turned upon him. He had better put the mask in his pocket, and let his face pass for what it is. Some allowance must be made for our author. When a man delivers a discourse with great eclat, it must, we presume, be very painful to find that the reading public does not confirm the verdict of the admiring audience. This is a very common occurrence. Instead, however, of being satisfied with the obvious solution of this familiar fact, the author, if a politician, is very apt to attribute such unfavourable judgment to party spirit, and if a preacher, to theological bigotry. We are the more disposed to be charitable in the present case, because, in our small way, we have had a somewhat similar experience. We wrote a review which we intended to make a sort of model of candor and courtesy. To avoid the danger of misrepresentation, we determined, instead of giving disconnected extracts of the discourse reviewed,

to present a full analysis of it, as far as possible in the author's own words; and to guard against discourtesy, we resolved to abstain from all personal remarks, and to confine ourselves to the theory under discussion. We flattered ourselves that we had been tolerably successful as to both these points. Partial friends confirm us in our self-complacency. Even opponents, though dissenting from our opinion of the sermon, acknowledged the courtesy of the review. Judge then of our chagrin to learn that it is a tissue of misrepresentations, filled with arguments *ad captandum vulgus* and *ad invidiam*, unblushing in its misstatements,* violating not only the rules of logic, but the canons of fair criticism, and even the laws of morals, the offspring of theological bigotry and sectional jealousy, &c., &c. All this may be accounted for in various ways, except so far as the imputation of unworthy motives is concerned. That we are at a loss how to explain. Does not Professor Park know in his heart that it would be a matter of devout thanksgiving to all Old-school men to be assured that their doctrines were taught at Andover? Does he suppose there is a man among them capable, from motives conceivable or inconceivable, of wishing that error should be there inculcated? If he can cherish such suspicions, he is of all Christian men the most to be pitied.

Having failed so entirely to understand the Sermon, we shall not be presumptuous enough to pretend to understand the Reply. It is not our purpose, therefore, to review it in detail. We must let it pass and produce its legitimate effect, whatever that may be. We take a deep interest, however, in the main point at issue, which is nothing more nor less than this: Is that system of doctrine embodied in the creeds of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, in its substantial and distinctive features, true as to its form as well as to its substance? Are the propositions therein contained true as doctrines, or are they merely intense expressions, true not in the mode in which they are there presented, but only in a vague, loose sense, which the intellect would express in a very different form? Are these creeds to be understood as they mean, and do they mean what

* Professor Park says repeatedly his reviewer does not blush to say this, and does not blush to say that.

they say, or is allowance to be made for their freedom, abatement of their force, and their terms to be considered antiquated and their spirit only as still in force? For example, when these creeds speak of the imputation of Adam's sin, is that to be considered as only an intense form of expressing "the definite idea, that we are exposed to evil in consequence of his sin."* This is surely a question of great importance.

From an early period in the history of the Church, there have been two great systems of doctrine in perpetual conflict. The one begins with God, the other with man. The one has for its object the vindication of the Divine supremacy and sove-

* Sermon, p. 535. In the following article the references to Professor Park's sermon are to the edition of it contained in the *Bib. Sacra* for July 1850; and those to his remarks on the *Princeton Review* are the *Bib. Sacra* for January 1851. That the point at issue is what is stated in the text will be made more apparent in the sequel; for the present it may be sufficient to refer to the following passages. In giving his reasons for the title of the sermon, Professor Park says: "Secondly, the title was selected as a deferential and charitable one. The representations which are classified under the theology of feeling are often sanctioned as 'the true theology,' by the men who delight most in employing them. What the sermon would characterize as images, illustrations and intense expressions, these men call doctrines." "We call one system of theology 'rational' or 'liberal,' simply because it is so called by its advocates; much more then may we designate by the phrase 'emotive theology,' those representations which are so tenaciously defended by multitudes as truth fitted both for the feeling and the judgment." Remarks p. 140.

"A creed, if true to its original end, should be in sober prose, should be understood as it means, and mean what it says, should be drawn out with a discriminating, balancing judgment, so as to need no allowance for its freedom, no abatement of its force, and should not be expressed in antiquated terms, lest men regard its spirit as likewise obsolete. It belongs to the province of the analyzing, comparing, reasoning intellect; and if it leave this province for the sake of intermingling the phrases of an impassioned heart, it confuses the soul, it awakens the fancy and the feelings to disturb the judgment, it sets a believer at variance with himself by perplexing his reason with metaphors and his imagination with logic; it raises feuds in the church by crossing the temperaments of men, and taxing one party to demonstrate similes, another to feel inspired by abstractions. Hence the logomachy which has always characterized the defence of such creeds. The intellect, no less than the heart, being out of its element, wanders through dry places, seeking rest and finding none. Men are thus made uneasy with themselves and therefore acrimonious against each other; the imaginative zealot does not understand the philosophical explanation, and the philosopher does not sympathize with the imaginative style of the symbol; and as they misunderstand each other, they feel their weakness, and 'to be weak is to be miserable,' and misery not only loves but also makes company, and thus they sink their controversy into a contention and their dispute into a quarrel; nor will they ever find peace until they confine their intellect to its rightful sphere and understand it according to what it says, and their feeling to its province and interpret its language according to what it means, rendering unto poetry the things that are designed for poetry, and unto prose what belongs to prose." Sermon, p. 554.

reignty in the salvation of men; the other has for its characteristic aim the assertion of the rights of human nature. It is specially solicitous that nothing should be held to be true, which cannot be philosophically reconciled with the liberty and ability of man. It starts with a theory of free agency and of the nature of sin, to which all the anthropological doctrines of the Bible must be made to conform. Its great principles are, first, that "all sin consists in sinning;" that there can be no moral character but in moral acts; secondly, that the power to the contrary is essential to free agency; that a free agent may always act contrary to any influence, not destructive of his freedom, which can be brought to bear upon him; thirdly, that ability limits responsibility; that men are responsible only so far as they have adequate power to do what is required of them, or that they are responsible for nothing not under the control of the will.* From these principles it follows that there can be

* We give from authoritative symbols and writings a few extracts confirming the account given in the **text** of the two systems referred to.

Our Relation to Adam.

Apology of the Confession of the Remonstrants, p. 84. Fatentur Remonstrantes, peccatum Adami a Deo imputatum dici posse posteris ejus, quatenus Deus posteros Adami eidem malo, cui Adamus per peccatum obnoxium se reddidit, obnoxios nasci voluit, sive quatenus Deus malum, quod in poenam Adamo inflictum fuerat, in posteros ejus dimanare et transire permisit. At nihil cogit eos dicere, peccatum Adami posteris ejus sic fuisse a Deo imputatum, quasi Deus posteros Adami revera censuisset ejusdem cum Adamo peccati et culpae, quam Adamus commiserat, reos.

Limborch Theol. Christ. 3. 3. 8. Quod itaque imputationem peccati Adami attinet, qua statuitur, Deum primum Adami et Evae peccatum omnibus ipsorum posteris ita imputasse, ut omnium peccatum sit omnesque in Adamo peccaverint et propterea mortis ac condemnationis aeternae rei facti sint, eam impugnamus.

Ibid. 3. 3. 19. Dicimus, Deum innoxios posteros non punire ob peccatum Adami.

Original Sin.

Apol. Conf. Remonstr. p. 84. Peccatum originale nec habent (Remonstrantes) pro peccato proprie dicto, quod posteros Adami odio Dei dignos faciat, nec pro malo, quod per modum proprie dictae poenae ab Adamo in posteros dimanet, sed pro malo, infirmitate, vitio aut quocunque tandem alio nomine vocetur. . . . Peccatum autem originis non esse malum culpae proprie dictae, quod vocant, ratio manifesta arguit; malum culpae non est, quia nasci plane involuntarium est, ergo et nasci cum hac aut illa labe, infirmitate, vitio vel malo. . . . Multo minus itaque fieri potest, ut sit culpa simul et poena.

Limborch Theol. Christ. 3. 4. 4. Nullam scriptura in infantibus corruptionem esse docet, quae vere ac proprie sit peccatum. 4. 5. Absurdum est statuere, Deum homines punivisse corruptione tali, quae vere ac proprie dictum est peccatum, et ex qua omnia actualia peccata tanquam ex fonte necessario scaturiunt, et deinde propter illam corruptionem homines denuo punire poena inferni.

Ibid. 4. 7. Nullum peccatum poena dignum est involuntarium, quia nihil magis

no such thing as "original righteousness," that is, a righteousness in which man was originally created. Whatever moral character he had must have been the result of his own acts. Neither can there be any "original sin," *i. e.* an innate, here-

debet esse voluntarium, quam quod hominem poenae et quidem gravissimae, aeternae nempe et summorum cruciatuum, reum facit. Atqui corruptio originaria est involuntaria.

Ibid. 3. 4. 1. Inclination illa (ad peccandum) proprie dictum peccatum non est aut peccati habitus ab Adam in ipsos propagatus, sed naturalis tantum inclinatio habendi id, quod carni gratum est.

Pelagius apud August. de peccato orig. 14. Omne bonum ac malum, quo vel laudabiles vel vituperabiles sumus, non nobiscum oritur, sed agitur: capaces enim utriusque rei, non pleni nascimur, et ut sine virtute, ita et sine vitio procreamur; atque ante actionem propriae voluntatis, id solum in homine est, quod Deus condidit. *Epist. ad Demetr.* c. 3. Volens namque Deus rationabilem voluntarii boni munere et liberi arbitrii potestate donare, utriusque partis possibilitatem homini inserendo proprium ejus fecit, esse quod velit: ut boni ac mali capax, naturaliter utrumque posset, et ad alterutrum voluntatem deflecteret. *A. def.* 2. Iterum quaerendum est, peccatum voluntatis an necessitatis est? Si necessitatis est, peccatum non est, si voluntatis, vitari potest. 5. Iterum quaerendum est, utrumne debeatur homo sine peccato esse. Procul dubio debet. Si debet, potest: si non potest, ergo non debet. Et si non debet homo esse sine peccato, debet ergo cum peccato esse; et jam peccatum non erit, si illud deberi constiterit.

The maxim, *Si debet, potest*, has become immortal. It is the ground-work of the whole system to which it belongs, and is constantly repeated by its advocates, whether philosophers or theologians. In reference to Kant's *Ich Soll, also kann ich*, Müller pithily answers: *Ich sollte freilich können, aber Ich kann nicht.* Müller's *Lehre von der Sünde.* Band II. s. 116.

Dr. Beecher in the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, 1828, held the following language: "The Reformers with one accord taught that the sin of Adam was imputed to all his posterity, and that a corrupt nature descends from him to every one of his posterity, in consequence of which infants are unholy, unfit for heaven and justly exposed to future punishment."—"Our Puritan fathers adhered to the doctrine of original sin as consisting in the imputation of Adam's sin, and in a hereditary depravity; and this continued to be the received doctrine of the churches of New England, until after the time of Edwards. He adopted the views of the Reformers on the subject of original sin and a depraved nature transmitted by descent. But after him this mode of stating the subject was gradually changed, until long since, the prevailing doctrine in New England (?) has been, that men are not guilty of Adam's sin, and that depravity is not of the substance of the soul, nor an inherent physical quality, but is wholly voluntary, and consists in a transgression of the law in such circumstances as constitute responsibility and desert of punishment."

Work of Christ and Justification.

The objections of Socinians against the Church doctrine of satisfaction, says Bretschneider, led Grotius to refer the satisfaction of Christ to the *justitia Dei rectoria*. According to this theory he says, "The satisfaction consists in this, that Christ properly endured no punishment, but innocent in himself voluntarily submitted to suffering and death, in order that men might not be punished, and that God was satisfied with this atonement made to his law or government." *Systemat. Entwicklung*, p. 628.

Limborch Apol. thes. 3. 21. Satisfactio Christi dicitur, qua pro nobis poenas omnes luit peccatis nostris debitas, easque preferendo et exhauriendo divinae jus.

ditary, sinful corruption of nature. Whatever effect Adam's apostasy may have had upon himself or on his posterity; whether it left his nature uninjured, and merely changed unfavourably his circumstances; or whether our nature was thereby deteriorated so as to be prone to sin, it was not itself rendered morally corrupt or sinful. Adam was in no such sense the head and representative of his race, that his sin is the ground of our condemnation. Every man, according to this system, stands his probation for himself, and is not under condemnation until he voluntarily transgresses some known law, for it is only such transgression that falls under the category of sin. In regeneration, according to the principles above stated, there cannot be the production of a new moral nature, principle or disposition, as the source of holy exercises. That change must consist in some act of the soul, something which lies within the sphere of its own power, some act of the will or some change subject to the will. The influence by which regeneration is effected, must be something which can be effectually resisted in the utmost energy of its operation. This being the case, the sovereignty of God in the salvation of men must of necessity be given up.

With these views of the nature and liberty of man is connected a corresponding view of the moral government of God. Sin has entered the world because it could not be prevented in a moral system. God counteracts and restrains it by every means in his power consistent with the continuance of that system. The obstacle to its extirpation is the free-will of man; and

titiae satisfecit. Verum illa sententia nullum habet in scriptura fundamentum. Mors Christi vocatur sacrificium pro peccato; atqui sacrificia non sunt solutiones debitorum, neque plenariae pro peccatis satisfactiones; sed illis peractis conceditur gratuita peccati remissio.

Curcellus Rel. Christ. Instit. 5. 19. 16. Non ergo, ut putant, satisfecit Christus patiendū omnes poenas, quas peccatis nostris merueramus; nam primo istud ad sacrificii rationem non pertinet, sacrificia enim non sunt solutiones debitorum; secundo Christus non est passus mortem aeternam, quae erat poena peccato debita, nam paucis tantum horis in cruce pependit et tertia die resurrexit. Ino etiamsi mortem aeternam pertulisset, non videtur satisfacere potuisse pro omnibus totius mundi peccatis. . . Quarto ista sententia non potest consistere cum illa remissione gratuita omnium peccatorum, quam Deum nobis in Christo ex immensa sua misericordia concedere, sacrae literae passim docent.

Ibid. 7. 9. 6. Nullibi docet scriptura, justitiam Christi nobis imputari. Et id absurdum est. Nemo enim in se injustus aliena justitia potest esse formaliter justus, non magis, quam aliena albedine Aethiops esse albus.

the obstacle to its forgiveness is the license which would thereby be given to transgression. As God governs his rational creatures by motives, the work of Christ is a device to meet both these difficulties. It presents a powerful motive to man to forsake sin, and it makes such an exhibition of God's displeasure against sin, as answers in place of its punishment as a means of moral impression. The work of Christ was not a satisfaction to law and justice in the proper sense of those terms. Justice in God is simply "benevolence guided by wisdom." The acceptance of the sinner is the act of a sovereign, dispensing with the demands of the law. The righteousness of Christ is not imputed to believers, but as the sin of Adam was the occasion of certain evils coming on his race, so the righteousness of Christ is the occasion of good to his people.

From these theoretical views, others of a practical nature necessarily follow. Conviction of sin must accommodate itself to the theory that there is no sin but in the voluntary transgression of known law; a sense of helplessness must be modified by the conviction of ability to repent and believe, to change our own heart and to keep all God's commands. Faith must regard Christ's work as a governmental display of certain divine attributes. Such directions as, receive Christ, come to him, trust in him, commit the keeping of the soul to him, naturally give place under this system to the exhortation, submit to God, determine to keep his commands, make choice of him in preference to the world. The view which this system presents of the plan of salvation, of the relation of the soul to Christ, of the nature and office of faith, modifies and determines the whole character of experimental religion.

The system antagonistic to the one just described has for its object the vindication of the supremacy of God in the whole work of man's salvation, both because he is in fact supreme, and because man being in fact utterly ruined and helpless, no method of recovery which does not so regard him is suited to his relation to God, or can be made to satisfy the necessities of his nature. This system does not exalt a theory of morals or of liberty over the Scriptures, as a rule by which they are to be interpreted. It accommodates its philosophy to the facts revealed in the divine word. As the Bible plainly teaches that

man was created holy, that he is now born in sin, that when renewed by the Holy Ghost he receives a new nature, it admits the doctrine of concreated holiness, innate sin, and of infused or inherent grace.* It acknowledges Adam as the head and representative of his posterity, in whom we had our probation,

* *Our Relation to Adam.*

Lutheran Authorities.

Form of Concord, p. 639. Primo, quod hoc hereditarium malum sit culpa seu reatus, quo fit, ut omnes, propter inobedientiam Adae et Hevae, in odio apud Deum, et natura filii irae simus.

Form of Concord, p. 643. Seductione Satanae, per lapsum, *justo Dei judicio* (in poenam hominum) iustitia concreata seu originalis amissa est.

Art. Schm. p. 317. Peccatum ab uno homine ortum esse et introiisse in mundum, per cujus inobedientiam omnes homines facti sunt peccatores, morti et diabolo obnoxii.

Apology for Aug. Con. p. 58. Defectus et concupiscentia sunt poenae [of Adam's sin of which the context speaks]; mors et alia corporalia mala et tyrannis diaboli proprie poenae sunt.

Gerhard, (Tom. II. p. 132, §. 52.) Adam non ut privatus homo, sed ut caput totius humani generis peccavit; et nos, qui in lumbis Adae peccantis delituimus, in et cum eo non modo corrupti, sed et rei irae Dei facti sumus.

Quenstedt, (vol. II. p. 53.) Peccatum Adami per imputationem nostrum factum est, qui omnes posteros cum culpa tum poenae implicuit, et ut representator, fons, caput et seminarium totius humanae naturae suam illis labem aspersit.

Reformed Authorities.

Shorter Catechism. The covenant being made with Adam not only for himself, but for his posterity, all mankind descending from him by ordinary generation, sinned in him and fell with him in his first transgression.

Formula Consensus Helvetica X. Sicut autem Deus foedus operum cum Adamo invit non tantum pro ipso, sed etiam in ipso, ut capite et stirpe, cum toto genere humano. . . . Censemus igitur, peccatum Adami omnibus ejus posteris iudicio Dei arcano et justo imputari. . . . Duplici igitur nomine post peccatum homo natura, indeque ab ortu suo, antequam ullum actuale peccatum in se admittat, irae ac maledictioni divinae obnoxius est; primum quidem ob *παραπτώματα*, et inobedientiam, quam in Adami lumbis commisit; deinde ob consequentem in ipso conceptu haereditariam corruptionem insitam.

Original Sin.

Lutheran Authorities.

Augsburg Confession, p. 9, (Hase's Edition). Item docent, quod post lapsum Adae omnes homines, secundum naturam propagati, nascentur cum peccato, hoc est, sine metu Dei, sine fiducia erga Deum, et cum concupiscentia, quodque hic morbus, seu vitium originis vere sit peccatum, damnans et asserens nunc quoque mortem his, qui non renascantur per Baptismum et Spiritum Sanctum. Damnant Pelagianos et alios, qui vitium originis negant esse peccatum.

Apology for Aug. Con. p. 58. In scholis transtulerunt huc (adversarii) ex philosophia prorsus alienas sententias, quod propter passiones nec boni, nec mali simus, nec laudemur nec vituperemur. Item, nihil esse peccatum, nisi voluntarium. Hae sententiae apud philosophos de civili iudicio dictae sunt, non de iudicio Dei.

Form of Concord, p. 640. Et primum constat, christianos non tantum, actualia delicta et transgressionem mandatorum Dei peccata esse, agnoscere et definire debere, sed etiam horrendum atque abominabilem illum haereditarium morbum, per quem tota natura corrupta est, imprimis pro horribili peccato, et quidem pro principio et

in whom we sinned and fell, so that we come into the world under condemnation, being born the children of wrath, and deriving from him a nature not merely diseased, weakened, or pre-disposed to evil, but which is "itself" as well as "all the

capite omnium peccatorum (e quo reliquae transgressiones, tanquam e radice nascentur, et quasi e scaturigine promanent) omnino habendum esse.

Ibid. p. 641. Repudiantur igitur et rejiciuntur veterum et recentiorum Pelagianorum falsae opinioniones et dogmata vana . . . quod defectus ille et malum hereditarium non sit proprie et vere coram Deo tale peccatum, propter quod homo filius irae et damnationis habeatur.

Reformed Authorities.

Conf. Helv. II. cap. 8. Qualis (homo, Adam) factus est a lapsu, tales omnes, qui ex eo prognati sunt, peccato inquam, morti variisque obnoxii calamitatibus. Peccatum autem intelligimus esse nativam illam hominis corruptionem ex primis illis nostris parentibus in nos omnes derivatam vel propagatam. *Conf. Gall.* Art II. Credimus hoc vitium esse vere peccatum, &c.

Belgic Conf. Art 15. (Peccatum originis) est totius naturae corruptio et vitium haereditarium, quo et ipsi infantes in matris suae utero polluti sunt, quodque veluti radix omne peccatorum genus in homine producit ideoque ita foedum et execrabile est coram Deo, ut ad generis humani condemnationem sufficiat.

Articles of the Church of England, Art 9. Peccatum originis . . . est vitium et depravatio naturae cujuslibet hominis ex Adamo naturaliter propagati, qua fit, ut ab originali justitia quam longissime distet, ad malum sua natura propendeat, et caro semper adversus spiritum concupiscat, unde in unoquoque nascentium iram Dei atque damnationem meretur.

Westminster Confession, ch. 6. 3. They [our first parents] being the root of all mankind, the guilt of this sin [their first sin] was imputed, and the same death in sin and corrupted nature conveyed to all their posterity, descending from them by ordinary generation.

This corruption of nature, during this life, doth remain in those that are regenerated; and although it be through Christ pardoned and mortified, yet both itself, and all the motions thereof, are truly and properly sin.

Inability.

Lutheran Authorities.

Augsburg Confession, p. 15. De libero arbitrio docent, quod humana voluntas habeat aliquam libertatem ad efficiendam civilem justitiam et diligendas res rationi subjectas. Sed non habet vim sine Spiritu Sancto efficiendae justitiae Dei seu justitiae spiritualis.

Damnant Pelagianos et alios, qui docent, quod sine Spiritu Sancto, solis naturae viribus possimus Deum supra omnes diligere.

Form of Concord, p. 579. Credimus, quantum abest, ut corpus mortuum seipsum vivificare, atque sibi ipsi corporalem vitam restituere possit, tantum abesse, ut homo, qui ratione peccati spiritualiter mortuus est, seipsum in vitam spiritualem revocandi ullam facultatem habeat.

Ibid. p. 656. Credimus, quod hominis non renati intellectus, cor et voluntas, in rebus spiritualibus et divinis, ex propriis naturalibus viribus prorsus nihil intelligere, credere, amplecti, cogitare, velle, inchoare, perficere, agere, operari, aut cooperari possint.

Ibid. p. 643. Viribus suis coram Deo nihil aliud nisi peccare potest.

Ibid. p. 662. Antequam homo per Spiritum Sanctum illuminatur, convertitur, regeneratur et trahitur, ex sese et propriis naturalibus suis viribus in rebus spirituali-

motions thereof," "truly and properly sin." It admits that by this innate, hereditary, moral depravity men are altogether indisposed, disabled and made opposite to all good; so that their ability to do good works is not at all of themselves, but

bus et ad conversionem aut regenerationem suam nihil inchoare, operari aut cooperari potest, nec plus quam lapis, truncus aut limus.

Reformed Authorities.

Conf. Helv. ii. cap. ix. Constat vero mentem vel intellectum, ducem esse voluntatis, cum autem caecus sit dux, claret quousque et voluntas pertingat. Proinde nullum est ad bonum homini arbitrium liberum, nondum renato, vires nullae ad perficiendum bonum.

Ibid. Caeterum nemo negat in externis, et regenitos et non regenitos habere liberum arbitrium. Damnamus in hac causa Manichaeos, qui negant homini bono, ex libero arbitrio fuisse initium mali. Damnamus etiam Pelagianos, qui dicunt hominem malum sufficienter habere liberum arbitrium, ad faciendum praeceptum bonum.

Thirty-Nine Articles. Art. x. The condition of man after the fall is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works to faith and calling upon God. Therefore we have no power to do good works, pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will.

French Confession. Art. ix. Etsi nonnullam habet (homo) boni et mali discretionem: affirmamus tamen quicquid habet lucis mox fieri tenebras, cum de quaerendo Deo agitur, adeo ut sua intelligentia et ratione nullo modo possit ad eum accedere: Item, quamvis voluntate sit praeditus, qua ad hoc vel illud movetur, tamen quum ea sit penitus sub peccato captiva, nullam prorsus habet ad bonum appetendum libertatem, nisi quam ex gratia et Dei dono acceperit.

Westminster Confession, ch. ix. 3. Man, by his fall into a state of sin, hath wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation, so as a natural man being altogether averse from that which is good, and dead in sin, is not able, by his own strength, to convert himself, or to prepare himself thereunto.

The Work of Christ and Justification.

Lutheran Authorities.

Apology for the Aug. Con. p. 93. Christus, quia sine peccato subiit poenam peccati, et victima pro nobis factus est, sustulit illud jus legis, ne accuset, ne damnet hos, qui credunt in ipsum, quia ipse est propitiatio pro eis, propter quam nunc justi reputantur; cum autem justi reputentur, lex non potest eos accusare, et damnare, etiamsi re ipsa legi non satisfecerint.

Form of Concord, p. 684. Justitia illa, quae coram Deo credentibus ex mera gratia imputatur, est obedientia, passio et resurrectio Christi, quibus ille legi nostra causa satisfecit, et peccata nostra expiavit. Cum enim Christus non tantum homo, verum Deus et homo sit, in una indivisa persona, tam non fuit legi subjectus, quam non fuit passioni et morti (ratione suae personae) obnoxius, quia Dominus Legis erat. Eam ob causam ipsius obedientia (non ea tantum, qua Patri paruit in tota sua passione et morte, verum etiam, qua nostra causa sponte sese legi subiecit, eamque obedientia illa sua implevit) nobis ad justitiam imputatur, ita ut Deus propter totam obedientiam (quam Christus agendo et patiendo, in vita et morte sua, nostra causa Patri suo praestitit) peccata nobis remittat, pro bonis et justis nos reputet et salute aeterna donet.

Quaestenberg. "Quia non tantum ab ira Dei, justi iudicis, liberandus erat homo, sed et ut coram Deo possit consistere, justitia ei opus erat, quam nisi impleta lege consequi non poterat, ideo Christus utrumque in se suscepit, et non tantum passus

wholly from the Spirit of Christ. It recognizes justice as distinguished from benevolence, to be an essential attribute of God, an attribute which renders the punishment of sin necessary, not merely as a means of moral impression, but for its own sake. It, therefore, regards the work of Christ as designed to satisfy justice and to fulfill the demands of the law by his perfect obedience to its precepts, and by enduring its penalty in the room and stead of sinners. His righteousness is so imputed to believers that their justification is not merely the act of a sovereign dispensing with law, but the act of a judge declaring the law to be satisfied. Regarding man in his natural state as spiritually dead and helpless, this system denies that regeneration is the sinner's own act, or that it consists in any change within his power to effect, or that he can prepare himself thereto, or co-operate in it. It is a change in the moral state of the soul, the production of a new nature, and is effected by the mighty power of God, the soul being the subject and not the agent of the change thereby produced. It receives a new life which when imparted mani-

est pro nobis, sed et legi in omnibus satisfecit, ut haec ipsius impletio et obedientia in justitiam imputaretur.

Reformed Authorities.

Helv. Confession, Cap. 11. Idecirco Christus est perfectio legis et adimpletio nostra, qui ut execrationem legis sustulit, dum factus est pro nobis maledictio, vel execratio, ita communicat nobis per fidem adimpletionem suam, nobisque ejus imputatur justitia et obedientia.

French Confession, Art. 17. Testamur, Jesum Christum esse integram et perfectam nostram ablutionem, in cujus morte plenam satisfactionem nanciscimur.

Belgic Confession, Art. xx. Credimus Deum, qui summe et perfectissime est tum misericors tum justus, Filium suum misisse, ut naturam illam assumeret, quae per inobedientiam peccaret, ut in ea ipsa natura satisfaceret, atque ut Deus de peccato per acerbissimam mortem et passionem Filii sui justas poenas sumeret.

Heidelberg Cat. lx. *Quomodo justus es coram Deo?* Sola fide in Jesum Christum, adeo ut licet mea me conscientia accuset, quod adversus omnia mandata Dei graviter peccaverim, nec ullum eorum servaverim, adhaec etiamnum ad omne malum propensus sim, nihilominus tamen, (modo haec beneficia vera animi fiducia amplectar,) sine ullo meo merito, ex mera Dei misericordia, mihi perfecta satisfactio, justitia et sanctitas Christi imputetur ac donetur; perinde ac si nec ullum ipse peccatum admissem, nec ulla mihi labes inhaereret: imo vero quasi eam obedientiam, quam pro me Christus praestitit, ipse perfecte praestitissem.

Westminster Confession. The Lord Jesus, by his perfect obedience and sacrifice of himself, which he, through the eternal Spirit once offered up unto God, hath fully satisfied the justice of his Father, and purchased not only reconciliation, but an everlasting inheritance in the kingdom of heaven, for all those whom the Father hath given unto him. Ch. viii. 5.

Ibid. ch. xi. Those whom God effectually calleth, he also freely justifieth . . . by imputing the obedience and satisfaction of Christ unto them, they receiving and resting on him and his righteousness by faith.

feats itself in all appropriate holy acts. This life is sustained by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, to whose influence all right exercises are to be referred. Salvation is thus in its provision, application, and consummation entirely of grace.

Conviction of sin under this system is more than remorse for actual transgressions, it is also a sense of the thorough depravity of the whole nature penetrating far beneath the acts of the soul, affecting its permanent moral states which lie beyond the reach of the will: and a sense of helplessness is more than a conviction of the stubbornness of the will; it is a consciousness of an entire want of power to change those inherent, moral states in which our depravity principally consists, and a consequent persuasion that we are absolutely dependent on God. Christ is not regarded in this system as simply rendering it consistent in God to bestow blessings upon sinners; so that we can come to the Father of ourselves with a mere obeisance to the Lord Jesus for having opened the door. Christ is declared to be our righteousness and life; we are united to him not merely in feeling, but by covenant and vitally by his Spirit, so that the life which we live is Christ living in us. He is therefore, our all, our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption; and consequently what the sinner is called upon to do in order to be saved is not merely to submit to God as his sovereign, or to make choice of God as his portion; that indeed he does, but the specific act by which he is saved, is receiving and resting on Christ alone for salvation. Hence, neither benevolence nor philanthropy, nor any other principle of natural piety is the governing motive of the believer's life, but the love of Christ, who loved us and gave himself for us. Whether the believer lives, he lives unto the Lord; or whether he dies, he dies unto the Lord, so that living or dying he is the Lord's; who for this end both died and rose again that he might be the Lord both of the dead and of the living.

There are three leading characteristics of this system, by which it is distinguished from that to which it stands opposed. The latter is characteristically rational. It seeks to explain every thing so as to be intelligible to the speculative understanding. The former is confessedly mysterious. The Apostle pronounces the judgment of God to be unsearchable and his

ways past finding out, as they are specially exhibited in the doctrines of redemption, and in the dispensations of God towards our race. The origin of sin, the fall of man, the relation of Adam to his posterity, the transmission of his corrupt nature to all descended from him by ordinary generation, the consistency of man's freedom with God's sovereignty, the process of regeneration, the relation of the believer to Christ, and other doctrines of the like kind, do not admit of "philosophical explanation." They cannot be dissected and mapped off so as that the points of contact and mode of union with all other known truths can be clearly understood; nor can God's dealings with our race be all explained on the common-sense principles of moral government. The system which Paul taught was not a system of common sense, but of profound and awful mystery. The second distinguishing characteristic of this system is that its whole tendency is to exalt God and to humble man. It does not make the latter feel that he is the great end of all things, or that he has his destiny in his own hands. It asks, Who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been his counsellor? or who hath first given to him and it shall be recompensed unto him again? God's supremacy, the Apostle teaches us, is seen in his permitting our race to fall in Adam, and sin thus by one man to pass on all men, so that by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation. It is seen in the nature of the plan of salvation, which excludes all merit on the part of those who are saved, and takes for granted their entire helplessness. It is still more clearly manifested in God's administration of this economy of mercy; in its gradual revelation, in its being so long confined to one nation, in its being now made known to one people and not to another, in its being applied where it is known to the salvation of some, and to the greater condemnation of others, and in the sovereignty which presides over the selection of the vessels of mercy. It is not the wise, the great, or the noble whom God calls, but the foolish, the base, and those that are not, that they who glory should glory in the Lord. Thirdly, this system represents God as himself the end of all his works both in creation and in redemption. It is not the universe, but God; not the happiness of creatures, but the infinitely higher end of the divine glory, which is contemplated

in all these revelations and dispensations. For of him, through him, and to him are all things: to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

It is an undeniable historical fact, that this system underlies the piety of the Church in all ages. It is the great granitic formation whose peaks tower toward heaven, and draw thence the waters of life, and in whose capacious bosom repose those green pastures, in which the great Shepherd gathers and sustains his flock. It has withstood all changes, and it still stands. Heat and cold, snow and rain, gentle abrasion and violent convulsions leave it as it was. It cannot be moved. In our own age and country, this system of doctrine has had to sustain a renewed conflict. It has been assailed by argument, by ridicule, by contempt. It has been pronounced absurd, obsolete, effete, powerless. It has withstood logic, indignation, wit, and even the Hexagon. Still it stands.* What then is to be done? Prof. Park, with rare ingenuity, answers, "Let us admit its truth, but maintain that it does not differ from the other system. There are two theologies, one for the feelings, the other for the intellect, or what may be made to mean precisely the same thing, two forms of one and the same theology; the one precise and definite, designed to satisfy the intelligence, the other vague and intense, adapted to the feelings. Both are true, for at bottom they are the same. It is in vain to deny this old theology. It is in

* The New York Independent, in a notice of our former review, objected to the tone of confidence with which we wrote on this subject. How can we help it? A man behind the walls of Gibraltar, or of Ehrenbreitstein, cannot, if he would, tremble at the sight of a single knight, however gallant or well-appointed he may be. His confidence is due to his position, not to a consciousness of personal strength. A man at sea with a stout ship under him, has a sense of security in no measure founded upon himself. A Christian surrounded by learned sceptics may be deeply sensible of his own weakness, and yet serenely confident in the strength of his cause. We then, who are within those old walls which have stood for ages, even from the beginning, who can look around and see the names of all generations of saints inscribed on those walls, and who feel the solid rock of God's word under their feet, must be excused for a feeling of security. We invite our critic to come within this strong tower, and to place his feet upon this same rock, and he will find how strength-inspiring it is, even though his personal humility should be increased by the experiment. We beg of him at least not to confound confidence in a system which has been held for ages, with self-confidence. Our Independent brethren seem to have lost the idea of the Church. Some of them have even written against the article in the Creed which affirms faith in that doctrine. They appear to think that every man stands by himself, that nothing is ever settled, that every theological discussion is a controversy between individuals. But there is such a thing as the Church, and that Church has a faith, and against that faith no one man and no angel is any fair match.

the Bible, in the creeds, in the liturgies, in the hymns of the Church, and in the hearts of God's people. It will not do to laugh at it any longer; it has too much power. We must treat it with respect, and call it doctrine, when we mean only 'images, illustrations and intense expressions.'"

We are now prepared, we think, for a fair statement of the *Status Quæstionis*. The question is not, which of the antagonistic systems of theology above described is true; or whether either is true. Nor is the question, which of the two Professor Park believes. His own faith has nothing to do with the question. So far as the present discussion is concerned, he may hold neither of these systems in its integrity; or he may hold the one which we believe to be true, or he may hold the opposite one.* The point to be considered is not so much a doctrinal one as a principle of interpretation, a theory of exegesis and its application. The question is, whether there is any correct theory of interpretation by which the two systems above referred to can be harmonized? Are they two theologies equally true, the one the theology of the intellect, the other the theology of the feelings? or, in other words, are they different forms of one and the same theology?

We take the greater interest in this question, because this is evidently the last arrow in the quiver. Every thing else has been tried and failed; and, if this fails, there is an end of this series of conflicts. Whatever is to come after must be of a different kind, and from a different quarter. We propose then, First, to show that the above statement of the question presents fairly and clearly the real point at issue; Secondly, to consider the success of this attempt to harmonize these conflicting systems of theology: and Thirdly, to examine the nature of the theory by which that reconciliation has been attempted.

That the above statement of the question presents clearly and correctly the real point at issue, we argue in the first place from the distinct avowals of the author. He expresses the hope "that many various forms of faith will yet be blended into a consistent knowledge, like the colours in a single ray."† "Many

* We regret that Prof. Park had not constructed his discourse on a plan which would have kept his own theological opinions entirely out of view, so that the discussion might be purely impersonal.

† Sermon, p. 561.

pious men," he says, "are distressed by the apparent contradictions in our best theological literature, and for their sake another practical lesson developed in the discourse is, the importance of exhibiting the mutual consistency between all the expressions of right feeling. The discrepancies so often lamented are not fundamental, but superficial, and are easily harmonized by exposing the one self-consistent principle, which lies at their basis."* "Over and over it is asserted in the discourse, that while the intellectual theology is 'accurate not in its spirit only, but in its letter also,' the emotive theology involves 'the substance of truth, although when literally interpreted it may or may not be false.' The purport of one entire head in the sermon is to prove, that the one theology is precisely the same with the other in its real meaning, though not always in its form; that the expressions of right feeling, if they do contradict each other 'when *unmodified*,' *can* and *must* be so explained as to harmonize both with each other, and with the decisions of the judgment. . . . The sermon repeats again and again, that it is impossible to believe contradictory statements, 'without qualifying some of them so as to prevent their subverting each other: that the reason 'being the circumspect power which looks before and after, does not allow that of these conflicting statements each can be true, save in a qualified sense;' and that such statements must be qualified by disclosing the fundamental 'principle in which they all agree for substance of doctrine,' 'the principle which will rectify one of the discrepant expressions by explaining it into an *essential* agreement with the other.'"† The sermon then was designed to harmonize those "apparent contradictions" in doctrinal statements by which pious men are distressed. It was intended to teach that the two theologies, the intellectual and emotive, though they may differ in form, agree in substance of doctrine. Accordingly he says, "Pitiable indeed is the logomachy of polemic divines. We have somewhere read, that the Berkleians who denied the existence of matter, differed more in terms than in opinion from their opponents, who affirmed the existence of matter, for the former uttered with emphasis, 'We cannot prove that there is an outward

* Reply, p. 137.

† Reply, p. 149.

world,' and then whispered, 'We are yet compelled to believe that there is one;' whereas the latter uttered with emphasis, 'We are compelled to believe in an outward world,' and then whispered, 'Yet we cannot prove that there is one.' This is not precisely accurate, still it serves to illustrate the amount of difference which exists between the reviewer and the author of the humble convention sermon."* And further, it is said expressly, "One aim of the sermon was to show that all creeds which are allowable can be reconciled with each other."† Precisely so. Thus we understand the matter. We do not overlook the word *allowable* in this statement. It was doubtless intended to do good service. We did not understand the sermon to advocate entire scepticism, and to teach that whatever may be affirmed, can with equal propriety be denied. Nor was it understood to teach that all religions are true, being different forms of expression for the same generic religious sentiment. Nor did we understand our author to advocate that latitudinarianism which embraces and harmonizes all nominally Christian creeds. He says expressly, "There is a line of separation which cannot be crossed between those systems which insert, and those which omit the doctrine of justification by faith in the sacrifice of Jesus."‡ The sermon, therefore, was not regarded as a plea for Socinianism as an allowable form of Christianity. But it was understood to teach that "all allowable creeds can be reconciled with each other." The only question is, what creeds are regarded as coming within this limitation. That the two great antagonistic systems which we have attempted to characterize are considered as belonging to this category, is evident because these are the systems which from the beginning to the end of the sermon, and still more clearly in the reply, are brought into view and compared with each other. To this fact we appeal as the second proof that the statement of the question at issue, as given above, is correct. The systems, which our author attempts to reconcile, are those we have described in the former part of this article. In the first place the radical principles of one of those systems are distinctly presented in the sermon. Those principles, as before remarked,

* Reply, p. 173.

† Reply, p. 175.

‡ Sermon, p. 559.

are, that moral character is confined to acts, that liberty supposes power to the contrary, and that ability limits responsibility. These principles are all recognized in the following passages of the sermon, if we are capable of understanding the meaning of the author. After representing the convinced sinner as saying: "I long to heap infinite upon infinite, and crowd together all forms of self-reproach, for I am clad in sin as with a garment, I devour it as a sweet morsel, I breathe it, I live it, I *am* sin," &c. he adds, "But when a theorist seizes at such living words as these, and puts them into his vice, and straightens them or crooks them into the dogma, that man is blameable before he chooses to do wrong; deserving of punishment for the involuntary nature which he has never consented to gratify; really sinful before he actually sins, then the language of emotion forced from its right place, and treated as if it were a part of a nicely measured syllogism, hampers and confuses his reasonings, until it is given to the use for which it was first intended, and from which it never ought to have been diverted."* "Is it said, however, that a passive nature, existing antecedently to all free action, is itself, strictly, literally sinful? Then we must speak a new language, and speak, in prose, of moral *patients* as well as moral agents, of men *besin*ned as well as sinners, (for *ex vi termini* sinners as well as runners must be active;) we must have a new conscience which can decide on the moral character of moral conditions, as well as of elective preferences; a new law prescribing the very *make* of the soul, as well as the way in which the soul, when made, shall act; and a law which we transgress (for sin is 'a transgression of the law') in being before birth passively misshapen; we must also have a new Bible, delineating a judgment scene in which some will be condemned, not only on account of deeds which they have done in the body, but also for having been born with an involuntary proclivity to sin, and others will be rewarded not only for their conscientious [conscious?] love to Christ, but also for a blind nature inducing that love; we must, in fine, have an entirely different class of moral sentiments, and have them disciplined by Inspiration in an entirely different manner from the present;

* Sermon, p. 552.

for now the feelings of all true men revolt from the assertion, that a poor infant dying, if we may suppose it to die, before its first wrong preference, *merits* for its unavoidable nature, that eternal punishment, which is threatened, and justly, against even the smallest *sin*. Although it may seem paradoxical to affirm that 'a man may believe a proposition which he knows to be false,' it is yet charitable to say that whatever any man may suppose himself to believe, he has in fact an inward conviction, that 'all sin consists in sinning.' There is comparatively little dispute on the nature of moral evil, when the words relating to it are fully understood."* As to the other points we have such language as the following: Man's "unvaried wrong choices imply a full, unremitted, natural power of choosing right. The emotive theology, therefore, when it affirms this power is correct both in matter and style; but when it denies this power, it uses the language of intensity; it means the certainty of wrong preference by declaring the inability of right, and in its vivid use of *can not* for *will not* is accurate in substance, but not in form."† One of the expressions put in the lips of the emotive theology, and which is pronounced correct both in matter and style is: "If I had been as holy as I had power to be, then I had been perfect." Another is, "I know thee that thou art *not* a hard master, exacting of me duties which I have no power to discharge, but thou attemperest thy law to my strength, and at no time imposest upon me a heavier burden than thou at that very time makest me able to bear."‡ In note F. at the end of the sermon it is said: "The pious necessarian has a good moral purpose in declaring that the *present* and *future* obligations of men, do and will exceed their power." This, in the connexion, implies that in the judgment of the writer, men's obligations do not exceed their power.

* Sermon, p. 568. It ought to be remembered that there is not a creed of any Christian Church (we do not mean separate congregation) in which the doctrine, that inherent corruption as existing prior to voluntary action is of the nature of sin, is not distinctly affirmed. The whole Latin Church, the Lutheran, all the branches of the Reformed Church, unite in the most express, "nicely measured" assertions of faith in this doctrine. In view of this fact we think the tone of the paragraph quoted above, and especially of the concluding sentences must be considered a little remarkable. We hope we shall hear no complaints hereafter, of over-weening confidence.

† Sermon, p. 548.

‡ Sermon, p. 547.

Not only are these general principles thus recognized, but the two systems are compared very much in their details, and their harmony is exhibited by disclosing the fundamental principle in which they agree for substance of doctrine. The one system says, The sin of Adam is imputed to his posterity. The other says, The sin of Adam is *not* imputed to his posterity. The fundamental principle in which they agree is, That the sin of Adam was the occasion of certain evils coming upon his race. The former statement is only an intense form of expressing this definite idea. The one system asserts, That the nature of man since the fall is sinful anterior to actual transgressions. The other says, All sin consists in sinning, a passive nature existing antecedently to all free action cannot be sinful. Still these declarations are consistent. Sinful in the former must be taken to mean prone to sin. "This nature, as it certainly occasions sin, may be sometimes called sinful, in a peculiar sense, for the sake of intensity."* The one system says, That men, since the fall, are, while unrenewed, utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good—so that their ability to do good works is not at all of themselves, but entirely from the Spirit of Christ. The other asserts, That such language is merely a "vivid use of *can not* for *will not*, accurate in substance, though not in its form." The one teaches that the commands of God continue to bind those who are unable perfectly to keep them. The other asserts, That *unable* here means unwilling, because God always attempers his law to our strength. The one says, That man is passive in regeneration, that he therein receives a new nature, a principle of grace, which is the source of all holy exercises. The other repudiates the idea of "a blind nature inducing love," having a moral character, but it may be called holy as tending to holiness, just as, "for the sake of intensity," we may call that sinful which tends to sin. In like manner the different representations concerning the work of Christ, however apparently conflicting, are representing as different only in form. Thus in regard to our relation to Adam, the consequences of his apostacy, the natural state of man, ability and inability, the nature of regeneration, the atonement of

* Reply, p. 174.

Christ, the justification of sinners before God, the statements of the two systems are declared to be identical in meaning, however different in form, or a mode of statement is proposed which is made to comprehend both. We can hardly be mistaken, therefore, in saying, that the design of the sermon is to show that both of these are allowable, and may be reconciled. If anything is clear, either in the sermon or the reply, it is that these systems are represented as different modes of presenting one and the same theology, the one adapted to the feelings, the other to the intellect. If this is not the case, then Professor Park has failed to convey the most remote idea of his meaning to a multitude of minds, more or less accustomed to such discussions, and must be set down as either the most unfortunate or the most unintelligible writer of modern times.

If this is a proper statement of the case, it must be admitted that the author has undertaken a great work. We know no parallel to it but the famous Oxford Tract, Number Ninety; and even that was a modest effort in comparison. Dr. Newman merely attempted to show that there was "a non-natural sense" of the Thirty-nine Articles in which a Romanist might sign them. He did not pretend, if our memory serves us, that the sense which he put upon them was their true historical meaning. But Professor Park proposes to show, if we understand him, that the two systems above referred to are identical; that the one is the philosophical explanation of the other; that they are different modes of stating the same general truths, both modes being allowable; that the one, in short, is the theology of the feelings, and the other the theology of the intellect. When we reflect on what is necessarily, even though unconsciously, assumed in this attempt, when we raise our eyes to the height to which it is necessary the author should ascend before all these things could appear alike to him, we are bewildered. It is surely no small matter for a man to rise up and tell the world that the Augustinians and Pelagians, Thomists and Scotists, Dominicans and Franciscans, Jansenists and Jesuits, Calvinists and Remonstrants,* have for centuries been contending about

* These terms are used in their historical sense, Augustinianism and Pelagianism are designations of forms of theology distinguished by certain characteristic features. The former does not include every opinion held by Augustine, nor the latter every

words; that they perfectly agree, if they had but sense to see it; that all the decisions of synods, all the profound discussions of the greatest men in history, relating to these subjects, are miserable logomachies. We can understand how even a babe in Christ, under the teaching of the Spirit, may rightfully and in full consciousness of truth, lift its solitary voice against the errors of ages. But we cannot understand how any uninspired man could have the courage to say to the two great parties in the Church, that they understand neither themselves nor each other; that while they think they differ, they actually agree.

That this attempt to reconcile "all allowable creeds" is a failure, no one would thank us for proving. Can it be necessary to show that the differences between the two systems brought into view in this sermon, are substantial differences of doctrine and not a mere difference in words? To say that the sin of Adam is imputed to his posterity is to express a different thought, a different doctrine, from what is expressed by saying that his sin was merely the occasion of certain evils coming upon his race. The one of these statements is not merely an intense, figurative, or poetic expression of the thought conveyed by the latter. The former means that the sin of Adam was the judicial ground of the condemnation of his race, and therefore that the evils inflicted on them on account of that sin are of the nature of punishment. My neighbour's carelessness or sin may be the occasion of suffering to me; but no one ever dreamt of expressing didactically that idea, by saying that the carelessness or crime of a reckless man was imputed to his

doctrine taught by Pelagius; so of the other terms. When, therefore, it is said that the sermon proposes to show that these classes substantially agree, the only fair interpretation of such language is, that it proposes to show that the characteristic theological systems thus designated may be reconciled. Professor Park has taught us that it is not enough to express our meaning clearly. He has shown that he would consider the above statement refuted, should he adduce, as might easily be done, many points in which he would admit the inconsistency between the opinions of Augustine and Pelagius, the Jansenists and Jesuits, Calvinists and Remonstrants. In our former article we said, that the doctrine that present strength to moral and spiritual duties is the measure of obligation, is one of the radical principles of Pelagianism. He considers himself as confuting that statement, by asking whether Pelagius held this or that other doctrine. We did not say he did. What we did say, however, is none the less true and uncontradicted. We hope, therefore, no one will take the trouble to show in how many points the Jesuits differed from the Jansenists in morals and discipline, or even in theology, as a refutation of the statement in the text.

neighbours. There is here a real distinction. These two modes of representing our relation to Adam belong to different doctrinal systems. According to the one, no man is condemned until he has personally transgressed the law. Every man stands a probation for himself, either in the womb, as some say, or in the first dawn of intelligence and moral feeling. According to the other, the race had their probation in Adam; they sinned in him, and fell with him in his first transgression. They are, therefore, born the children of wrath; they come into existence under condemnation. It is now asserted, for the first time, so far as we know, since the world began, that these modes of representation mean the same thing.

Again, that the corrupt nature which we derive from our first parents is really sinful, is a different doctrine from that which is expressed by saying, our nature though prone to sin is not itself sinful. These are not different modes of stating the same truth. They are irreconcilable assertions. The difference between them is one which enters deeply into our views of the nature of sin, of inability, of regeneration, and of the work of the Holy Spirit. It modifies our convictions and our whole religious experience. It has in fact given rise to two different forms of religion in the Church, clearly traceable in the writings of past ages, and still existing. We refer our readers to President Edwards' work on Original Sin, and request them to notice with what logical strictness he demonstrates that the denial of the sinfulness of human nature and the assertion of the plenary power of men to obey the commands of God, subverts the whole plan of redemption. Our author says, he firmly believes, "that in consequence of the first man's sin, all men have at birth a corrupt nature, which exposes them to suffering, *but not to punishment*, even without their actual transgression."* In the Thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, it is said of original sin, or "depravity of nature," *in unoquoque nascentium iram Dei atque damnationem meretur*. Are not these statements in direct opposition? Does not the one deny what the other affirms? Can they, by any candid or rational interpretation, be made to be mere different modes of stating the same doctrine?

* Reply, p. 166.

These two systems differ no less essentially as to the doctrine of ability. According to the one, man has, since the fall, power to do all that is required of him. According to the other, though he remains a rational creature and a free moral agent, he is utterly unable either to turn himself unto God, or to do any thing spiritually good. According to the one doctrine, responsibility and inability are incompatible; according to the other, they are perfectly consistent.* Surely these are not different modes of asserting the same doctrine. The man who asserts the entire helplessness of men, does not mean the same thing with the man who asserts that they have full power to do all that God commands. These systems are not reconciled, as to this point, by the distinction between natural and moral ability; because the point of separation is not the nature but the fact of the sinner's inability. No one denies that this inability is moral so far as it relates to moral acts, arises from the moral state of the soul, and is removed by a moral change. It is, however, none the less real and absolute. The question is, What is the state of the unrenewed man? Has he power of himself to change his own heart? Can he by any act of the will, or by the exercise of any conceivable power belonging to himself transform his whole character? The one system says Yes, and the other says No. And they mean what they say. The one does not, by the assertion of this power, mean merely that men are rational and moral beings. The other by its negative answer does not mean merely that men are unwilling to change their own heart. It means that the change is not within the power of the will. It is a change which no volition, nor series of volitions, can effect. It is a change which nothing short of the mighty power of God can effect. Such is the plain doctrine of Scripture; and such is the testimony of every man's consciousness. If there is any thing of which the sinner has an intimate conviction, it is that the heart, the affections, his inhe-

* The maxim that men cannot be bound to do what they are unable to perform, relates properly to external acts dependent on the will; and to those which are not adapted to our nature. No man is bound to see without eyes, hear without ears, or work without hands; nor can a creature be required to create a world, nor an idiot to reason correctly. But the maxim has no more to do with the obligations of moral agents in reference to moral acts, than the axioms of geometry have.

rent moral dispositions are beyond his reach; that he can no more change his nature than he can annihilate it. He knows that those who tell him he has this power, are but paltering in a double sense and mocking at his misery. That this inability, though thus absolute, is perfectly consistent with continued responsibility, is also a plain fact of consciousness, and a clearly revealed doctrine of Scripture. None feel their guilt so much as those who are most sensible of their helplessness. It is, therefore, absurd to represent the assertion of this entire inability as consistent with the assertion that men have full power to do all that is required of them. These statements differ in their essential meaning; they differ in their associated doctrines; they have a different origin and they produce widely different effects.

Again, there is a real difference of doctrine and not a mere difference of terms between the statement that Christ's work opens the way for pardon by the moral impression which it makes, and the statement that it was a full and proper satisfaction to the law and justice of God. Here again is a difference which affects the whole scheme of redemption, and consequently the whole character of our religion. According to the one representation the believer is simply pardoned and restored to the favour of God; according to the other he is justified. When a criminal is pardoned and restored to his civil rights, does any one say, he is justified? The word justification expresses far more than the remission of the penalty of the law and the restoration of the offender to favour. And those who teach that the sinner is justified by the imputation of the righteousness of Christ, teach something very different from those who make Christ's work the mere occasion of good to his people, by rendering their pardon and restoration to favour consistent with the interests of God's government. According to the one system, the deliverance of the believer from condemnation is an act of a judge; according to the other, it is an act of the sovereign. In the one case, the law is set aside; in the other case it is satisfied. To remit a debt without payment, out of compassion for the debtor, for the sake of example, or out of regard to the goodness or request of a third party, is a very different thing from the discharge of the debtor on the ground that full

payment has been made in his behalf. No less different is the doctrine that Christ's work renders the remission of sin possible, and the doctrine that he has made a full satisfaction for the sins of his people. As these doctrines are different in their nature, so they differ in their effects. The one gives the sense of justification, of that peace which arises out of the apprehension that our sins have been punished, that justice is satisfied, that the law no longer condemns, but acquits and pronounces just. If any man is unable to reconcile this conviction, that justice no longer condemns the believer, with the most humbling sense of ill-desert, he must be in a state of mind very different from that which has characterized the great body of God's people. It is this sense of personal ill-desert combined with the assurance that justice can lay nothing to the charge of God's elect, when clothed in the righteousness of Christ, which produces that union of peace with a sense of unworthiness, of confidence with self-distrust, of self-abasement and self-renunciation with the assurance of God's love, which gleams and burns through all the writings of the Apostles, and which found utterance in the devotional language of the saints in all ages.*

* In reference to this subject Professor Park uses the following language in his remarks on our review. In regard to the remark that Christ has fully paid the debt of sinners, he asks, "Does not the Reviewer himself qualify this phrase, in his common explanations of it? Why does he so often teach that Christ has not paid the debt of sinners *in any such sense* (which would be the ordinary sense of the phrase) as to make it unjust in God to demand the sinner's own payment of it? Why does he teach, that although the debt of sinners is paid, *in a very peculiar sense*, yet it is not so paid but that they may be justly cast into prison until they themselves have paid the uttermost farthing? Another illustration is, 'the *unqualified remark* that Christ suffered the *whole* punishment which sinners deserve.' And does not the Reviewer elsewhere thrust in various modifications of this phrase, saying Christ did not suffer *any* punishment in such a sense, as renders it unjust for the entire punishment of the law to be still inflicted on transgressors; that he did not suffer the whole, the precise eternal punishment which sinners deserve, that in fact he did not suffer any punishment at all in its *common* acceptance of 'pain inflicted on a transgressor of law on account of his transgression, and for the purpose of testifying the lawgiver's hatred of him as a transgressor?' Why, then, does the Reviewer here represent this 'unqualified remark' as identical with the ambiguous phrase 'Christ bore our punishment,' and as a 'summation of the manifold and diversified representations of Scripture?'" Reply, p. 162.

It may serve to convince the author that there is a real difference between the two systems under comparison, to be told, that his Reviewer does hold that Christ has paid the debt of sinners in such a sense that it would be unjust to exact its payment from those who believe. The Reviewer does hold that Christ has suffered the punishment of sin, in such a sense that it would be unjust to exact that punishment of those who accept of his righteousness. This is the very idea of jus-

It is not necessary to pursue this comparison farther. If there be any power in language to express thought; if human speech be any thing more than an instrument of deception, then these systems of doctrine are distinct and irreconcilable. The one asserts what the other denies. It would be easy to confirm this conclusion by the testimony of the leading advocates of these conflicting creeds. They have stated in a hundred forms that they do not mean the same thing; that the one class rejects and condemns what the other asserts. It is then only by doing despite to all the rules of historical interpretation that any man can pretend that they mean substantially the same thing.

What, then, is the theory by which our author proposes to effect the reconciliation of conflicting creeds? According to our understanding of the matter, he presents his theory in two very different forms; one is philosophical and plausible, the

tification. Paul's whole argument is founded on this principle. The law cannot justify those whom it condemns; neither can it condemn those whom it justifies. There is no condemnation, (no danger of it, no exposure to it), to those who are in Christ Jesus. Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth, who is he that condemneth?

This view of justification arises from the very nature of substitution and vicarious punishment. The punishment of sin is necessary from the holiness and justice of God. That punishment may, as we learn from Scripture, be endured by one competent to sustain the load, in the place of others. Christ, the eternal Son of God, assumed our nature, took our place, fulfilled all righteousness, completely obeying the precept and enduring the penalty of the law as our substitute. Its demands were thus satisfied, *i. e.* it has nothing to demand, as the ground of justification, of those interested in the righteousness of Christ. That righteousness being imputed to them is the ground in justice of their being accepted as righteous in the sight of God. In themselves they are hell-deserving, to them their acceptance is a matter of grace, because it is not their own righteousness, but the righteousness of another that is the ground of their justification. As this is the form in which this doctrine is presented in Scripture, so it has its foundation in our own moral constitution. Men have a constitutional sense of justice, an intimate conviction that sin ought to be punished; and therefore they cannot be satisfied until such punishment is inflicted. No mere pardon, no restoration to favour, no assurance that the evil effects of forgiveness will be prevented, can satisfy this intimate conviction. In all ages, therefore, men have demanded an atonement; and by atonement they have not understood a means of moral impression, but a method of satisfying justice. As these means have been ineffectual, the sacrifices of the heathen only serve to reveal the sentiment to which they owe their origin. But in the vicarious sufferings of the Son of God, in his bearing the punishment of our sins, what was merely symbolized in the ancient sacrifices was fully realized. This view of the nature of Christ's work and of the imputation of his righteousness is pronounced even in our day, by Hengstenberg, "the foundation-doctrine of the gospel, the life-point whence sprung the Reformation." *Kirchen-Zeitung*, 1836, No. 23.

other is a truism. The one admits of discussion, the other can be refuted, as a means of reconciling creeds, only by stating it. The one is this, viz. that right feeling may express itself in diverse, conflicting, and therefore in some cases, wrong intellectual forms. The other is, that figurative language is not to be interpreted literally. It is the adroit or unconscious interchange of these entirely different forms of his theory, that gives at once plausibility and confusion to his discourse. The frequent and sudden transition from a principle which no one denies, to one which no orthodox man admits, bewilders and deludes his readers. When startled by the fell sweep of his theory in one of its forms, he suddenly turns to them the other, and shows them how perfectly simple and harmless an affair it is. We shall endeavour very briefly to prove, first, that the author does present his theory in both of the forms above stated; and secondly, that in the one form it is false and destructive, and in the other nugatory.

But what is the theory which teaches that right feeling may express itself in diverse, and even in wrong intellectual forms? The sermon does not present any elaborate exposition or philosophical discussion of it. This was not to be expected in a popular discourse. In order, however, to be properly understood, it is necessary that it should be exhibited somewhat in detail. We do not mean to attribute to Professor Park any thing more than the principle itself, as above stated; we do not wish to be understood as even insinuating that he holds either its adjuncts or its consequents. The doctrine is substantially this. Religion consists essentially in feeling. It is not a form of knowledge, because in that case it could be taught like any other system of knowledge; and the more learned, on religious subjects, a man is, the more religion he would have. Much less can it consist in willing or acting, because there is no moral excellence either in volition or outward action, except as expressive of feeling. Religion must, therefore, have its seat in the feelings. There is in man a religious sentiment, a sense of dependence, a consciousness of relation to God. This gives rise to a persuasion that God is, and that we stand in manifold relations to him, and he to us. This is faith, *i. e.* a persuasion which arises out of feeling, and which derives from that source

its contents and its power.* This is a form of intuition, a direct vision of its object; apprehending, however, *that* it is, rather than either *how* or *why* it is. To this follows knowledge. That is, the cognitive faculty, the understanding, the logical consciousness, or whatever else it may be called, makes the intuitions included in faith the objects of consideration, interprets and defines them, and thus transmutes them into definite thoughts. Of the materials thus furnished it constructs theology. In every system of theology, therefore, there are these elements—feeling, faith, knowledge, science. The two former may be the same, where the two latter are very different. Hence feeling and faith may retain their true Christian character even when they cannot be reconciled with the philosophical convictions of the mind in which they exist.† This provides for the case of the “tearful German” mentioned by Professor Park, who was a Christian in his heart, but a philosopher, (*i. e.* in this connexion an infidel,) in his head. Further, with the same religious feeling and faith there may be very different theologies;

* *Twisten's Dogmatik*, p. 20. Glaube ist überhaupt ein auf dem Gefühle beruhendes Fürwahrhalten.

† This however is true only within certain limits. *Twisten*, p. 30. Zwar hängen Gefühl und Glaube nicht schlechterdings von den Bestimmungen des Wissens ab; sie führen ja selbst ihren Gehalt und ihre Sicherheit mit sich, und man wird sich mancherley Gegenstände des religiösen Wissens denken können, die verschiedene Ansichten zulassen, ohne dass dadurch der religiöse und christliche Character des frommen Bewusstseyns verändert wird. Diess geht aber doch nur bis zu einem gewissen Punct. . . . Obgleich also die Religion weder Erkenntniss ist, noch von der Erkenntniss ausgeht, so verhält sie sich doch nicht gleichgültig gegen dieselbe, und es ist z. B. für den religiösen Glauben nicht einerley, ob wir aus wissenschaftlichen Gründen meinen, behaupten oder leugnen zu müssen, dass der Mensch unsterblich sey.

Twisten belongs to the most moderate and orthodox class of Schleiermacher's disciples. The master carried this matter much farther, “Ja nach Schleiermacher,” says his interpreter, Gess, “können sich religiöse Gefühle sogar mit solchen Begriffen einigen, welche sich unter einander widersprechen. So heisst es (Reden p. 112:) es gebe zwei verschiedene Vorstellungen von Gott, eine, die ihn den Menschen ähnlich mache, und eine, die ihn nicht als persönlich denkend und wollend denke, sondern als die über alle Persönlichkeit hinausgestellte allgemeine, alles Denken und Seyn hervorbringende Nothwendigkeit. Welche von beiden die richtige sey, daran liege dem Gefühle nichts—sondern fromm kann jeder sey, er halte sich zu diesem oder zu jenem Begriffe; aber seine Frömmigkeit muss besser seyn, als sein Begriff. Und nichts scheint sich weniger zu ziemen, als wenn die Anhänger der Einen die, welche von der Menschenähnlichkeit abgeschreckt, ihre Zuflucht zu dem Andern nehmen, beschuldigen, sie seyen gottlos; oder ebenso, wenn diese wollten jene wegen der Menschenähnlichkeit ihres Begriffes des Götzdienstes beschuldigen und ihre Frömmigkeit für nichtig erklären.” Gess's Schleiermach. System, p. 21.

because the interpretation given to the intuitions of faith are, to a great extent, determined by the philosophy, the knowledge, cultivation, prejudices and spirit of the individual, and of the age or church to which he belongs. There is, therefore, no one Christian theology which can be pronounced true to the exclusion of all others. Different theologies are different forms of expressing or of interpreting the same religious sentiment. They are all true.* As the force of vegetable life manifests itself in the greatest diversity of forms and in very different degrees of perfection, so Christianity, which is also a power, manifests itself in various forms of faith, which are all to be recognized as expressions of a genuine Christian consciousness. If religion were a form of knowledge, if Christianity consisted in certain doctrines, or had Christ's immediate object been to set forth a theological system, there could be no room for such diversity; there could be only one true theology.† But revelation is not a making known a series of propositions. So far as it is an act of God, it is the arrangements and dispensations by which he awakens and elevates the religious consciousness of men; and so far as it regards the recipients, it is the intuition of the truth consequent on this elevation of their religious feelings. And inspiration is the state of mind, the elevation of the religious consciousness, to which this immediate perception of the truth is due. It follows from all this that the Scriptures, great as is their value, are only in an indirect sense the rule of faith. They contain the record of the apprehension of divine things consequent on the extraordinary religious life communi-

* *Twisten*, p. 35. Aber so viel ist doch klar, dass es hiernach nicht bloss eine christliche Dogmatik giebt, die ausgenommen alle übrigen geradezu unchristlich wären, sondern dass verschiedene dogmatische Systeme auf den Namen der christlichen Anspruch machen können. . . . Gleich wie die Lebenskräfte der Natur in einer grossen Mannigfaltigkeit von Erscheinungen hervortreten, verschieden nach der Art und Stufe ihrer Entwicklung, doch alle Aeusserungen derselben Kräfte: so kann sich auch das Christenthum, was ja auch eine Kraft selig zu machen, eine Kraft des göttlichen Lebens ist, in einer Fülle verschiedener Glaubensformen offenbaren, die sämmtlich Formen des christlichen Lebens und Bewusstseyns sind.

† *Twisten*, p. 33. Bestände die Religion nun zunächst in einer Lehre, und wäre Christi nächste Absicht gewesen, ein system von Dogmen aufzustellen; so könnten wir nicht umhin, uns zu der einen oder der andern Meinung zu schlagen,—that is, he must, in the case supposed, admit that the Lutheran system was the only Biblical and Christian system, or more or less opposed to it. There could in that case be but one true system.

cated to the world by Jesus Christ; and although they have a certain normal authority as the expression of a very pure and elevated state of religious feeling, still of necessity that expression was greatly modified by the previous culture of the sacred writers. In other words, the form in which they presented these truths, or the interpretation which they gave to their religious intuitions was influenced by their education, their modes of thought, and by the whole spirit of their age.* Our faith, therefore, is only indirectly founded on Scripture. Its immediate basis is our own religious consciousness, awakened and elevated by the Scriptures, and by the life which proceeding from Christ dwells in the Church. The simple, historical interpretation of the sacred writings does not give us the divine element of the truth therein contained; it gives us the temporary logical or intellectual form in which that divine element is embodied. But that form, in the progress of the Church, may have become obsolete. The theology of an age dies with the age. The race passes on. It is making constant progress. Not only is the scientific element, which enters into every system of theology, becoming more correct, but the religious consciousness of the Church is getting more pure and elevated; and, therefore, a theology suited to one age becomes very unsuitable to another.†

Such, to the best of our understanding of the matter, is the theory to which the radical principle of Professor Park's sermon belongs. To understand that principle, it was necessary

* *Twisten*, p. 36. Vergegenwärtigen wir uns den Apostel Paulus, nach seiner Nationalität und Bildung, nach dem Ideenkreise, in dem er erzogen war, der Art der Gelehrsamkeit, die er sich angeeignet hatte, dann nach seiner Stellung in der apostolischen Kirche, den Hindernissen, die er zu beseitigen, den Gegnern, die er zu bekämpfen hatte: konnte diess ohne Einfluss bleiben auf die Art, wie er das Christenthum auffasste und vortrag, und musste es nicht, von allem Andern abgesehen, seiner Lehre ein anderes Gepräge geben, als sie auch bey innerer Geistesverwandtschaft und unter ähnlichen Umständen z. B. bey einem Luther haben konnte, der nicht in der Schule Gamaliels, sondern der Scholastik gebildet war, und nicht Juden aus den Geschichten und Andeutungen des Alten, sondern Päpster aus den Lehren des Neuen Testaments von todtten Werken zum lebendigen Glauben führen sollte?

† *Morell's Philosophy of Religion*, p. 223. "The inevitable result of this is, that those who take their stand pertinaciously upon the formal theology of any given period, remain stationary, as it were, in the religious consciousness of this period, while that of the age goes far beyond them, that their theology is no longer an adequate exponent of the religious life of the times, and no longer satisfies its just demands."

to have some idea of the system of which it is a part. We repeat, however, what we have already said, viz: that we attribute to our author nothing more than he has avowed. We do not say, and we do not know, that he holds the theory above stated in any of its steps beyond the principle that right feeling may express itself in diverse, inconsistent, and therefore, at times, erroneous intellectual forms. That he does teach this principle, and that it is one aspect of the theory by which he proposes to reconcile "all allowable creeds," we think plain, in the first place, from the formal statements of his doctrine. The sermon from beginning to end treats of two theologies, which differ in form, *i. e.* in their intellectual statements, but have a common principle. Both are, therefore, allowable, because they are only different expressions of the same thing. It is a matter of perfect indifference whether these are called two theologies, or two modes of expressing one and the same theology. The difference between them in either case is the same.* "Sometimes," says our author, "both the mind and heart are suited by the same modes of thought, but often they require dissimilar methods, and the object of the present discourse is, to state some of the differences between the theology of the intellect and that of feeling, and also some of the influences which they exert upon each other," p. 534. "The theology of feeling differs from that of the intellect. It is the form of belief which is suggested by, and adapted to the wants of the well-trained heart. It is embraced as involving the substance

* One of the complaints against us, which Professor Park urges most frequently, is that we misrepresent him as teaching two "kinds of theology," instead of "two different forms" of one and the same theology. After many iterations of this complaint, he loses his patience, and asks, "Will the Reviewer never distinguish between two doctrines, and the same doctrine expressed in two forms?" We are afraid not. There is not the slightest difference between the two statements, except in words. There are no doctrines so wide apart, but that some general truth may be found of which they are but different forms. Atheism is one form, and Theism is another form of the one doctrine, that the universe had a cause. The Socinian and the Church exhibition of the design of Christ's death, are but different forms of the one doctrine, that we are saved by Christ. It is therefore perfectly immaterial whether Professor Park teaches that there are "two theologies," or "two forms of one and the same theology." His readers understand the former expression precisely as they do the latter, after all his explanations. The former is the more correct, and has the usage of all ages in its favour. One great difficulty in regard to this sermon is, that its author wishes to change the established meaning of terms, and call new things by old words.

of truth, although, when literally interpreted, it may or may not be false," p. 535. "In the theology of reason, the progress of science has antiquated some, and will continue to modify other refinements; theory has chased theory into the shades; but the theology of the heart, letting the minor accuracies go for the sake of holding strongly upon the substance of doctrine, need not always accommodate itself to scientific changes, but may use its old statements, even if, when literally understood, they be incorrect," p. 539. "Our theme," he says, "reveals the identity in the essence of many systems which are run in scientific or aesthetic moulds unlike each other." "There are indeed kinds of theology which cannot be reconciled with each other," p. 559. "Another practical lesson developed in the discourse is, the importance of exhibiting the mutual consistency between all the expressions of right feeling," p. 137. We see not how these and many similar declarations are to be understood, otherwise than as teaching that the intellectual forms under which right feeling expresses itself, may be, and often are diverse and inconsistent. The difference is not that between literal and figurative language, but between systems run in different scientific moulds. The intellectual forms of doctrine may change, theory may succeed theory, but the feelings may adhere to these antiquated forms, and continue to express themselves in modes which the reason pronounces to be false.

But, in the second place, a large class of the illustrations employed by our author, puts this matter out of all doubt. They are instances not of figurative, imaginative, or intense expressions, but of purely intellectual and doctrinal statements. This we have already abundantly proved. That the sin of Adam is imputed to his posterity, that they are condemned for that sin, that its consequences to them are of the nature of punishment, is a different doctrine from that expressed by saying we are exposed to evil in consequence of that sin. That inherent depravity is truly and properly sin, is a different intellectual proposition from the statement that it is not properly sin. That no mere man since the fall is able perfectly to keep the commandments of God, is a different doctrine from that asserted by saying, that God never requires of us more than

we are able to perform. These statements suppose different theories of moral obligation, of moral agency, and of the freedom of the will. So too, the propositions, Christ bore the penalty of the law, his sufferings were of the nature of punishment, he fully satisfied the demands of the law and justice of God, are recognized forms of stating a doctrine concerning the atonement, which has ever been held to be incompatible with the governmental or Socinian theory of the nature of Christ's work. As these and others of a like kind are included in the author's illustrations of his theory, they prove beyond doubt that his theory is that right feeling may express itself in diverse and inconsistent intellectual forms. It matters not what name he may give it. It is the precise doctrine of those who hold that the different systems of theology are not to be distinguished as true and false, but as different interpretations of the same genuine Christian consciousness; or that right feeling may express itself in incompatible intellectual forms.* This is the philosophical, grave, and plausible aspect of our author's theory. He presents the matter, however, in another and very different light.

The second form in which the doctrine of the sermon is presented, is that figurative language is not to be interpreted literally, that poetry is not to be treated as prose! This as a device for reconciling "all allowable creeds," as we said above, needs no refutation beyond the statement of it. That our author does run down his theory to this "infinite little," is plain both from his exposition and illustration of his doctrine. The emotive theology may, he says, be called poetry, "if this word be used, as it should be, to include the constitutional developements of a heart moved to its depths by the truth. And as in its essence it is poetical, with this meaning of the epithet, so it avails itself of a poetic license, and indulges in a

* When the writers, to whom we have referred, represent conflicting systems of theology as alike true, they of course mean that there is a higher view which embraces and harmonizes them all; that they are different aspects of the same general truth; and further, that they have a common element, which is differently combined in these several systems. They would accept Professor Park's statement of the identity in essence of systems run in different scientific moulds, or of "the mutual consistency of all the expressions of right feeling," as a proper expression of their doctrine.

style of remark, which, for sober prose, would be unbecoming, or even, when associated in certain ways irreverent."* Being poetical in its nature, the theology of feeling is better adapted to the hymn-book than to creeds. He ascribes a great deal of mischief to the introduction of the language of poetry into doctrinal symbols. Men, he says, will never find peace "until they confine their intellect to its rightful sphere, and understand it according to what it says, and their feeling to *its* province, and interpret its language according to what it means, rendering to poetry the things which are designed for poetry, and unto prose what belongs to prose."† "Our theme" *i. e.* the theme discussed in the sermon, he says, "grieves us by disclosing the ease with which we may slide into grave errors. Such errors have arisen from so simple a cause as that of confounding poetry with prose."‡ The emotive theology, as appears from these statements, is poetry. It is the poetic exhibition of doctrines. The conflicts of theologians arise, in a measure, from their not recognizing this fact. They interpret these poetic forms as though they were the sober and wary language of prose. He sustains the doctrine of the sermon, in this view of it, by quotations from Blair, Campbell, Burke, and even a certain commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. "In accordance with these simple principles," he says, "not dug out of the depths of German metaphysics, but taken from the surface of Blair's Rhetoric, the sermon under review describes the theology of feeling as introducing obscure images, vague and indefinite representations."|| The doctrine of the discourse, therefore, is the perfectly harmless truism that poetry is not prose, and therefore is not to be interpreted as though it were. Accordingly he asks the commentator referred to, how it happens, that when he "comes to criticise a New England sermon, he should forget the rhetorical principles with which he was once familiar."§ These representations present the author's theory as a simple rhetorical principle, which no one denies.

A large class of the illustrations of the doctrine of the ser-

* Sermon, p. 538.

|| Reply p. 158.

† Sermon p. 554.

§ Reply p. 160.

‡ Sermon p. 558.

mon are adapted to this view of the case. Passages of Scripture, which speak of men as hiding under Jehovah's wings, which represent God as jealous or angry; which speak of him as a rock or high tower; or which describe him as armed with sword and buckler; the figurative language of our hymn-books, which speak of God's burning throne, his smiling face, his open arms; the intense and hyperbolical language of emotion, as when the Psalmist says, I am a worm and no man; and when the sinner says, I am less than nothing, are all cited as illustrations of the principle contended for. There can, therefore, be no doubt that one aspect of our author's theory is that poetry is not to be interpreted as though it were prose. But is this the only aspect of his doctrine? Was it with this penny-whistle he discoursed such music as stole away the senses of a Boston audience? When he stood up as a *vates praescius venturi*, to foretell the blending of all creeds into one colourless ray, and to predict the end of religious controversy, was Blair's Rhetoric the source of his inspiration? Did he persuade the shrewd Athenians of America, that it was a feasible matter to interpret the Westminster Confession as a poem, and that men never would have peace until that feat was accomplished? Such is the modest interpretation which he gives his "humble convention sermon." We entertain for it a much higher opinion. We believe it teaches something more than lies on the surface of the Scotch Principal's dull lectures. If it does not, then we grudge the ink—worth less than a farthing—we have spent in writing about it.*

It is the principle that right feeling may express itself in wrong intellectual forms, incorrect and dangerous as that principle is, that gives dignity and importance to the sermon under review. This is a grave matter. The theory with which it is

* Yet the author seems to labour through this whole reply to persuade his readers that this is all he meant. This is the source of his retorts and sarcasms. Do you hold that God is a rock, or that he came from Teman? Do you forget your own principle, that figurative expressions are not to be taken according to the letter? What pitiable logomachy then is it, to contend about doctrinal discrepancies. Cannot is only another form of will not; sinful is only a figure for "notsinful." If we all admit we are saved by Christ, what is the use of disputing how he saves us? We are all agreed, if we did but know it. You say the thing figuratively, I say the same thing literally; I mean just what you mean, mean what you please, (within allowable limits.)

connected is not to be treated lightly. It has been elaborated with so much skill, sustained by so much power, and adopted by so many leading minds, that it deserves the most serious examination. It would be a very important service if some competent hand would undertake such a scrutiny, and philosophically discuss the various points which the theory in question involves, separating the warp of truth from the woof of error in its complicated texture. No one can read even the bald outline of that theory as given above, without feeling its power, and seeing that there is an element of truth in it which gives it a dangerous plausibility. We must leave such an examination, however, to those whom God calls to the work. We have an humbler office. There are two methods of dealing with a false theory. The one is, the refutation of its principles; the other is, to show that its admitted results are in conflict with established truths. The latter is much the shorter, and generally, much the more satisfactory, as it is the common scriptural method of dealing with error. We propose, therefore, simply to indicate one or two points in which the theory, one of whose principles our author has adopted, stands in conflict with the Bible.

In the first place, the radical principle of the theory, viz. that religion consists essentially in feeling, is contrary to the scriptural doctrine on the subject, and is opposed to what the Bible teaches of the importance of truth. According to Scripture, religion is not a blind feeling, desire, or emotion, but it is a form of knowledge. It is the spiritual discernment of divine things. The knowledge, which in the Bible is declared to be eternal, or spiritual life, is not the mere intellectual, or speculative apprehension of the truth; but such apprehension is one of its essential elements, and therefore of true religion. No man can have the spiritual discernment of any truth which he does not know. The intellectual cognition is just as necessary to spiritual knowledge as the visual perception of a beautiful object is to the apprehension of its beauty. Men cannot be made religious by mere instruction, but they cannot be religious without it. Religion includes the knowledge, *i. e.* the intellectual apprehension of divine things, as one of its essential elements, without which it cannot exist. And therefore it is

often called knowledge. Hence, to know God, is the sum of all religion. The vision of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, is the vital principle of inward Christianity. Hence throughout the Bible, the knowledge of God, wisdom, understanding, and words of like import, are used as designations of true religion. With spiritual discernment is inseparably connected a feeling corresponding to the nature of the object apprehended. This is so intimately united with the cognition, as to be an attribute of it—having no separate existence, and being inconceivable without it. And it is to the two as inseparably united that the name religion properly belongs. Neither the cognition without the feeling, nor the feeling without the cognition completes the idea of religion. It is the complex state of mind in which those elements are inseparably blended, so as to form one glowing, intelligent apprehension of divine things, which constitutes spiritual life. But in this complex state the cognition is the first and the governing element, to which the other owes its existence; and therefore, in the second place, the Scriptures not only teach that knowledge is an essential constituent of religion, but also that the objective presentation of truth to the mind is absolutely necessary to any genuine religious feeling or affection. It is by the truth as thus outwardly presented, that the inward state of mind, which constitutes religion, is produced. We are begotten by the truth. We are sanctified by the truth. It is by the exhibition of the truth, that the inward life of the soul is called into being and into exercise. This is the agency which the Spirit of God employs in the work of conversion and sanctification. Hence truth is essential to the salvation of men. It is not a matter of indifference what men believe, or in what form right feeling expresses itself. There can be no right feeling but what is due to the apprehension of truth. Hence Christ commissioned his disciples to teach. The Church was made the teacher of the nations; she has ever regarded herself as the witness and guardian of the truth. Heresy she has repudiated, not as an insult to her authority, but as destructive of her life.

Is not this scriptural view of the relation between knowledge and feeling, confirmed by consciousness and experience? Is not the love of God intelligent? Is it not complacency in the

divine character as intellectually apprehended? Does not the love of Christ suppose the knowledge of Christ? Can the man who looks upon him as a creature, feels towards him as God manifest in the flesh? Can the feeling which has for its object the Son of God bearing our sins in his own body on the cross, be the same as that which regards him as an amiable martyr? Repentance, faith, love, reverence, gratitude, every affection and exercise which enters into true religion, our own consciousness tells us, derives its character and owes its existence to knowledge, to the intelligent apprehension of the truth as revealed in the word of God. The history of the world is a continued illustration of the truth, that inward character depends on knowledge. This is one of the great principles of Protestantism; and therefore Protestants have ever been the advocates of religious instruction. It is a purely Romish doctrine, that "Religious light is intellectual darkness."* Knowledge, according to Protestants, is one of the elements of faith, without which it cannot exist. It includes assent to some known truth. In the one Church, therefore, truth has a paramount importance; in the other, ignorance is regarded as the mother of devotion. If a man trust in the cross, the Romish system tells him he need not know what the cross means. It matters not whether he thinks he is saved by the wood of the cross, by the magic influence of the sign, or by Christ as crucified for the sins of the world. These are different expressions of the feeling of confidence. A distinguished Unitarian clergyman once said to us, that there was no difference between his *doctrine* as to the method of salvation and that of the orthodox. Both believe that we are saved through Christ, and even by his death. The one says how this is done; the other leaves the manner unexplained. The general truth both receive. The difference is not a difference of doctrine, but of the mode or form in which the same doctrine is presented.

In opposition to the scriptural doctrine on the subject, the theory under consideration teaches that religion consists in feeling, as distinguished from knowledge, and that it is in a great measure independent of it. In the extreme form in which this

* Newman's *Parochial Sermons*, Vol. I., p. 124.

doctrine is presented by its great master, it is immaterial, so far as religion is concerned, whether a man be a Pantheist or Theist; whether he regards God as a mere force, of which neither intelligence nor moral excellence can be predicated, or as a spirit, infinite in his being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness and truth. And even in the more moderate form, in which it is set forth by some of his followers, truth is of subordinate importance. As the essence of religion is feeling, it may exist under very different intellectual forms, and find expression in conflicting systems of doctrine. Both, therefore, as to the nature of religion, and as to the importance of truth, there is a vital difference between this theory and the teachings of the word of God.

Secondly, this theory subverts the doctrine of a divine revelation, in the correct and commonly received sense of those terms. Revelation is the communication of truth by God to the understandings of men. It makes known doctrines. For example, it makes known that God is; that God is a spirit; that he is infinite; that he is holy, just, and good; that Christ is the Son of God; that he assumed our nature; that he died for our sins, &c. These are logical propositions. They are so set forth, that the meaning of the terms employed, and the sense of the propositions themselves, are understood, and understood in the same way by the renewed and the unrenewed. That the one class perceive in the truths thus revealed an excellence, and experience from them a power, of which the other class have no experience, does not alter the case. Revelation, as such, is addressed to the understanding; to the understanding indeed of moral beings, capable of perceiving the import of moral propositions; but it is very different from spiritual illumination. All this, the theory in question denies. It makes revelation to be the awakening and elevating the religious feelings, which, when thus roused, have higher intuitions of spiritual things than were possible before. Doctrines are not matters of revelation. They have no divine authority. They are constructed by the understanding. They are the logical statements of the supposed contents of these immediate intuitions, and are therefore fallible, transient, variable; assuming one form under one set of influences, and a different under another.

Thirdly, this theory necessarily destroys the authority of the Scriptures. This follows from what has already been said. If it subverts the true idea of revelation, it subverts all that rests on that idea. But, besides this, it teaches that the influence under which the sacred writers thought and wrote was not peculiar to them. It is common to all believers. Inspiration is an exalted state of the religious feelings, quickening and rendering clearer the religious perceptions. The light within is therefore co-ordinate with the light in the Scriptures. This theory is a philosophical form of Quakerism, and stands in much the same relation to the normal authority of the Scriptures. The practical operation of this doctrine confirms the view here given of its nature and tendency. There is of course a great difference among its advocates, as to the reverence which they manifest for the word of God, and as to the extent in which they agree with its teachings; but in all there is abundant evidence that the Bible has lost its ancient authority as a rule of faith. They construct systems which do not profess to be expositions of what is taught in the word of God, but deductions from the religious consciousness as it now exists. Few of them hesitate to say that the Bible is full of errors, not merely of history and science, but of such as are connected with religion; that it is disfigured by misconceptions, false reasoning, and erroneous exhibitions of doctrine. How can it be otherwise if its logical propositions are but the fallible interpretation given to their feelings by the sacred writers. Our readers cannot ask us to say more in opposition to a theory which thus deals with the Scriptures, which represents its doctrinal statements as due to the peculiar training of the sacred writers, and which teaches that propositions categorically opposed to each other may be alike true—true relatively, since none is true absolutely.

Professor Park may ask, what has all this to do with his convention sermon? That discourse does not teach that all religion consists in feeling, nor does it advocate the view of revelation and inspiration deduced from that principle. Very true. But it does teach one of the main principles of the theory in question. It does teach that right feeling may express itself in inconsistent intellectual forms. Does it not teach that we may say the sin of Adam is imputed to his race; that our nature

since the fall is sinful; that Christ's sufferings were of the nature of punishment; that he satisfied the law and justice of God, &c.? And yet are not all these propositions pronounced to be false, in the very sense which those who use them mean to convey? Is it not the avowed design of the sermon to show that all "allowable creeds" may be reconciled?" Does not the author attempt to show that the two great systems of doctrine which have been in conflict for ages, are but different forms of expressing the same right feelings? If this is so, we know no method of refutation more fair or more conclusive, than to point out the origin, and to trace the consequences of a principle by which these results are brought about. To object to an argument designed to show that a doctrine is false, by proving that the principles which it involves, and the consequences to which it leads, are unsound and dangerous, is to object to its being refuted at all.

SHORT NOTICES.

My Own Book, or Select Narratives and Instructions suitable for Youth. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, No. 255 Chestnut St.

A beautiful little book, comprising more than twenty Narratives; all of them possessing the two qualities which fit such a work for its object; being both interesting and instructive.

1. *Memoir of Mrs. Agnes Andrew*, of Paisley. Illustrative of the Triumphs of Faith in Humble Life. By the Rev. Peter Mearns, Coldstream.
2. *The Ragged Scholars, Perils in the Desert, and the Avenger Stayed.*
3. *A Visit to the Holy Land, The Young Jewess, the Red Berries, and The Twins.*
4. *An Affectionate Address to Mothers.* By the Rev. Daniel Baker, D. D. of Texas.
5. *The Three Last Things*, or Death, Judgment, and Eternity. By the Rev. John Hambleton, M. A. Revised for the Board of Publication.
6. *The Bruised Reed and Smoking Flax.* To which is added, A Description of Christ. By Richard Sibbes, D. D., 1620.

Such are the titles of some of the late issues of the Board of Publication of our Church. The more we see of the publications sent forth by our Board, the more we are struck with their

characteristic excellencies. The narratives, by which they seek to engage the attention of the young, are not, for the most part, ideal or romantic fictions, but histories of real incidents. We have subjected them to the trial of placing them in the hands of little children; and they have awakened an interest that is quite sufficient to serve as a vehicle for the moral or religious lessons which they were intended to teach; and we have been interested to notice, that the attention has not been engrossed with the story, to a degree that veiled its moral import from their notice. There is very much the same difference in effect, between these issues, and the engrossing religious fictions that are flooding the churches, as between verisimilitude and actual verity, or between probability of every grade, and truth. We are far from intending to proscribe the former; but for ourselves and our children, we prefer the latter, when we can get them.

Those volumes before us, which are not narrative in their character, are equally remarkable for the pungency of their direct and earnest appeals, as distinguished from those which owe their interest to the incidents and anecdotes with which they are spiced. "The Bruised Reed and Smoking Flax," a book mainly instrumental in the conversion of Richard Baxter, has been a precious comfort to thousands of God's people. The "Address to Mothers," brings its reverend author before us most vividly, in the remarkable peculiarities which have made his ministry so acceptable and impressive to thousands among all denominations, and in all parts of our land.

Crumbs from the Land o' Cakes. By John Knox. Boston: Published by Gould & Lincoln, 1851. 12mo. pp. 192.

The author, whoever he may be—John Knox we take for granted is but a *nom de guerre*—makes no high pretension to learning or literature; but he has produced a series of running sketches, enlivened by incidents of no very *recherche* sort, but thrown off with an ease and heartiness of manner, that always conciliate, and often instruct. To a large class of readers, we have no doubt the book will be highly agreeable. The author possesses three qualities of a good traveller: he is intelligent, inquisitive, and communicative.

The Half Century; or A History of Changes that have taken place, and Events that have transpired, chiefly in the United States, between 1800 and 1850. With an Introduction by Mark Hopkins, D. D. By Emerson Davis, D. D. Boston: Tappan & Whittemore, 1851. 12mo. pp. 442.

A compilation like this is a very great convenience. The examination we have given this work, though not yet a very

searching one, is sufficient to satisfy us of its value. Our readers will see for themselves, from a simple enumeration of the heads of the chapters, how comprehensive the plan of the author is. A separate chapter is devoted to each of the following subjects, viz. Political Changes and Events; Educational Changes; Charitable Educational Institutions; Moral Reformation; Improvements in the Means of Intercommunication; Progress of Science; Inventions, Arts and Manufactures; Christian Benevolence; Religious Controversies; New Religious Sects; Miscellanies. The plan appears to be filled up with considerable care and labour; but there are probably some cases, where the honour of the discoveries which the author records, may be assigned to the wrong parties: as there are many cases in which the claims are disputed even in the opinion of the most competent judges.

The only part of the work, to which we yet see cause to except strenuously, is that which chronicles the religious and theological controversies of the period. This is a delicate and difficult subject; and Dr. Davis had better confined himself to the simple statement of facts, or else passed the subject entirely by. His historical account of the division of the Presbyterian Church is adapted to make a very erroneous impression. We have no intention of attempting to make any correction; and therefore simply enter our protest against the authenticity of the history. So on the great controversies of New England the author has written either too much or too little.

The Old Red Sandstone; or New Walks in an Old Field. By Hugh Miller, author of the *Foot-prints of the Creator*, &c. Illustrated with numerous engravings. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1851. 12mo. pp. 288.

Those of our readers who were induced to procure the work noticed in our last number, "*Foot-prints of the Creator*," will need nothing more than a simple announcement of this volume, by the same author, to warrant its purchase. It possesses all the remarkable peculiarities which characterise the *Foot-prints*. For lucid description both in topography and natural history, it deserves to be made a study, and for argument spiced with wit and humour, and directed with destructive power against infidel hypotheses like those of Lamarek and Maillet, these works of Miller stands alone and unapproached by the scientific polemics of any other author known to us. The publication of the work before us—the first in the order of his geological productions—lifted its author at once, and by universal consent, into the first rank of living geologists, especially in the department of fossil science. The book is pervaded by a spirit of sympathy with the working classes, and a noble and

philanthropic zeal, to stimulate them to that intellectual culture and patient research, compatible with their industrial avocations, by means of which he has raised himself from their ranks into scientific eminence.

Our first intention was to furnish a brief analysis of these fascinating pages, but we were soon compelled to desist, by the impossibility of compressing within our scanty remaining limits a tythe of the interesting matter that was crowding upon us as we proceeded. We have merely to add, that although containing the record of brilliant discoveries and generalizations in science, the book is entirely level to the comprehension of the popular reader.

Principles of Zoölogy; Touching the Structure, Developement, Distribution and Natural Arrangement of the races of Animals, living and extinct; with numerous illustrations.

Part I. Comparative Physiology. For the use of Schools and Colleges. By Louis Agassiz & A. A. Gould. Revised Edition. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1851. pp. 250. 12mo.

This is a second, enlarged and improved edition of an elementary work, which we had occasion to notice some time ago, with high praise. In our judgment, it may now be regarded as a complete model for books of its class. There is no Text-book on the same subject, known to us, comparable with it. We earnestly hope the authors will go on to complete their plan at an early day, by furnishing the second part, which is to comprise the principles of Classification in the Animal Kingdom, and their applications to Systematic Zoölogy. The work embraces the very latest discoveries of modern science on this interesting field, where Professor Agassiz has achieved so brilliant a reputation. Unpretending as the volume is, it contains a clearer exposition of the important principles disclosed by Professor Agassiz in his researches on Embryology, than we have yet seen in any other form.

The Annual of Scientific Discovery; or Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art; Exhibiting the most important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Meteorology, Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Geology, Geography, Antiquities, together with a list of Recent Scientific Publications; a Classified List of Patents; Obituaries of Eminent Scientific Men; an Index of Important Papers in Scientific Journals, Reports, &c. Edited by David A. Wells, A. M., of the Lawrence Scientific School, Cambridge, and George Bliss, Jr. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1851. pp. 428. 12mo.

We are happy to welcome this second annual volume, containing apparently a very complete and accurate *resumé*—as the voluminous title page quoted above indicates—of the discoveries in science and art, made during the last year, in all

parts of the world. The editors have succeeded in rendering it almost a necessary of life to those, at least, whose professional avocations render it impracticable to keep the run of progress in the arts and sciences. The newspaper press may apprise them of the pretended discoveries in these departments from time to time; but it is often difficult for laymen to determine how far such announcements are worthy of credit. Some of its readers will be surprised to find so serious a matter made of the professed discovery of Mr. Paine, for the manufacture of gas from water. When it was announced, that by his method Mr. Paine professed to decompose water into pure hydrogen, without any production of oxygen at all, we apprehend most persons considered it as a *reductio ad absurdum*, and gave the matter up as a hoax. It seems, however, that at the meeting of the Royal Society at Paris, on January 24, M. Daniel Paret announced to the Society, as "*un fait accompli et acquis à la science*," "that a given volume of water may be entirely transformed at will, either into oxygen or hydrogen." He regards it as demonstrated by his experiments, which he describes minutely, that "water is not a compound, not an oxide, but truly a *first element*, the generator of oxygen or hydrogen by the transposition of its combined or coercitive electricity, which places itself in excess in the water which becomes oxygen, at the expense of another volume which becomes hydrogen." Such authority is not to be lightly set aside; and we must be content to wait farther developments. But aside from the main question, there are two other points vital to the economical production of the Paine light, about which the evidence is still contradictory; the one relates to the rapidity of the production of gas by the method in question, and the other to the consumption of the turpentine by which the illuminating power is communicated to the gas.

Expository Discourses on the First Epistle of the Apostle Peter. By John Brown, D. D., Senior Minister of the United Presbyterian Congregation, Broughton Place, Edinburgh, and Professor of Exegetical Theology to the United Presbyterian Church. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 285 Broadway, 1851. 8vo. pp. 800.

The plan of this work is admirably suited to popular use, at the same time that it secures the full benefit of critical and learned exposition of the text. The author first gives a new and critical translation of the Epistle, founded upon and embodying the expository criticism which makes up the body of the work. He then proceeds to make an analysis of its contents into topics, embracing longer or shorter passages of the Epistle, and so far complete in themselves, as to admit of separate and full exposition. This is done in the form of popular

discourses—of which there are twenty-four in number—all originally delivered to the author's own congregation, very nearly in the form in which they appear. Of course, therefore, there is no parade of learning. His aim in every case, however, is to find as nearly possible the mind of the Spirit, in inditing the passage; and then to found upon it his doctrinal and practical disquisitions. The necessary verbal criticisms, and the references to critical authorities, are introduced in the form of notes: which are rather scanty, and serve to indicate rather than explain or justify the processes, by which the author reached his conclusions. The discourses themselves are abundantly rhetorical for popular reading, without being diffuse to weariness, or expanded to feebleness. The author's learning and diligence are sufficiently evinced, by the use he makes of the critical and expository labours of all the leading authors in England and France, and also of such of the German commentators as wrote in Latin.

The indexes of the volume are remarkable for their completeness; and render references to any passage or authority perfectly easy to the scholar, notwithstanding the popular cast of the work. And besides its adaptation for the use of private Christians, it may serve both as an admirable model, and a most valuable help to ministers, in that too much neglected function of the pulpit—expository preaching.

Scripture Lands, described in a series of Historical, Geographical, and Topographical Sketches. By John Kitto, D. D., F. S. A., and illustrated by a complete Biblical Atlas, comprising twenty-four Maps, with an Index of Reference. 12mo. pp. 276 and 95. London, 1850. H. G. Bohn.

This is a neat and attractive volume comprising much valuable matter, though hastily compiled. Its chief characteristic, however, is the cool audacity of its plagiarism. Upwards of sixty pages of the *Historical Geography of the Bible* by Rev. Dr. Coleman, of Philadelphia, have been transcribed *verbatim* in different parts of the book, and that without so much as one word of acknowledgment, or even a single reference in the whole work. Other authorities when quoted are constantly referred to by name, but Dr. Coleman's *Geography* is no where mentioned, except that on page vii. of the Preface it appears undistinguished, the eighth in a list of nineteen works, "which have been principally consulted, and to which he (Dr. K.) owes the largest obligations." By way of specimen, see pp. 53–78, which with the single exception of the account of Zoan given p. 55, is taken bodily from Coleman's *Geography*, pp. 66–115. The peculation is carried on to a greater or less extent almost from the commencement of the volume to its close. All this is

certainly very flattering to Dr. Coleman, but not particularly creditable or honest in Dr. Kitto.

Classical Series, by Drs. Schmitz and Zumpt, published by Lea & Blanchard, Philadelphia.

This series includes *Cæsar De Bello Gallico*, *Virgil*, *Sallust*, *Curtius De Gestis Alexandri Magni*, *Cicero Orationes Selectæ*, *Livy*, *Latin Grammar* by Dr. Schmitz, and a *School Dictionary of the Latin Language* by Dr. Kaltschmidt. The publishers deserve great credit for bringing out this excellent series in such handsome style, and at so low a price. Great care has been taken to secure a pure text, and the notes are, both in regard to quality and quantity, precisely such as the student needs. The *Grammar*, and the *School Dictionary*, are especially deserving of the attention of teachers. The former embodies the results of the investigations of Zumpt, Ramshorn, Madvig, and others; while the latter has been compiled from the best Latin lexicons, and gives (what no other does) the etymology of every word, not only by tracing it to its Latin or Greek root, but to roots or kindred forms of words in the cognate languages of the great Indo-Germanic family.

The Works of Horace, with English Notes: by J. L. Lincoln, Professor of Latin, Brown University. D. Appleton & Co. New York, 1851.

The Works of Horace, with Notes Critical, &c., by Charles Anthon, LL.D., Professor of Greek, &c., Columbia College. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1851.

Professor Lincoln's edition of Horace is one of the most beautiful books that have of late issued from the New York press. The text is printed in a fine large type. Indeed, it quite surprises us that a volume so elegant can be published at the low price at which this is sold. And we cannot but hope, what for the sake of the interests of classical learning we sincerely desire, that this new edition of Horace will banish from our schools and colleges the huge and heavy one of Dr. Anthon. In all the qualities of a text-book, the former is as superior to the latter, as it surpasses it in typographical beauty.

Miscellanies. By William R. Williams. New York: Edward H. Fletcher, 141 Nassau street. 8vo. pp. 390.

A collection of elaborate articles, on various literary and religious subjects, from the pen of one of the most gifted and cultivated minds in a sister denomination. They are all catholic in their tone and sentiments, and elevating and expansive in

their tendency. The character of the subjects may be judged of from a few samples taken at random from various parts of the volume:—The Conservative Principle of our Literature: Ministerial Responsibility: The Church the Home and Hope of the Free: The Jesuits as a Missionary Order: The Life and Times of Baxter: The Sea giving up its Dead: The Lessons of Calamity: The Church a School for Heaven.

Reveries of a Bachelor, or a Book of the Heart. By Ik. Marvel, author of "Fresh Gleanings." Seventh edition. New York: Baker & Scribner. 1851. 12mo, pp. 298.

A beautifully printed, very clever, and exceedingly popular book, containing a great deal of truth in the drapery of a genial and playful fancy; not, however, very much in our line.

The Closing Scene; or Christianity and Infidelity contrasted in the last hours of remarkable persons. By the Rev. Erskine Neale, M. A., Rector of Kirton Suffolk. Published by R. E. Peterson, N. W. corner of Fifth and Arch streets, Philadelphia, 1850.

The title page points out clearly enough the design of this volume. We are not left however to judge of the effects of the two systems here contrasted, simply from the death-beds of those who held them. The author has wisely prefixed condensed and sometimes very interesting narratives to these "Closing Scenes," which add greatly to the life of the book, and the force of his conclusions. There are some things which have no immediate connection with the course of the argument, and which could well have been spared in a work like this; but generally, the sentiments are just, the argument well sustained, and the style plain and forcible. The work will do good with a class of minds who will feel the force of such an argument as this, but upon whom the most laboured demonstrations would have no effect. We should do injustice to the publisher, if we failed to notice the uncommon neatness and beauty with which he has given this work to the public.

The Path of Life. By Henry A. Rowland, New York: Published by M. W. Dodd, Brick Church Chapel, 1851.

Though the gospel is in itself simple, and the way of life so plain that none need mistake, yet the natural blindness of the heart is perpetually leading men astray. The false refuges of an awakened conscience are almost innumerable. There are paths which seem to run side by side with "the path of life,"

but which lead directly away from Christ. There are sometimes difficulties, which even the sincere inquirer cannot fully remove. Every minister of the gospel—if his ministry is at all successful—must constantly meet with cases like these. In this little volume Mr. Rowland has given us, in a clear and forcible way, his own ministerial experience. The errors into which men commonly fall, are exposed, objections to the truth obviated, and the sinner led to Christ, and faith in his blood as the only path of life. This is true as a whole. And yet there are thoughts and phrases occurring now and then throughout the book, to which we cannot subscribe; which to our minds do not convey the full sense of Scripture; and which, in the hands of some, would give rise to partial and wrong views of the truth.

The Educational Systems of the Puritans and Jesuits Compared. By N. Porter, Professor of Moral Philosophy, etc., Yale College. New York: Published by M. W. Dodd, Brick Church Chapel, 1851.

We know no better way of conveying a just idea of this essay, than to give an outline of the course of thought. The names Jesuit and Puritan are chosen as the best representatives of two opposite tendencies and institutions. They are not used in their strict sense. The author then proceeds to consider the principles of these two opposite systems. The Jesuit is distinguished by its military character, the absolute authority of the superior, the entire merging, or rather absorption of the individual will and conscience in the organism of the society. The Puritan, on the other hand, by the freedom which it gives the individual; a freedom which springs from and is limited by the truth that it brings men into a direct and personal relation to God; and makes them responsible to him.

The history and effects of these two systems of education are as different as their principle. The Puritan has sought, and must seek to educate every man. The Jesuit strives to educate only the wealthy and powerful. The Puritan is deeply religious, but its religion is free, and the result of conviction. The Jesuit is religious also, but its religion knows no conviction; it is blind subjection to authority.

What is, and will be the influence of these two systems in our own land, where they are for the first time fairly met, working upon the same material, and both are allowed to work without restraint? The Jesuit has the advantage in authority and discipline; it can command oftentimes abler teachers, it makes more accomplished scholars, acute logicians, and men ready at all points to defend their opinions. The Puritan, on the other

hand, will train more independent men, fit them better for investigation, discovery, and all the practical duties of life. The Jesuit will be stationary: the Puritan progressive.

The author then concludes with a statement of the reasons which lead him to believe, that the Jesuit here, as everywhere else, will be ready for any emergency, will adapt himself to any circumstances, and can be counteracted only by institutions in every way superior to his own.

This is a very imperfect sketch, but we trust it will induce our readers to secure the book for themselves. We are not sure that we should agree with the author in all the minute points of the comparison: but he is evidently master of his subject, and has given us an able, well-written, and very interesting discussion of a theme which cannot fail to interest all who concern themselves in the welfare of the youth of our land.

First Things: A Series of Lectures on the Great Facts and Moral Lessons first revealed to mankind. By Gardiner Spring, D. D. In two volumes. New York: M. W. Dodd. Brick Church Chapel, 1851.

A man, who for forty years has stood at the head of an important congregation, and ministered the gospel to a generation of hearers, is an object of reverence and interest to the whole Church. He is entitled to be heard with deference; and if he places his views on record, they are secure of respectful consideration. Dr. Spring occupies such a position, and by the numerous and important productions of his pen, is both extending and perpetuating his ministerial influence. The handsome volumes above mentioned embrace a variety of topics of great importance, all of which are discussed with ability, gravity, and devotion. We doubt not they will prove both acceptable and useful to a wide circle of readers.

The Union Preserved, or the Law-abiding Christian. A Discourse, by David McKinney, D. D., Pastor of the Presbyterian church, Hollidaysburg, Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: W. F. Geddes, 1851.

Signs of our Country's Future. A Discourse delivered in the Presbyterian church in Danville, Pennsylvania, December 12, 1850. By the Rev. John W. Yeomans, D. D., Pastor of the church. Published by request. Danville, Pennsylvania, E. W. Conkling, 1851.

God purifies the atmosphere by storms. Political agitations have often an analogous beneficial effect. They rouse the public mind; they secure attention to great principles; and furnish the occasion for the wide dissemination of wholesome doctrine. No one can estimate the amount of good done by the almost numberless discussions of the primary principles of civil govern-

ment, which recent political events have called forth. We name two discourses belonging to this class, from eminent clergymen in our own Church, which do honour to their authors, and promise extensive good to the public.

Lectures on Theology. By the late Rev. John Dick, D.D. Published under the superintendence of his son. With a Preface, Memoir, &c., by the American Editor. In two volumes. New York: M. W. Dodd, Brick Church Chapel. 1851.

This is a handsome reprint of a well-known standard work. It is perhaps the best and most convenient system of theology, in English, accessible to the American public.

The Afflicted Man's Companion. By Rev. John Willison, Dundee, Scotland, 1727. To which is added *The Mourner; or the Afflicted Relieved.* By Benjamin Grosvenor, D.D., pp. 343, price 45 cents. Published by the American Tract Society, 150 Nassau street, New York.

These are works which will find a welcome in many households of sorrow, for the class of the afflicted is always large. They are well adapted to the great end of teaching those who mourn how to derive spiritual benefit from their sufferings.

The Riches of Bunyan; Selected from his works for the American Tract Society. By the Rev. Jeremiah Chaplin, with an Introductory Notice, by the Rev. William R. Williams, D.D. American Tract Society, New York. 12mo. pp. 488.

This is a work replete with the marrow of the gospel. The selections are eminently suggestive, and adapted to almost every variety of circumstances.

Memoirs of the Life and Ministry of the Rev. John Summerfield, A.M. By John Holland, with an Introductory Letter by James Montgomery; abridged with additional Letters and Reminiscences. Published by the American Tract Society, 150 Nassau street, New York, pp. 338.

This volume contains the memoir by Mr. Holland, certain portions of little general interest being omitted, and many letters not in the hands of the author when the work was originally prepared. The recollection or tradition of Mr. Summerfield is so extended and so fresh in the minds of the Christians of this country, that they will be ready to welcome this new edition of his memoirs.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

It is our desire and intention to furnish our readers each quarter, so far as we can, with a general view of the current literature on the range of topics embraced in the Repertory. With this view we shall notify them of the publication of the most important works that have fallen under our notice; and supply such information as may reach us of the labours of the most prominent authors of the day.

ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

The first number of Mayhew's London Labour and London Poor has just been issued by the Harpers in excellent style. It treats of "Street Folk." One fact will give an idea of the book. It says that there are thirty thousand costermongers or venders of green provisions in London, who alone support four hundred beer shops, and who have a strong *esprit du corps*. The revelations of wrong and misery, especially among journeymen tailors, made by this work as it was publishing in the pages of the London Morning Chronicle, incited the Rev. Mr. Kingsley, of the Established Church, who is styled even by his opponents "a zealous and experienced parish priest, a gentleman of great literary ability," but "of very impatient benevolence, and of somewhat imperious temper," to the publication of a pamphlet on the subject, entitled "Cheap Clothes and Nasty." This he has followed up by a work of fiction, "Alton Locke," a book which exhibits almost as great a dread of Calvinism as it does of physical evil, and which is enthusiastic and ardent in the highest degree. Frederick Denison Maurice, Professor of English Literature in Kings College, London, wrote also a pamphlet, entitled "Christian Socialism." These gentlemen did not confine themselves to writing, they have raised £300, hired premises, and erected an association of working tailors, which they hope will extend until all in the Metropolis are combined for their mutual profit and protection. These proceedings, the last number of the Edinburgh reviews very

courteously, yet coldly: it compares such associations to the guilds of the middle ages, and considers them a retrogression to the tyrannical conservatism of past times. The January Blackwood also calls these guilds "a modified socialism." This expression occurs in an applauding review of a late work by our countryman, Mr. Carey, "The Harmony of Interests," which is devoted to the exposition and defence of the doctrine of protection. Mr. Carey's works have been received with great enthusiasm by the tory party of England, in whom alone the socialistic or constructive element may be said to exist, and they are really of a high order and have a great European reputation, being used as text-books even in the colleges of Sweden and Norway. They are, "Principles of Political Economy," "Past, Present, and Future," and besides the one mentioned, "The Credit Systems of France, England, and the United States."

Dr. Achilli has just published in England "Papal Rome, her Priests and her Jesuits, with important disclosures." A new "History of Greece to the destruction of Corinth," has just appeared, from the learned pen of Dr. Schmitz, of Edinburgh. The English papers also announce the 5th and 6th volumes of Lord Mahon's History of England." The history now enters upon the first years of our Revolution.

I. P. Jewett & Co. have commenced re-publishing "Grote's History of Greece," on a good page and with fair type. It will be comprised in about ten volumes, at 75 cents per volume, while the English copy costs at least \$2.50. It is the best history of Greece yet produced; written in a critical spirit, yet recognizing the bounds of just criticism. Thus the legends of early Greece are not stripped of their beauty, and treated as curious hieroglyphics, but as creations of what may be styled an unconscious art. Any one who has ached over the chapters in Thirlwall, that cover this ground, will find pleasant reading in the first volume of Grote. We cannot praise, however, the binding; it almost came to pieces in the reading. Would it not be a good enterprise for some one to re-publish Merivale's History of the Romans under the Empire? Two volumes were issued last year, and are to be procured here; but at a great price. The book is written in a graphic style, and would no doubt be popular.

The seventh volume of Schlosser's History of the Eighteenth Century till the Overthrow of the French Empire, has been translated by D. Davidson, M. A. This history is treated with particular reference to mental cultivation and progress. The present volume comprises the period between Buonaparte's first command in Italy and the peace of Schönbrunn. It is as able

as its predecessors; but as might be expected, very bitter against England.

The London Religious Tract Society has circulated 60,000 copies of Old Humphrey's "Walks in London;" 86,000 of "Janeway's Token for Children;" 100,000 of the "Annals of the Poor;" 110,000 of Bogatzky's "Golden Treasury;" 350,000 of "James' Anxious Inquirer."

A new translation of Goethe's "Iphigenia in Tauris" has appeared at New York, by Adler, the lexicographer. It is well spoken of.

Dr. Andrews' Latin Lexicon, founded on Freund, has been very carefully compiled, and with all the assistance that could be obtained. It is, without doubt, an excellent lexicon. Some objection is made, however, to the etymological portion; nor is it got up in the best style. The paper is too smooth, and flashes the light; and is so thin that it is almost impossible to turn a leaf without folding it. The Latin words explained, are printed in such unsightly black type that the page is disfigured; and the eye is strained in the transition to the small type used in the definitions, much more than it is assisted by the contrast.

Riddle's edition of Freund is also in the market. This is an English work, by a distinguished scholar.

The revised and improved edition of Robinson's New Testament Lexicon is the very perfection of getting up. The Harpers have succeeded in this completely. The paper is heavy, and the surface pleasant to the eye; and the words at the head of the articles are printed in large black Porson type, so that they are readily discerned. They are thus not hidden amid the text, as in the Liddell and Scott; nor as in Andrews' Lexicon, while catching the eye, do they produce a bad adjustment of the eye for reading the text. The high literary and philological value of the work, of course, is well known.

The publication of the Life and Works of the Elder Adams, has begun with the second volume; there are to be, we believe, ten volumes in all. It is printed in the most costly and durable style.

The first volume of the second series of Hildreth's United States, continues the history from the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Two more volumes are to succeed. Few books would be a more desirable addition to the library of every American than this. It is calm and candid, but cold and passionless. It stands in remarkable contrast with the glow and enthusiasm and rhetoric of Mr. Bancroft's work on the same subject.

A new Map of the Isthmus of Panama and Darien has been

compiled from the best Spanish sources, by Dr. Ed. Autenreith, of New Orleans.

Ticknor, Reed & Fields announce the "Biography of Wordsworth, by his nephew, Christopher Wordsworth, D. D.," to be edited by Professor H. Reed.

Bohn has commenced an Ecclesiastical Library with Eusebius, translated by the Rev. C. F. Cruse, of this country, and the first volume of Torrey's Neander.

We notice a late paper published by the Smithsonian Institution, on the vocal sounds of Laura Bridgeman, the blind mute at Boston, compared with the elements of phonetic language.

A fund was bequeathed in Scotland in the year 1744, to be applied at intervals of forty years to the payment of two premiums for the best treatises on the following subject: "The evidence that there is a Being, all-powerful, wise, and good, by whom every thing exists; and particularly to obviate difficulties regarding the wisdom and goodness of the Deity; and this, in the first place, from considerations independent of written Revelation; and, in the second place, from the revelation of the Lord Jesus; and, from the whole, to point out the inferences most necessary for, and useful to, mankind." Treatises for the next competition must be sent free of all expense to Alexander and John Webster, Advocates, in Aberdeen, in time to be with them on or before the first day of January, 1854. Each treatise must be distinguished by a peculiar motto; this motto to be written on the outside of a sealed letter containing the author's name and address, and sent along with his manuscript. No restriction is imposed with regard to length. The first premium will probably amount to \$9000; that for the treatise considered second best, \$3000.

The historian Ranke has discovered in the National Library at Paris a long-lost manuscript life of Richelieu.

A new History of the Waldenses has been published at Ulm, by F. Bender. Another volume has been added to the charming Conversations of Eckermann with Goethe. These last conversations were partly with M. Soret, and are not reported so nearly verbatim, as the previous volume. A large and valuable collection of letters to illustrate the Life of Pope has just been discovered, and are to be used in Croker's Biography of the Poet. Professor H. B. Hackett, we hear, is about to put forth a philological and exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles. "A History of Roman and Greek Classical Literature, with an introduction on each language, biographical notices, and an account of the periods in which each principal author lived," by R. W. Browne, Professor in King's College, is in

press at London. C. H. Pierce & Co. Boston, publish "Divine Union" by Thomas C. Upham, author of "Interior Life." This treatise is designed to point out some of the intimate relations between God and man in the higher forms of religious experience.

The number of sermons published in this country with reference to the past political crisis must be enormous. And what is remarkable, though they are directed to the practical aim of inculcating and maintaining public order, yet they almost all descend to the discussion of those principles which lie at the foundation of all government; and though there is one prevailing tone of sentiment, yet there is a wonderful variety in the individual views and the mode of presentation.

SCOTLAND.

Dr. John Brown, of Edinburgh, whose lectures on *First Peter* have just reached a second edition, has published an exposition of the *Discourses and Sayings of our Lord*, in three volumes, and a series of *Lectures on our Lord's Intercessory Prayer*—John xvii.—in which he shows the connexion between the intercession of Christ and the conversion of the world, 1 vol. Several works on the subject of Prophecy have appeared, among others—*The Harmony of Prophecy, or Scriptural Illustrations of the Apocalypse*, by Rev. Alexander Keith, D. D., a veteran in this field of study. *A Commentary on Isaiah as it is*, by Rev. Alexander Keith, A. M., son of the former. *The Structure of Prophecy*, by George Douglass, Esq., of Cavers. Besides the expository works of Dr. Brown, we notice another on the *Gospel of Luke*, in two volumes, by Dr. Thompson, minister of Eccles, which is spoken of as very able. A new translation of Dr. Gaussen's *Theopneustia*, by David Dundas Scott, Esq., is announced. *Home Evangelization*, by Rev. W. Hutchison, is pronounced by Dr. Duff to be entitled to rank as a Handbook of Home Missions. Johnson & Hunter, of Edinburgh, taking advantage of the present excitement in Britain on the subject of Popery, propose to issue a series of volumes containing the *Chief Treatises in the English language on the Romish Controversy*. A new edition of *Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations*, with notes by J. McCulloch, is announced; a fact that would seem to indicate, that after all the labours of political economists during the last sixty years or more, their science has made no great progress. Archibald Alison, the historian, has been inaugurated Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow.

Joanna Baillie died last month at the advanced age of eighty-nine. She was born at Bothwell, near Glasgow, where her father was a minister of the established church. She came upon the stage in the midst of that illustrious crowd, which appeared toward the close of the last century: and her works, though at first published anonymously, created a deep impression.

GERMANY.

Professor Ebrard has issued a second and thoroughly revised edition of his *Wissenschaftliche Kritik der Evangelischen Geschichte*, (8vo. pp. 956. Erlangen.) This is one of the most acute and thorough works that has appeared in reply to the destructive criticism of Strauss, Bruno Bauer, Weisse, and others of the same class. Ewald has also turned his attention to this part of Scripture, and a new *Translation and Explanation of the first three Gospels* is announced from his pen, (8vo. pp. 368. Göttingen.) Dr. F. A. Philippi is continuing his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*. The first part appeared in 1847, and contained the introduction and an exposition of the first six chapters. The second part now published (8vo. pp. 278, Erlangen,) goes on through the eleventh chapter. Tholuck's *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (8vo. pp. 432, Hamburg) has passed through a third edition. Dr. H. A. W. Meyer's *New Testament* (Göttingen) is advancing to its completion. This is among the most important critical and philological aids to the student of that portion of Scripture. Its plan embraces a carefully revised edition of the Greek text, with a new German translation, and a critical and exegetical commentary on all the books of the New Testament. The commentary is published separately as the second part of the work. During the past year there appeared the tenth and eleventh divisions of this second part—the tenth containing an *Exposition of the Epistle to the Thessalonians*, by Privatdocent Dr. Lünemann, (8vo. pp. 234); the eleventh containing an *Exposition of the Epistles to Timothy and Titus*, by Dr. J. E. Huther, (8vo. pp. 309.) We notice also *Pauli epistola altera ad Timotheum*, graece cum commentario perpetuo ed. Dr. G. E. Leo, (8vo. pp. xxxix. and 96, Lipsiae.) The first Epistle was issued in 1837. The sixth edition of Usteri's *Developement of the Pauline System of Doctrine* in its relation to the Biblical Dogmatics of the New Testament (8vo. pp. 448, Zurich,) is unaltered from the fourth. The second volume, first part, of Hengstenberg's *Commentary on the Revelation* (8vo. pp. 405,

Berlin,) continues the exposition through the twentieth chapter. The introduction to the entire book has been reserved for the next and concluding part. We also see announced, *The Seven Epistles and the Seven Seals of the Revelation*, in thirteen sermons, by Professor J. Zorn, (8vo. pp. 146. Bayreuth.) An important subject, and one in which much remains to be explored, is treated in a tract by Lic. R. Nagel, *Zur Charakteristik der Auffassung des Alten Testaments im Neuen Testament*, (8vo. 31 pp. Halle.)

The interesting questions connected with the first book of Moses, continue to draw fresh inquirers into that much trodden field of Biblical investigation, as will appear from the *Historico-Critical Commentary on Genesis*, by Privatdocent Dr. Sörensen, (8vo. pp. 343, Kiel); and the *Genealogical Tables of Genesis*, by Professor A. Knobel, (8vo. pp. 359. Gicssen.) Another part (the 9th Lieferung) of the *Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament* has been given to the public, containing the Books of Kings, explained by Dr. Otto Thenius, with an appendix—Jerusalem before the exile and its Temple, (8vo. pp. 516. Leipzig.) This series of commentaries upon the Old Testament is decidedly neological and anti-supranaturalistic, but nevertheless possesses great philological and critical ability. It comes from the same press, and has much of the same tendency as De Wette's *Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*. As far as now completed, it contains *The Minor Prophets* by Hitzig, *Job* by Hirzel, *Jeremiah* by Hitzig, *Samuel* by Thenius, *Isaiah* by Knobel, *Judges* and *Ruth* by Bertheau, *Proverbs* by Bertheau, *Ecclesiastes* and *Ezekiel* by Hitzig, and *Kings* by Thenius. We notice also a *Commentary on the Book of Job* by Privatdocent Dr. H. A. Hahn, (8vo. pp. 338. Berlin.) *The Prophet Jeremiah and Babylon*, an exegetico-critical treatise by Privatdocent Dr. C. W. Nägelsbach, (8vo. pp. 144. Erlangen.) *The Prophet Isaiah Explained* by Professor Ernst Meier, 1st part, (8vo. pp. 298, Pforzheim,) and *Isaiah, not Pseudo-Isaiah, Exposition of his Prophecy*, Chap. 40–66, with an introduction opposing the pseudo-criticism, by Dr. R. Stier, (8vo. pp. 273–904. Barmen.) The first part of Dr. Stier's commentary on this interesting portion of Isaiah (pp. 1–272) was published in 1849. The last named writer published in the former part of the past year, an exposition of the *Epistle of Jude*, (8vo. pp. 126. Berlin.)

New and corrected editions of the *Biblische Geschichte*, (8vo. pp. 262, Berlin,) and *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, (8vo. pp. 489, Mitau,) by Professor J. H. Kurtz, deserve men-

tion; also the *Christliche Dogmatik* by Dr. J. P. Lange Zweiter Theil. Positive Dogmatik, Erste Abtheilung (8vo. pp. 768, Heidelberg); and the *Dritte Gattung der achämenischen Keilinschriften* erläutert von M. A. Stern, (8vo. pp. 236, Göttingen.) Another part of Dr. Mover's great work on the *Phœnicians* has been published. The first volume, containing investigations into their religion, appeared in 1841; the second volume, entitled *Phœnician Antiquity*, is to consist of three parts: the first, which appeared in 1849, treats of their political history and constitution of the State, the second now issued, (8vo. pp. 660, Berlin.) of the History of the Colonies.

Critical editions of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures worthy of attention: *Testamentum Novum*, graece et latine. Car. Lachmannus recensuit, Phil. Buttmannus graecæ lectionis auctoritates apposuit, Tom. II. (8vo. pp. 701, Berlin.) *Testamentum Novum*, graece. Recensuit Const. Tischendorf. Editio stereot. (8vo. pp. 412, Lipsiae.) *Testamentum Vetus* graece juxta lxx. interpretes. Edidit Prof. Const. Tischendorf II. Tomi, (pp. 1272, Lipsiae.) Tischendorf's New Testament is also bound up with Theile's Hebrew Bible, published in 1849, under the title *Testamentum Utrumque*, novum graece, vetus hebraice, Ediderunt Const. Tischendorf et Guil. Theile. Editio stereot. (8vo. pp. 1648.)

We have lying before us the Genesis of Theile's Hebrew Bible, costing twenty-five cents, (Isaiah, Job, the Psalms, are also each published separately); with this and some cheap Lexicon, (such as Leopold's or Gibb's,) and a grammar such as Gesenius's the apparatus for its study could be had on very reasonable terms. There is no reason why this sacred and venerable tongue should not be studied extensively in our schools and colleges. And in the case of students of theology, it is greatly to be regretted that its acquisition is delayed until they enter upon their professional course. It will never be possible to do that in the seminary which ought to be done, in the exposition and criticism of the Hebrew Scriptures, until an acquaintance with the Hebrew is made as essential a requisite for entering it, as an acquaintance with the Greek.

The Peshito (Syriac) version of the New Testament is the subject of a treatise in four books (8vo. pp. 341, Halle,) by Lic. J. Wichelhaus.

A third edition of Raumer's *Palästina* (8vo. pp. 476, Leipzig,) has been issued. The first division of the 15th part of Ritter's *Geography in its relation to Nature and the History of Man*, (8vo. pp. 780, Berlin,) made its appearance during the past

year. Ritter is now upon that portion of his great work, which is particularly interesting to Biblical scholars. The 8th volume, as it is otherwise numbered under the title of the Geography of Asia, (*Erdkunde von Asien*), and of which the present publication forms the second division, is devoted to the Peninsula of Sinai, Palestine and Syria. This last issue is occupied with the valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, and presents the results of all the researches of travellers down to the recent expedition from this country under Lieutenant Lynch.

THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.

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No. III.

ART. I.—*Lettre de Démission à la Faculté de l'École de Théologie de Genève.* Par Ed. Schérer, Professeur de l'Exégèse, &c. Genève, 1849.

“AN old error often disguises itself under a new name.”* There is something so attractive in the sheen of novelty, something so flattering to human pride in the idea of progress, that, “ye shall be as gods *knowing*” is still the gilding of the bait, whether it be addressed to sense or reason. The pithy observation we have quoted above, may be supported by examples from every century of Church history, and from none more copiously than our own. Certain “old errors” which have worn out not a few suits of phraseology in the course of the last eighteen centuries, have of late appeared in new attire complete, cut after the latest fashion; and with the help of rouge and patches, and other rejuvenating appliances, are seeking to palm themselves off as the youngest-born of truth. A searching glance, however, quickly detects through all their finery and affectations the wrinkles of age, and the deep scars of repeated refutations, received at the hands of those who in old time were “valiant for truth.”

* Dr. Livingston.

The fact and the nature of Professor Schérer's aberration from the ancient faith of the Church on the subject of inspiration, and his consequent retirement from the Faculty of the New Theological School of Geneva, is already widely familiar to the religious public of this country. His theory is well characterized by M. Merle D'Aubigné as the "*mystico-rationalistic*."* The Spirit *apart from* the word, instead of the Spirit *in and by* the word; an individual, intuitional, subjective revelation and inspiration, (as far as there is any,) instead of a scripture inspired of God, and opened up to believers by the illumination of the Holy Spirit. This may be taken as a brief description of the views of Professor Schérer as distinguished from the general faith of Christians.

It is not a little surprising that Professor Schérer should advance this theory as a novelty. Yet he does so, in terms which can hardly be regarded as either modest or reverential. "The Christian life, the gospel ministry, theology—all will assume a new aspect in consequence of the revolution which I announce, (it is indeed a revolution,) because every thing has been falsified by the dominion of the letter and of authority." "La vie Chrétienne, le ministère évangélique, la théologie—tout changera de face à la suite de la révolution que ce signale (c'est bien une révolution,) parceque tout a été faussé par le règne de la lettre et de l'autorité." Exegesis, dogmatics, morality, evangelization, are each and all to assume new liberty and energy. The Bible is "no longer to be an authority, but a treasure." We are to "exchange the letter of a code for the living products of apostolic individuality," "an authority for a history," "a cabalistic ventriloquism!! for the noble accent of the human voice." "A precious truth which Quakerism has long monopolized," (que le Quæquerisme a longtemps représentait seul) is to be replaced in just estimation. It is not without hesitation that we pen the following prediction: "The Holy Spirit, in consequence of this *emancipation*, (à la suite de cette affranchissement) will resume the place which belongs to him in the life of the Church and of believers." This may be taken as a specimen of the *honour* which is to accrue to the adorable Sanctifier of the Church of God from a system which

* Discours de l'Ouverture à l'Assemblée Gen. de la Soc. Ev. de Genève. 1850.

magnifies him above and aside from his own word. "The theological baggage," (thus Professor Schérer denominates "the literal system") "which now retards the onward march of Christianity," is to be left behind. (But what if the artillery, provisions, and munitions of war should be found to be included in this "baggage," and left behind along with it?) But there is one more "gain" which we must not omit to notice. "The minister of your gospel," says M. Schérer, "must necessarily be a learned man, a thing which seems to me monstrous. The simple believer cannot preach the evangelical doctrine such as you understand it; he cannot labour for the advancement of the kingdom of God as you conceive of it, without the undertaking supposing on his part the determination of the most difficult questions of theology." "Preaching," therefore, "would, in particular, gain much; it would gain every thing by the change proposed." Happy period about to dawn upon the Church! No more need of the long and tiresome process of "reading and doctrine;" "the flesh" need no longer suffer the "weariness" of "much study;" no more danger of "laying hands suddenly" on candidates for the ministry; no objection whatever to a "bishop" being "a novice!" Here, certainly, is *new light*, and enough of it. Few discoverers of "new truth" have ventured to promise so long and brilliant a list of results. "The Bible no longer to be an authority; no farther need of a learned ministry; the Christian army to march on without its baggage; Quakerism to be the germ of a new expansion of Christianity." Such are to be the "suites" of the "affranchissement," the "revolution," the "marche en avant" "signalized" by Professor Schérer!

About three hundred years ago, Castellio advanced substantially the same views at Geneva, with much the same pretensions. "The Spirit," said he, "will eclipse the light of the Scripture as the sun eclipses the light of a candle." But Calvin dryly and good-naturedly observed that "there was nothing in all these so called discoveries that was not known and more than known *a very long while before he was born.*"* The same thing may be said of Professor Schérer. His theory is nothing

* Merle D'Aubigné, *Disc. d'Ouv.*

more than an "old error," decked off from the *Religions-philosophie* of Schleiermacher, with a "new dress."

Other *new suits* have, if we rightly judge, been furnished from the same extensive warehouse. Mr. Morell's theory is of the same stuff and the same fashion, and we doubt not of the same manufacture. But the latter by plunging into the fog of metaphysics has eluded any other than a psychological discussion, while M. Schérer by betaking himself to the high and open ground of history with a boldness unhappily not justified either by his own strength or the goodness of his cause has laid himself open to speedy and easy refutation.

It is not to be denied that Professor Schérer has distinctly taken the position and put on the armour of infidelity. The arguments which he urges against inspiration are substantially those which have formed the common stock of infidels from Porphyry down to Strauss. They are almost identical with those which Irenæus states and repels from Valentinus and Marcion.* So little addition has the lapse of time and the "progress of science" made to the material of infidelity! So true is it that the doctrine of inspiration is identical with Christianity, and that no man can abandon and attack it without going over to the camp and borrowing the blunted weapons of the avowed enemies of the Christian faith! So evident too, that this doctrine is planted on a rock which the assaults of seventeen centuries have not been able to shake! The missiles which fell harmless at its base in the second century, can hardly be expected to demolish it in the nineteenth!

But let us hear from Professor Schérer himself the annunciation of the change of his opinions and the step to which it determined him.

"A gradual but profound change has taken place in my theological views. This change has induced me to tender to you . . . my resignation of the functions which I have discharged in the school of Theology."

And here we feel constrained to do honour to the manly frankness and honesty of Professor Schérer. He was elected

* Iren. adv. Haer. Lib. II. Cap. 2;—in accusationem convertuntur ipsarum Scripturarum, quasi non recte habeant, neque sint ex autoritate, et quia varie sunt dictæ, et quia non possit ex his inveniri veritas, &c.

a few years ago to the chair of Exegesis in the New Theological School of Geneva. His views of inspiration were, at that time, those which enter into the very texture of that system of theological opinions which throughout Christendom is distinguished by the title of Evangelical, as appears from a work he had not long before published.* But "a change, gradual yet profound," has meanwhile taken place in his sentiments in relation to this fundamental question. He does not attempt to conceal it from others and palliate it to himself by the use of ambiguous and equivocal phrases. He does not resort to quibbles and pretences of teaching "for substance" the same doctrines which he was pledged to do. He does not convulse the institution by attempts to hold on to his position and emoluments after he has parted from his faith, nor subject it to the ruinous agitation of investigations and processes. He is conscious of a change of opinion. He frankly avows it, and explains its extent. "On peut en effet," he remarks, "au moins, jusqu' à un certain point, renfermer en son sein de simples doutes, et qui de nous n'en renferme quelques uns de ce genre," &c. "We may, indeed, at least to a certain extent, shut up within our own bosom mere doubts, and who of us is not conscious of some such, held in abeyance by a faith of yet superior efficacy? *But we cannot suppress a positive conviction.*" Having come to this, he promptly offers his resignation, which is as promptly, though with every expression of Christian kindness and courtesy, accepted. A proceeding honourable on both sides! Devoutly do we say, *transeat in exemplum!* There are not a few cases, in which a like *démission* would greatly relieve the conscience of the incumbent, and benefit the faith and life of the Church. We are at a loss to conceive a more flagrant violation of truth and uprightness, than for a man who has been set on one of the high places of the Church, to retain it only to pull down and betray to the enemy the very battlements which he was trusted to defend.†

Prompt as was the retirement of Professor Schérer, the history of the affair proves how rapidly the leaven spreads. Well

* *Dogmatique de l'Église Reformée.*"

† Let no man put upon our remarks the interpretation *ad invidiam*. *Honi soit qui mal y pense.*

has he observed towards the close of his letter, "il est de la nature de la conviction d'aspirer au prosélytisme." Even where a man has not the courage and honesty to avow his opinions, he will still have not the less ambition to propagate them. In fact, the mind of the teacher *must* unconsciously and inevitably give its own impression and hue to every theory, every thought, every fact even, which enters into the material of his daily instruction. The stream cannot be purer than the fountain from which it flows. When Professor Schérer's connection with the Seminary had been terminated, it speedily appeared that ten out of twenty-nine students had passed through the same "changement graduel et profond" with their Professor, and were ready with him to renounce the doctrine of an inspired Bible! And of those who remained, their professors say,* "We ought not to conceal from you that we regret to find among some, notions by far too vague on the fundamental character of this conviction;" and they express the apprehension that a special "operation of the Holy Spirit on their hearts can alone root out the last remnants of the tares which have been sown among them."

If we may regard this letter as as a specimen of Professor Schérer's manner of treating religious subjects, we must look upon his retirement from the Seminary rather as matter of congratulation than of sympathy. He manifests a certain *hardiesse* in throwing out his thoughts on the most momentous subjects, which coupled, as we are told it is, with a brilliant and impressive style of lecturing, must render him exceedingly dangerous either as a teacher or a model of students of divinity. Seldom have the opposite poles of theological opinion been traversed with the same celerity. In a letter to a friend in this country in 1849,† M. Merle D'Aubigné pronounces his young associate "all primitive in faith, all modern in science." But scarcely was the ink dry in which the excellent President had written these words, when the announcement of his "changement graduel mais profond" burst on his astonished and afflicted colleagues! "Let no man therefore, glory in men!" Such is

* Rapport sur l'Éc. de Théol. p. 99.

† Published in the *Christian Intelligencer* in March of that year.

the obvious moral of this "fait douloureux."* Let not the Church be too much elated by the talents and "science" of her teachers! Let her see to it that every institution she founds stands plumb on the Rock of Ages, and after all her vigilance, put her whole trust in Him who amidst all these deplorable manifestations of human instability is "the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever!"

We turn to Professor Schérer himself for an exposition of the successive steps by which he was conducted to "a change" so great and "profound," that a professor and an author, who had defended the sacred canon and the doctrine of inspiration, now feels himself compelled to renounce the one and to rend in pieces and scatter to the winds the other:—that one who in a work published in 1843 holds up to the world, "le type immuable et parfait de l'Écriture," "la revelation écrite," "le moyen de connaissance parfaitement adequat et authentique," feels called upon in 1849, to denounce the very doctrine of inspiration as "une ventriloquie cabalistique," "non seulement une erreur théologique, mais aussi et surtout, un fléau pour l'Église!" ("not merely a theological error, but also and above all a scourge to the Church.") Verily, the bridge that spans such an abyss should, we think, have presented something firmer to the first tread than appears in the following introductory statement:

"The formation of the New Testament, that is to say, the introduction of that idea of inspiration which constitutes the sacred collection and its dignity, appears to me to be one of the elements of that Catholicism which was insensibly developed in the ancient church. Men had recourse to the authority of the Episcopate, and to the magic virtue of the sacraments, because the spirit that animated the first believers had been impaired or withdrawn; the object was to create an authority, to substitute an exterior, literal, tangible rule for the impulse of life and spirit," &c.†

* Thus it is denominated by Professor La Harpe. Rapport sur l'École de Théol.

† La formation du Nouveau Testament, c'est à dire, l'introduction de cette idée d'inspiration, qui constitue le recueil sacré et sa dignité, me paraît être l'un des élémens de ce Catholicisme qui s'est insensiblement développé dans l'ancienne Église. On recourrût à l'autorité de l'Épiscopat et à la vertu magique des sacre-

The “idea of inspiration *introduced*” into the early Christian Church!—“one of the elements of catholicism!”—“insensibly developed!” &c. These are remarkable assertions indeed from one, whose pursuits must inevitably have led him to some acquaintance with the writers themselves of the first age of the Christian Church, and with the constant presence and profound power of this “idea” in the Jewish mind before the coming of our Lord. Was there no “idea of inspiration” in the ancient Hebrew Church? What is meant by the expressions, “the Spirit of the Lord God is upon me”—“the Lord God and his Spirit hath sent me”—“Hear the word at my mouth, and warn them from me”—“Write the vision, and make it plain upon tables”—“Go there and read in the roll which thou hast written from my mouth, the words of the Lord in the ears of the people.” M. Schérer does not deny the inspiration of the Old Testament. He waives that question for the present. “The change which has taken place in my views,” he says, “bears on the New Testament considered as an authority in matters of religion. As to the Old Testament, I leave it aside for the present, in order to simplify the question by reducing it to its essential terms.” But when he asserts the *introduction* of the idea of inspiration among the innovations of Catholicism along with the authority of the Episcopate and the magic virtue of sacraments, he certainly does *deny*, at least by implication, the *transmission* of that idea from the ancient Hebrew Church. To him the idea of inspiration, and its result the formation of the New Testament, and the sentiment which invested it with a sacred “dignity,” “appears” to have been a product of Catholicism; one of those material and worldly ideas which its “insensible development evolved in such rapid succession”—“a fiction (*une fiction*) shedding an equal colour of divinity over the books of the New Testament,” and thus creating a “substitute for the life and spirit” which animated the primitive Church. Observe the bewilderment and absurdity into which his search for a historical *appui* for his theory has betrayed him. He does not deny the inspiration of the Old Testament. We are

mens parceque l'esprit qui animait les premiers fidèles s'était altéré ou retiré;—il s'agissait de créer une autorité, de substituer une règle extérieure, littérale, tangible à l'impulsion de vie et d'esprit,” &c.

told he admits it. Yet he never hints at the possibility that this "idea" (the dominant and plastic idea of the Hebrew Church and State) passed down from the Old Church into the New, profoundly imbued as the founders of the latter were with the spirit and ideas of the former! But let us look into the New Testament itself. Do we find nothing that *may* have given birth to this "idea" there? What can the Apostles mean by these and the like expressions—"God hath revealed unto us by his Spirit"—"Which things we speak in words which the Holy Ghost speaketh"—"I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you"—"This, then, is the message which we have heard from him and declare unto you"—"This we say unto you by the word of the Lord"—"These things are written that ye might believe, and that believing ye might have life"—"All Scripture is inspired of God"? The idea of inspiration accomplishing the same historical cycle with the other great truths of revelation, first discerned in embryo among the vague and faint foreshadowings, the *τοιναὶ ἔννοιαι* of the ancient Pagan mind (though as different from and inferior to the true scriptural idea as the moral theory of Paganism from "the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus," or the tribunal of Rhadamanthus from "the judgment-seat of Christ," or the Elysian fields from the "life and immortality brought to light in the gospel,") and afterwards standing forth in the fulness and brightness of its substantial and perfect form in the "holy men of God" of the Old and New Testament, who "spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," and "all" whose "writing" (*πασα γραφή*) was "inspired of God," an "idea" which had actually "formed" the Old Testament, and given it unspeakable "dignity," and kept it intact for centuries before the coming of Christ—has Professor Schérer never met with it before, that he assigns it so late and low an origin as Catholicism? It seems not. For in giving an exposition, (*"la plume à la main, afin de rendre tout malentendu impossible,"*) of the "*changement graduel et profond,*" which has converted him from an advocate into an enemy of inspiration, and (we are pained to add) an irreverent scoffer at it, he tells us:

"The introduction of this idea of inspiration, which has given its form and dignity to the sacred collection, seems to

me to be one of the elements of that Catholicism which was insensibly developed in the ancient church," &c.

If Professor Schérer had affirmed that "the idea of democracy" was "introduced" into Greece by the invasion of Xerxes, and "insensibly developed" into free institutions under Persian influence; or that the first outlines of the American Constitution were concocted by George III. and Lord North, he would not have uttered a bolder contradiction to history and common sense, than by advancing the theory that the doctrine of inspiration was the offspring of Catholicism.

Deplorably scanty as are the remains of the early Christian writers, they yet furnish abundant proof that "the idea of inspiration," standing forth prominently as it did in the apostolic teachings, was reflected with the utmost clearness and distinctness, from the mind of the primitive Church, as from a faithful mirror, until the mirror itself was soiled, and the image dimmed and disfigured by the breath of Catholicism.

There is one remnant of the first century, which all parties conspire in applauding as of unquestionable authenticity, and singularly free from interpolations; a purity which it doubtless owes to its lying concealed during the long period in which Catholicism was busiest in fabricating spurious, and corrupting authentic monuments of Christian antiquity. I mean the first epistle of Clemens of Rome to the Corinthians. Eusebius pronounces its writer Παύλου συνεργός καὶ συναθλητής,* and the Epistle itself μεγάλη καὶ θαυμασία ἐπιστολή—ἐνωμοτολογημένη παρὰ πάντων† Dr. Benson calls it "that golden relic of Clemens, his first Epistle to the Corinthians." Dr. Burton considers it "undoubtedly a genuine work,"‡ and "the only genuine production of any Christian writer of the first century."§ In turning over the pages of that first and purest remnant of early Christian times, we look in vain even for the incipient manifestation of those essential "elements of Catholicism," (to use the words of Professor Schérer,) "l'autorité de l'épiscopat et la vertu magique des sacrements." If diocesan episcopacy had taken its first steps at that time into the Christian Church, there *must* have been traces of them here. The Epistle was written in order to

* Ecc. Hist. III. 4.

† Id. III. 38.

‡ Burton's Lectures on the Ecc. Hist. of the First Three Centuries, p. 258. (London, 1845.)

§ Id. p. 288.

bring back to Christian order and tranquillity the church of Corinth, then, as in apostolic times, lamentably rent asunder by dissension and strife, (ζῆλος, ἔρις, στάσις, ἀκαταστασία, &c. ch. 3.) Had there been at that time a presiding bishop in the Corinthian Church, there must have been some recognition of his presence and authority, some exhortation to respect and obedience to him. In fact this must have formed the leading idea of the Epistle. But there is nothing of the kind. The Epistle is superscribed ἐκ προσώπου τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας γραφεῖσα. It exhorts the Corinthian believers to meekness, humility, order, patience of injuries, and the other Christian graces which make for peace. It admonishes them to be subject to their presbyters, (ὑποτάγητε τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις—ch. 57; μόνον τὸ ποίμνιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰρηνεύετο, μετὰ τῶν καθεσταμένων πρεσβυτέρων. Ch. 54. There is no mention of ἐπισκόπος save in two instances, and then in the plural number and in the apostolic phrase, ἐπισκόποι καὶ διακόνου, plainly used interchangeably with πρεσβυτέροι, and designating what Bishop Onderdonk* calls “the simple presbyter-bishops of the Bible.” No other bishops but these “simple presbyter-bishops of the Bible” were as yet known, as this letter from one of the principal Christian churches to another (turning from beginning to end on points of Christian order) unanswerably proves. If Clement himself had been presiding bishop of Rome, with any such powers as bishops have since claimed, would he have addressed his epistle “from the presence of the church of the Romans?” Would he have said, as he does, (ch. 56) “We therefore pray (for those who have fallen into any sin, that meekness and humility may be granted to them,) *that they may yield not to us, but to the will of God.*” The tone of the whole epistle in fact, is simply that of an humble and unassuming Christian pastor, addressing in the name of his assembled flock, an exhortation to a sister church to harmony and peace. Any attempt to support *papal* pretension to dignity and authority from this epistle, must be simply ridiculous. Nor can Episcopacy make any thing better of it in support of its claims. It is in fact equally matter of wonder and thankfulness that such a document has survived from the almost indiscriminate ruin of early Christian writings, commanding by

* Defence of Episcopacy.

unquestionable proofs of genuineness and purity the respect even of Romanists and Prelatists, yet lending not the slightest countenance to any of their later aggressions on the purity of the Christian faith, or the parity of the Christian ministry.

In fact, the authority of this epistle is direct and conclusive *against* diocesan episcopacy. In the 42d chapter, Clement speaking distinctly and formally of the constitution of the Christian ministry by the Apostles, and inculcating system and subordination in Christian offices, says, "The Apostles preached the gospel through regions and cities and constituted (ordained, καθίστανον) the first-fruits of them as bishops and deacons of those who should believe." Here is an exhibition of the Christian ministry as "constituted" by the Apostles and *then existing*, as the ground-form of an orderly and systematic fulfilment of Christian worship and duties. Now, if there had been another order *between* "bishops and deacons," must it not have been inserted? If there had been a superior order *under any title*, must it not have been mentioned? If the constitution of the ministry in the Corinthian Church had differed from that of other churches (as Haddington has insinuated, Episcopacy not being yet established there on account of the democratic spirit which was rife among them), would not such a difference have been noticed, and the lack of a bishop suggested as the occasion of the "strifes and disorders" so frequent among them? There is nothing of the kind. "The Apostles preached the gospel through regions and cities, and ordained the first-fruits of them as bishops and deacons of those who should afterwards believe." Here is the Apostolic ministry. Here is the plan of Church order and Christian subordination. It is out of the question that *any* office or grade should be omitted here. He has just been illustrating (ch. 37) the importance and beauty of order from the Roman army, all the officers of which he enumerates, ἑπαρχοι, χιλίαρχοι, ἐκατόνταρχοι, πεντηκόνταρχοι, including even the petty officers and common soldiers under the phrase τὸ καθεξῆς;—and from the Levitical priesthood and Hebrew Church, (ch. 40 end.) specifying each order with the same minuteness, ἀρχιερεῖς, ἱερεῖς, λεβίται, λαῖκοι. "We ought, therefore, (he reasons) "to do all things *in order* (τάξει) as the Lord hath commanded us to fulfil them." "Let each one of

you, brethren, praise God in his own rank or place" (*ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι.*) Surely, then, one important *τάγμα* in the constitution of the Church could not have been passed over in silence. A president in the Church of Corinth at that time *under the title of bishop* is of course impossible, since the ordinary ministers of the Church are designated as "bishops and deacons." But a presiding officer under any name, or with whatever degree of pre-eminence, is just as clearly out of the question, because such a dignitary could not possibly have passed without the remotest allusion through the whole epistle, and especially through this minute enumeration of the offices of the Christian Church and inculcation of the duties growing from them. Had any such thing been to this time recognized or thought of in the Christian Church, some intimation of it must have found its way into this epistle. What! the Corinthian Christians exhorted through a long epistle to subordination to those who were "over them in the Lord" (*ἡγουμένοι, προηγούμενοι, &c.,*) without the most distant allusion to the principal and most august personage entitled to that subordination! Had Clement been fourth Pope and Head of the Universal Church, as the Roman Catholics pretend, would he have joined his whole flock in meekly exhorting the Corinthians to humility, and peace, and mutual concession, and forbearance; to the imitation of Christ who was "of the lowly-minded, and not of those who exalt themselves above his flock," (ch. 16 in init.,) "to yield *not to him but to the will of God.*" An authoritative bull, *commanding* the submission of the mutinous Corinthians and threatening excommunication to the refractory, would have been a much more convenient and *papal* expedient. Had he been fourth (or third as some make him) diocesan Bishop of Rome, as the *Anglo-Catholics* contend, the inscription and *tone* of the epistle are almost equally incongruous with his office and sway, which would hardly have allowed him to begin thus, "the church of God which dwells at Rome to the church of God which dwells at Corinth, called to be holy," &c., without any mention of himself or any salutation to his "Right Reverend" brother of Corinth. Even if the "See" had been at that time vacant, or the incumbent anomalously situated, would such a style and such an omission have been possible? If the Bishop of New Jersey were now to write a

letter with a similar object (the maintenance of Christian and ecclesiastical order), to the church of New York, would he be likely to address it, "the church of God which dwells in New Jersey, to the church of God which dwells in New York?" Would such a letter be written without the slightest allusion to the *status* of the Episcopal office, simply exhorting the good people of New York to live peaceably in the practice of the Christian virtues, and to be "obedient in the Lord to their ministers," their "presbyters," their "bishops and deacons."

The "bishops" of Corinth then, were just such "bishops" as we find in the church of Ephesus some years earlier (Acts xx.) called "elders" by Luke in the narrative, and "bishops" by Paul in his address—"He sent to Ephesus and called the elders (τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους) of the Church. And when they were come to him, he said unto them—take heed unto yourselves and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops, (ἐπισκόπους) &c.—such "bishops" as are spoken of indiscriminately and interchangeably with "elders" in the Apostolic epistles, and of whom Jerome says long after, "apud veteres, iidem episcopi et presbyteri, quia illud nomen dignitatis est, hoc ætatis." He must be blind indeed, who does not see the parity of the Christian ministry down to the date of this epistle. No eye whose vision is "single" will ever detect "a bishop" in any genuine document of the first century. Where was the Bishop of the Church of Rome when Paul addressed his epistle to it? Where the bishop of Corinth, of the several "churches of Galatia," of Ephesus, Philippi, Colossæ, Thessalonica, when the epistles bearing their names were written? They were not yet appointed, says the advocate of prelacy, because the Apostles being yet in the oversight of the churches, their "successors" were not of course, as yet, nominated. To waive all other answers to this flimsy hypothesis, here we have a letter written by the third or fourth bishop (as he is styled) of Rome, to the church of Corinth. Where was the bishop, the apostolic successor in that Church, at that date? The Corinthians, say some of the most staunch and unscrupulous champions of Episcopacy, had not, at that time, received a bishop, in consequence of the democratic spirit which pervaded that city. What! "that most stable and ancient church of the Corinthians," as Clement

styles it, ch. 47, (βεβαιότατη καὶ ἀρχαία Κορινθίων ἐκκλησία), “a Church without a Bishop!”—a headless trunk!—a shepherdless flock!—a mere democratic rabble! Bearing “a name venerable and world-honoured, and worthy of being loved by all men” (τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ περιβόητον καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀξιαγάπητον ὄνομα ὑμῶν) (ch. 1.) and yet an exception and a scandal to all the well-ordered churches of Christendom!* Capacious indeed, must be that credulity which can swallow such assumptions! Here then is one “element of Catholicism,” “l’*autorité de l’épiscopat*,” of which no trace can be found in this the only unquestionably genuine remnant of the first century after the Apostles.

And as for the “*vertu magique des sacremens*,” the very name was as yet unknown. Nor does it appear in Irenæus a century later. The word “sacrament” is applied to Christian rites first by Tertullian, and by him in a vague and indefinite way. But the name and the idea are alike wanting in this “golden relic” of Clement. The blood of Christ was as yet the only expiation for sin: “Let us look steadfastly to the blood of Christ and perceive how precious to God is his blood which being shed for our salvation,” &c. (ch. 12.) The word of Christ the only rule of the Christian life: “Let us fulfil our warfare in his blameless precepts.” (ch. 37.) Justification only by faith in Christ: “We then, being called by his will in Christ Jesus, are not justified by ourselves, neither by our wisdom or understanding, or godliness, or works which we have wrought in holiness of heart, but by faith.” (ch. 32.) Christ himself, the only priest, patron and helper of the Christian: “Jesus Christ, the high priest of our offerings, the patron and helper of our infirmity”—(no other *priest* or *patron* of the Christian Church is mentioned in the epistle.) Even the credulous simplicity which the writer betrays in some instances, e. g. in illustrating the resurrection by the fabulous *πτεροφύα* of the phoenix (ch. 25) and interpreting the scarlet thread of Rahab as a type of the blood of Christ (ch. 12) has nothing of the Catholic stamp; these are mere errors of fact and interpretation, and do not touch the substance and vitality of Christian truth. The whole troop of Catholic corruptions, penances, priestly absolution,

* A. Burton. p. 450.

fasts, vigils and self-castigations, saint-days, saint-reliques, saint-veneration and saint-intercession, are utterly undiscoverable here. The name of the Virgin-Mother does not occur from the beginning of the epistle to the end. The virtue which he inculcates is all *social*. The merit of the cloister and the desert was a later idea. The duties of husbands and wives, parents and children are largely dwelt upon, but no hint of the superior sanctity of an unmarried life. And as for *clerical* celibacy, we may fairly infer that the good father was himself not unblest in the affections and joys of holy matrimony; that he had used his Christian liberty of "leading about a sister, a wife"—for he says, (ch. 21), "Let us direct *our* wives to that which is good," and this from Clement, third Bishop of Rome in the Chronicon of Eusebius, and fourth Pope in the Roman Calendar!

But while Catholicism has left no "footprints" in this remain of the primitive age of Christianity, "the idea of inspiration" is clearly manifest in almost every chapter of it, and in almost every conceivable form. The Scriptures are "the oracles of God," (ch. 19.) The doctrinal teachings, the moral precepts of the epistle are supported and enforced by a simple appeal to them as the final authority of Christians in matters of faith and practice. The pious are "those who earnestly take heed to the words of God," who "receive in fear and sincerity the oracles of God." The epistle consists, to a large extent, of quotations both from the Old and New Testaments, which are cited under these and the like formulæ, "Thus saith the Scripture"—"Thus saith the Holy Spirit"—"Thus the ministers of the grace of God have spoken by the Holy Spirit"—"Thus saith the holy Word"—"Christ himself by his Holy Spirit thus admonisheth us." If we even demand a more specific recognition of the "idea of inspiration," we have it in two remarkable passages. The Apostles (ch. 42,) are spoken of as πιστωθέντες τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, μετὰ πληροφορίας Πνεύματος ἁγίου—and Christians are exhorted (ch. 45,) ἐγκυπτέτε εἰς τὰς γραφὰς, τὰς ἀληθεῖς ῥῆσεις πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου. ("Earnestly search into the Scriptures, the true utterances of the Holy Spirit.")

What is this but "the idea of inspiration" in its most positive and plenary form? What has the most strenuous advocate of "textual inspiration" ever demanded beyond this—that the

Apostles spoke and wrote the Word of God μετὰ πληροφορίας Πνεύματος ἁγίου—that the Holy Scriptures should be regarded and “searched into” as the ἀληθεὶς ἔχσεις Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου? If the doctrine of inspiration were the result of “insensible development,” into what more complete and distinct form could it ever be developed than that in which it is presented in this earliest uninspired document, now extant, of the Christian Church?

The epistles which bear the names of Barnabas, Polycarp, and Ignatius, if we chose to revert to them for the purpose, furnish abundant proof that the general sentiment of the Church in relation to the Scriptures was the same at the time when they were written. For whatever hands originally wrote these epistles or subsequently mutilated them, they were clearly produced at a period when the general veneration for the Holy Scriptures, and the habit of quoting them on all occasions, compelled Catholicism to consult this sentiment even in her fabrications and corruptions. But we should be sorry to appeal to writings which, so rarely and scantily quoted, (if quoted at all,) by the writers of the first two centuries, present such slender claims on our respect as ancient and genuine documents, in proof of any thing. And to descend to the genuine works of the second century, we find even the weak and credulous Hege-sippus, amidst the κῆποι which disfigure the few fragments which remain of him, alluding to the Scriptures as τὸν ἐν γὰρ καὶ ὅρα τοῦ σωτηρίου κηρυγματος (“the sound canon of saving gospel doctrine”*) and relating that “in every succession” (of Christian pastors) “and in every city it is so arranged as the law prescribes, and the prophets and the Lord.”† We find the accomplished and philosophic Justin Martyr combating Jew and Pagan alike in the new armour of an inspired and authoritative revelation. This writer has left a noble monument to the historical truth for which we are contending in his *Cohortatio ad Græcos*, where, after exposing with masterly learning and ability, the absurdities and impurities of their mythology, and the contradictions of their wise men, he “turns to the fathers” of the Christian faith, “who,” he says, “far preceded your

* Heg. in Eus. Ecc. Hist. III. 32.

† Id. IV. 22.

teachers in antiquity, and have taught us nothing of their own fancy, nor yet conflicting with one another, nor endeavouring to overthrow each other's systems, but without ambitious controversy and opposing factions, having received the knowledge which is from God, have taught the same to us. For not by nature or by human understanding was it possible for men to know such great and divine truths, but by the free gift then coming down from above on holy men, who had no need of an art of words, nor of strife and debate, but to present themselves pure to the energy of the Divine Spirit, that the divine *plectrum* itself descending from heaven, using good men even as an instrument of a harp or lyre, should reveal to us the knowledge of divine and heavenly things. Wherefore, as with one mind and one tongue they have taught us concerning God and the creation of the world, and the formation of man, and the immortality of the human soul, and the judgment to come after this life, and concerning all things which it is necessary for us to know, continuously and harmoniously with one another, and that too though they have delivered the divine instruction to us in different places and at different times." Here, about the middle of the second century, is an expression of "the idea of inspiration" quite strong and full enough, we should think, to satisfy the staunchest advocate of the doctrine. At least we are ready to declare that it satisfies us.

The same writer, in his Dialogue with Trypho, expresses his unbounded confidence in the truth and harmony of the Scriptures in a form which would stagger, we fear, some of the "Christian philosophers" (so called) of our own age—"I shall never dare either to think or to say this" (i. e. "that the Scriptures are at variance with one another,") but if any scripture be brought forward seeming to be such, and have the appearance of being contrary to another passage, being entirely persuaded that no scripture is opposite to another, I shall rather confess that I do not understand the things which are spoken, and shall strive to persuade those who conceive the Scriptures to conflict with one another, to be of the same mind with me."*

We cannot help contrasting with this the assertion of Profes-

* Dial. cum Tryph. p. 289. Op. Just. Martyris. Colonæ, 1686.

sor Schérer, “Je rencontre dans ces livres une assez grande quantité d’inexactitudes historiques et des contradictions—prédictions démentis par les faits.” Which way of viewing the difficulties of Scripture discovers most of the modesty of the true philosopher, we leave for the reader to determine.

The simplicity with which Justin appeals to the Scriptures for the arbitration of all doubtful questions, appears the more remarkable when we consider that his previous habits had thoroughly imbued him with the disputatious and sceptical spirit of the ancient philosophy: that he retained the philosophic garb even after his conversion, and considered philosophy to the last *μίστην κτήμα καὶ τιμωτάτον Θεῶν*.^{*} He relates of himself that he had migrated from sect to sect in quest of truth, trying successively the Stoics, Peripatetics, Pythagoreans and Platonists, but had found no certainty nor mental repose till he was directed by an unknown person to the study of the Scriptures, the authors of which were *ἀγία πληρωθέντες πνεύματι*—that here he had “found the only solid and profitable philosophy” (*ταύτην μόνην εἰρὶσκον φιλοσοφίαν ἀσφαλῆ τε καὶ σύμφερον*)[†] and that “the sweetest tranquillity was attained by those who meditated in them.” (*ἀναπαυσίς τε ἡδίστη γίνεται τοῖς ἐκμελετῶσιν αὐτούς*.) He elsewhere[‡] passionately exhorts the Pagan Greeks to forsake their own impure literature and mythology, to “be instructed by the divine Word, (*θεῖον λόγον παιδεύεσθε*) and become partakers of an incomparable wisdom (*σοφία ἀπαραμιλλήτη κοινωνήσατε*.) He tells them that “the Divine Word, ever present with us, has power to tranquillize the tumultuous soul, to expel its fearful passions, to extinguish the fire within.” “It does not,” he adds, “make us poets, philosophers, or orators, but it makes us from mortals immortals, from men gods; it transports us from the earth to regions beyond Olympus. Come then,” he concludes, “be ye instructed. Be ye as I am, for I was as ye are.”

We find Irenæus, in the latter half of the same century, refuting and rebuking the heretics of his time by appealing in the same direct and simple style to the Scriptures, even where he allows that they renounced their authority.[§] Yet he still

* Dial. cum Tryph. p. 218.

† Id. p. 225.

‡ Pro Christianis Apolog. Prim.

§ Iren. adv. Hæres. Lib. III. Cap. 2.

holds them to this proof, and refuses to submit to what would now, we suppose, be called a "scientific discussion," doctrines which, being purely matters of revelation, can only be surely and safely decided by the authority of the written Word. In the following remark he lays down what may be regarded as a general canon to that effect. "*Habentes itaque regulam ipsam veritatem, et in apertum positum de Deo testimonium, non debemus per quæstionum declinantes, in alias atque alias absolutiones ejicere firmam et veram de Deo scientiam.*"* Erasmus† even insists that Irenæus ("*solis scripturarum præsidii adversus hæreticorum catervam pugnasse*") "combated the whole troop of heretics with no other means of attack and defence but those furnished by the Scriptures." But this opinion must be received with some modification. However, with him, "*sicut ex scripturis discimus*"‡ is sufficient and final demonstration of any thing.

Even the erratic and extravagant Tertullian, though an outrageous interpreter of Scripture, was a firmasserter of its Divine origin and supreme authority in matters of faith. "*Scripturae divinae*"§—"tantam curam instructionis nostrae insumpsit Spiritus Sanctus"||—"adoro Scripturae plenitudinem." He declares that the truth seems to him "written" on the sacred page, "with a ray of the sun itself," (*ipsius Solis radio putem scriptum*)¶ and affirms that the sure way of putting down heretics is to insist that all their questions shall be settled from the Scriptures alone (*de scripturis solis quæstiones suas sistant, et stare non poterunt.*)**

It were a tiresome task to string together quotations. And yet a proof drawn from historical documents, as this must necessarily be, can be accomplished in no other way. The manifold testimonies bearing on this point, which meet our eye on a glance at the very surface of the writings and events of the first four centuries of the Christian Church, may be grouped, for the sake of brevity, as follows:

1. The very fact that the assailants of Christianity directed

* Adv. Hær. II. 47.

† Epis. Op. Iren. præf.

‡ Iren. adv. Hær. II. 47. A powerful testimony for the Scriptures, and the Scriptures only, may be found in Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. III. cap. 1 in init.

§ Adv. Judæos.

|| Adv. Herm.

¶ De resur. carnis.

** Ibid.

their attacks first and mainly against the inspiration and authority of the Holy Scriptures, shows their conviction that herein the general faith of the Church had entrenched itself, and that if they could breach her defences at this point, their victory was accomplished. Christianity has had few enemies more acute and powerful, and none more inmitigable in their hostility than Porphyry. And it is remarkable that Eusebius characterizes his whole onset upon it as an "attack on the Divine Scriptures:"—Πορφύριος συγγράμματα καθ' ἡμῶν ἐνστασάμενος καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τὰς θείας γραφὰς διαβάλλειν πειπειραμένος.*

2. This doctrine was the point of divergence between Separatists and the General Church of Christ; the latter insisting that the Canonical Books should be the ultimate bar of appeal in all controversies, (as we have seen above from Irenæus) the former renouncing their authority, wresting their obvious sense, or fabricating numberless apocryphal books wherewith to combat them and countenance their own errors. "Super hæc autem *inenarrabilem multitudinem apocryphorum et perperam scripturarum, quas ipsi finxerunt*, afferunt ad stuporem insensatorum et quæ sunt veritatis non scientium literas."† The very multiplication of the counterfeits proves the existence of a true and general currency and the high value set on it.

3. The immense labour bestowed in settling the sacred canon and in the exposition and interpretation of its contents, proves particularly in the third century, how highly the Church prized, how watchfully she guarded, and how diligently she searched into the sacred treasure deposited with her.

4. Those who denied the inspiration of the Scriptures were considered infidels. Eusebius quotes the language of an earlier writer whom he does not name, (in speaking of the followers of Artemon, who contended that our Saviour was a mere man (ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον), and who not only wrested but added to and otherwise corrupted the sacred Scriptures in order to *compel* their testimony in favour of their doctrine), as follows, "either *they do not believe that the Divine Scriptures were dictated by the Holy Spirit, and then they are infidels; or they think*

* Ecc. Hist. VI. 19.

† Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. I. 17. Conf. Eus. Ecc. Hist. Lib. V. 28. (c. p. 40.)

themselves to be wiser than the Holy Spirit, and then what are they other than madmen?"*

5. The Scriptures were regarded as the great instrument of a holy and Christian education of the young, of guarding them against the errors and sensual influences of Paganism, and of forming them to a true intellectual and spiritual greatness and power in the Church of God. The spirit of Paul's remark to Timothy, "thou from a child hast known the Holy Scriptures," &c., entered deeply into the mind of the Church, and was for a long time the dominant maxim of Christian education. The precept of Clement of Rome,† "let your children be trained in the instruction of Christ," when we consider the *usus loquendi* of the early Church in relation to the phrase, παιδεία ἐν Χριστῷ probably refers to this. But more distinctly, Eusebius, speaking of the early life of Origen, and remarking that the incidents which contributed to form so great a man, "even from his earliest infancy, were worthy of commemoration,"‡ states that he was exercised in the Divine Scriptures from his childhood," (ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ἐξέτι παιδὸς ἐνησχνημένος.) "He was," he says, "in no ordinary degree devoted to the study of these, since his father, besides an extensive course of liberal studies, bestowed an exact and especial care on his instruction in the Scriptures. In fact, before he entered on the study of Greek learning, he obliged him to be exercised in the sacred writings, and required him to *to commit to memory and recite portions of them every day*. Nor was this done against the wishes of the boy; on the contrary, he applied himself with the utmost cheerfulness to these studies, so that the easy and superficial study of the sacred words did not content him, but he was still looking for something more, and searching of his own accord into their profounder senses. Insomuch that he perplexed his father, inquiring what it might be the purpose of the divinely inspired Scripture to reveal. The father indeed, seemingly repressed and discouraged this inquisitiveness, and advised him not to

* Ecc. Hist. V. 28.

† Ad. Cor. Prim. cap. 21.

‡ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν, ὡς εἰπέν, σπαργάνων ἀξιομνημόνευτα μοι εἶναι δοκεῖ. Ecc. Hist. VI. 2. The expression reminds us of the ἐκ βρεφούς of Paul in speaking of the early education of Timothy. 2 Tim. 3.

attempt what was beyond the capacity of his age, nor seek to penetrate beyond the obvious sense. But in his heart he was overjoyed, and gave thanks to God the author of all blessings, that he had counted him worthy to be the father of such a son. And it is said that he often entered the chamber of his sleeping boy, and uncovering his bosom, kissed it devoutly, as if it were hallowed by the indwelling of the Divine Spirit."

So fine a description of the training of a Christian scholar, and of one early devoted as well by his parents' faith as by his own act to the career of a preacher and a theologian, and so touching a testimony to the veneration and love of both father and son for the inspired word, we could not forbear to give entire. God grant that it may stir up many a Christian parent to a like consecration, and kindle in many a youthful heart a desire to emulate the zeal without falling into the errors (errors, be it observed, into which the desire of *combining* the scriptural doctrines with the uncongenial elements of the ancient systems of philosophy,* misled him,) of the illustrious and immortal Origen!

Ambrose, who was a convert of Origen, and himself a teacher of youth, obliged his pupils to go through an extensive course of liberal studies, (ἐνῆγεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐγκύκλια γράμματα,) as a discipline preparatory to the study of the holy Scriptures (προπαιδείματα—εἰς τὴν τῶν θείων γραφῶν θεωρίαν τε καὶ παρασκευήν.)† Basil exhorts the young men of his time to a profound study of the ancient Greek writers as tending to give them a vigour and elevation of mind, and a perception of moral beauty which would prepare them to appreciate the sublimer mysteries and purer virtue revealed in the Word of God. He cites the example of Moses, who "having disciplined his understanding by all the learning of the Egyptians, so came to the contemplation of Jehovah;"

* That the faith of Origen was crippled and perverted by his philosophy, the keen eye of Porphyry detected more distinctly than his admiring fellow-Christians were at that time competent to do. Having spoken of Origen's profound acquaintance with the Platonic, Pythagorean, and Stoic philosophers, he adds: παρ' ὧν τον μεταληπτικὸν τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι μυστηρίων γνῶς τρίπον ταῖς Ἰουδαϊκαῖς προσῆψε γραφαῖς. "Having learned from them the allegorical method used to explain the Greek mysteries, he applied it to the Jewish Scriptures."—*Porph. in Eus. Ecc. Hist.* VI. 19.

† *Eus. Hist. Ecc.* VI. 18.

(τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων μαθήμασιν ἐγγυμνασάμενος τὴν διάνοιαν, οὕτω προσελθεῖν τῇ θεωρίᾳ τοῦ ὄντος);* and Daniel, who, having learned the wisdom of the Chaldeans, then entered on the study of the Divine teachings," (τὴν Χαλδαίων σοφίαν καταμαθόντα, τότε τῶν θείων ἁψασθαι παιδευμάτων) Throughout this admirable discourse (evidently addressed, in the first instance, to his own pupils,)[†] the revelations of the inspired volume are spoken of as the inner temple of wisdom and truth, to which all other learning was but the vestibule. Gregory Nazianzen, in his funeral oration on Basil, in the course of a fine eulogy of classical and various learning, says, that "by the very defects of other systems we learn the excellence of our own, and by their imbecility establish the power of the Word (or doctrine) deposited with us." This sacred use of profane learning he considers a fulfilment of the apostolic expression, "bringing into captivity every thought," (all intellect, as it were, παν νοημα) "to the obedience of Christ."[‡] "Chrysostom," says Neander, "was enabled, from his own experience, to speak of the blessed influence of an early and intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures."[§] By these his admirable mother Anthusa fortified his mind against "the specious and impious sophisms" of his accomplished Pagan teacher Libanius, as well as the fascinations of pleasure and ambition. In fact, all the eminent lights, the master-minds of the early Church, as far as their early education is known to us, were nurtured to piety and greatness by the Word of God.

6. A careful distinction was maintained between the writings of uninspired Christians, however early and eminent, and the canonical books of the New Testament. The first were often held in great veneration, and in some cases, even read in the churches for edification (e. g. the first Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians,) but always distinguished from what were called the γραφαί τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, ἀληθεῖς καὶ ἀπλάστοι καὶ ἀνωμολογημέναι γραφαί.|| We cite this, simply as a historical proof of the general sentiment in the Church that the fountains of her faith and life were to be found in the inspired books, and that the works of her holiest and most enlightened members, however prized

* Basil, ὁ πρὸς τοὺς νέους, ὅπως ἂν ἐξ Ἑλληνικῶν ὠφελοῖντο λόγων. Cap. 3.

† Conf. Ch. 1.

‡ Greg. Naz. Op. Tom. p. 323.

§ Life of St. Chrysostom.

|| Eus. Ecc. Hist. III. 25.

and used for edification, stood in an entirely different relation to her. They were sometimes called *μεγάλοι, θαυμάσιαι*, &c., but never *θεόπνευσται*. Far as the spirit of laudation was carried in the early ages, and it sometimes (particularly towards and in the fourth century.) reached a ludicrous extravagance, it never rose to such a pitch as to impair this distinction; to obliterate the line which separated the human from the divine.

7. The ancient hymns of the Church, (alas! that so few of them are preserved.) attest the love and longing of holy hearts towards the sacred Word, in a way peculiar to themselves. In a Greek hymn* which Vormbaum pronounces "*vetustissimus Hymnus Ecclesiæ*," we meet with this sentiment thus expressed:

Οἱ ἡπίαχοι
 Ἀταλοῖς στόμασιν
 Ἀτιταλλόμενοι
 Θελῆς λογικῆς
 Πνεύματι ὁροσερῶ
 Ἐμπιπλάμενοι, &c.

Here is a plain reference to "*the sincere milk of the word*," (1 Pet. ii. 2,) and to the passionate desires with which the Psalmist "*panted*" and "*longed*" for the commandments of God.

A somewhat later hymn contains the following passage:

Σκείαζε σαυτὸν ὡς τάχος πρὸς οὐρανὸν
 Ψυχὴν πτερώσας τῷ λόγῳ τὴν τιμίαν.†

Which may be freely translated thus:

"The wings that lift the soul to heaven,
 By God's inspired Word are given."

What is still more remarkable and conclusive, the themes, the thoughts, the language of these early hymns, the objects of faith, hope, and love, which they present, are scriptural. It was quite otherwise a few centuries later, after Catholicism was ascendant and established.

8. The direct appeal to the Holy Scriptures for the settling

* This hymn must be at least as ancient as the second century, being appended to the *Παιδαγωγός* of Clemens.—Alex. Vormbaum, *Carm. et Hymn. Ecc. Graec.*

† Id. No. XII.

of all doubtful points, whether of faith or practice, was in full force during the first four centuries. We cite but one example, the ἐρωτησεῖς and ἀποκρισεῖς of Basil.* The latter are, generally, a simple stringing together of passages of Scripture relating to the point, with a brief explanation of their bearing and connection. The first of them is very remarkable in this point of view. The question is, "Is it lawful or expedient for any one to allow himself either to do or say what he judges good, without the testimony of the divinely inspired Scriptures?" The solution of this question is simply a scriptural one. It is decided in the negative, on the authority of many passages, the last of which is John vi. 38. *I came not to do my own will, but the will of him that sent me.*"

9. The study and meditation of the Scriptures was regarded as the great means of personal sanctification. Μεγίστη δὲ ὁδὸς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ καθήκοντος εὕρεσιν, καὶ ἡ μελέτη τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν. "The principal way to the discovery of duty is the meditation of the divinely inspired Scriptures;"† and the same sentiment meets us in many writers and many forms during the first four centuries.

10. They were regarded, along with the preaching of Christ, as the great means of extending the Church, and of saving souls. Eusebius says, that many eminent Christians, in the first age after the Apostles, obeying the precept of Christ, gave their goods to the poor, forsook their own country, and fulfilled the work of evangelists, "being animated by an ardent desire to preach Christ, and *deliver the scripture of the Holy Gospels.*"‡ These, he says, "held the first rank among the successors of the Apostles;" and we cheerfully concede them that precedence.

11. Finally, the very titles and epithets applied to the Scriptures afford a singular, and in itself, unanswerable proof of the light in which they were regarded. The names under which they were constantly cited and referred to, are these and the like—αἱ θεῖαι γραφαί, οἱ θεῖοι λόγοι, αἱ ἱερὰ γραφαί, τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα,

* Distinguished among his other works of this kind as ὁροὶ κατ' ἐπιτόμην. Bas. Op. Tom. II. p. 581. Paris, 1839.

† Basil, Ep. II. (ad Greg. Naz. ex secessu) Op. Tom. III. p. 102.

‡ Hist. Ecc. III. 37.

ὁ λόγος, τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἡ θεόπνευστος γραφή, ἡ γραφή θεϊκή, ὁ κανὼν τῆς πίστεως, θεοπνεύστα βιβλία, Scripturæ divinæ, veritas ipsa, &c., &c. These may be looked upon as spontaneous, unstudied and undesigned expressions of the mind and heart of the ancient Church, and they proclaim, in a surprising manner, the depth and unanimity of the sentiment with which she regarded the Scriptures as the Word of God, inspired, infallible and supreme.

We have seen, then, that "the idea of inspiration" was not "insensibly developed," that it beamed in its full lustre on the mind of the infant church, or rather, shone like a *glory* round the sacred volume as the precious deposit was delivered to her, and appears *from the beginning* in every conceivable form and through every manifestation of her faith and life.

But we affirm more than this—not only that this "idea" was not developed along with Catholicism, but that, as the development of Catholicism proceeded, "the idea of inspiration" was enfeebled, confused, and at length for a time overpowered by its corruptions and usurpations.

But what is "Catholicism?" The Church in opposition to the Bible—the human in Christianity in opposition to the divine—the Church viewed as an aggregation of tenets, orders, rites which rest avowedly not on Scripture but tradition. Tradition is the great teacher and oracle of Catholicism. The Bible itself must be interpreted by the tradition of the Church. The tradition of the Church is a legitimate source of orders, rites and usages of all sorts. These, though not commanded by the Scripture are essential. "There cannot be a Church without" them. If it be demanded, "where is the authority of the written Word for such important modifications of Christianity?" It is answered, "we have received them through the tradition of the Church." "They have been borne on the banners of the Church for a thousand years." And this answer is deemed sufficient. Tradition is a kind of continuous revelation. It is a perpetual manifestation of the mind, will and life of Christ in his Church. Tradition is the element in which the Scriptures themselves are preserved and handed down. It is the authorized and the only authorized exponent of their meaning. This is the essence of Catholicism.

We may be thought harsh in calling it the Church and the

human in opposition to the Bible and the divine. But where is the warrant for the assumption of this vast and despotic authority on the past strength of tradition? Has the Head of the Church granted it? Nowhere. On the contrary, he rebuked with peculiar and unsparing sternness both the *additions* and the *interpretations* of tradition in his own time. "Laying aside the commandment of God, ye hold the tradition of men"—"full well ye reject the commandment of God that ye may keep your own tradition." It is then of the essence of tradition, even of church tradition (for of such was he now speaking, being held by the Pharisees, who "sat in Moses' seat" and were the high-churchmen and Catholics of that time), to "lay aside," to "reject," and elsewhere to "make of none effect" the word and commandments of God, and therefore it must be regarded, when it assumes authority not only as a strictly human but a hostile element in relation to the scriptural and the divine in Christianity. Moreover, the sacred canon closes with a denunciation of "the plagues which are written in this book" against "any man who shall add unto these things," and exclusion from the book of life" against any man who "shall take away from" them. Catholicism has added to Christianity an order of ministers unknown to the written Word. It has added a multitude of rites, forms and usages alike uncommanded. It has taken away the cup in the Lord's Supper. It has taken away the right and liberty of Christian ministers to marry. It has taken away the most precious of all rights, the right of every individual Christian to read the Word, (Acts xvii. 11,) to decide on questions of truth and duty, to receive and follow the tuition of the Spirit. (1 John ii. 20.) The form of Catholicism has made all these additions and abstractions, and many more. All its forms have made some of them, and are ever tending to increase the number. It seems to be of its very essence to go beyond the Word of God, and to insist far more on its own additions than even on those things which it holds and enjoins in common with the Bible. It is therefore, not only "another gospel" but a hostile system of religion—and not the less so for being within the sphere of nominal Christianity. There cannot be a more direct form of hostility to any government than to enact laws, hold courts, and coin money within its limits by an

authority which it does not recognize. Christ has given no authority to church tradition. Yet in the name and on the strength of it, Catholicism legislates, judges and makes sweeping changes of every sort in the ministry, the worship and even the faith of his Church—and these not as matters of local or temporal expediency but as essentials. “There cannot be a church without” them. Is not this a usurpation within the kingdom of Christ? And is not usurpation hostility in its boldest and most deadly form? Other offenders break the laws, but the usurper attacks the throne and grasps the sceptre. Such is the relation of Catholicism towards the Bible and God who speaks in it. But its opposition is still more positive. Christ *commands* us to search the Scriptures; Catholicism *forbids* it. The Word of God pronounces them “noble” and “blessed” who “read” and “search” the written Word. Catholicism pronounces them “accursed.” The Scripture says “a bishop must be the husband of one wife;” Catholicism says he *must not* marry. *Roman* Catholicism says he must not—*Anglo*-Catholicism says he ought not; at least he had better not.

When, where, and in what form did this strange power first make its appearance in the Christian Church?

To trace the rise and history of “Catholicism” would be a very interesting and important work. We have neither time nor space for it now. We can only notice some of its earlier manifestations, some of its larger and bolder strides.

The eye of Christ and of his inspired Apostles saw the leaven “working” (2 Thess. ii. 7,) in the depths of the Church long before the first visible, or rather appreciable signs of fermentation had reached the surface. When the disciples “disputed among themselves by the way, which should be the greatest,” their omniscient Lord detected the germ which was afterwards to expand into “the authority of the Episcopate,” and eventually into the overshadowing despotism of the Papacy. “And he sat down and called the twelve, and saith unto them, if any man desire to be first the same shall be last of all and servant of all.” And when the same aspiring and self-aggrandizing disposition appeared in James and John shortly after, (Mark x.) “he called the twelve to him, and said unto them, Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles exercise

lordship over them, and their great ones exercise authority upon them. *But so it shall not be among you.*" This and other plain intimations of their Master's will on this subject, followed by the plenteous effusion of the Spirit of grace and holiness on the day of Pentecost, effectually prevented any farther manifestation of this spirit among the Apostles. But when Peter exhorts "the elders" of the churches of Asia Minor (1 Pet. i. 1, conf. v. 1, &c.) to "feed the flock of God, discharging the office of bishops towards it, (ἐπισκοποῦντες)—not as being lords over God's heritage," and enjoins upon them to be "subject one to another," and to "be clothed with humility," such pointed and repeated admonitions strongly imply that there were, among these "elders," some who, like Diotrephes, "loved to have the first place"*—and when Paul, addressing the assembled "presbyter-bishops" of Ephesus, (Acts xx.) warns them, "after my departure, of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things," &c., he may be supposed to have included aspirants after clerical power and pre-eminence among other "grievous wolves" and "seducers." And if the absurd figment of "apostolic succession" had been then conceived of,† the words addressed by our Saviour himself to this same Church of Ephesus long after,‡ would disclose the fact that some of these "men" had at that period actually "risen," and sought to impose their apostolic claims upon that Church.

But much more distinct and remarkable are those passages (2 Thess. ii. and 1 Tim. iv.) in which the Apostle speaks of

* John iii. 9. The expression is very significant ὁ φιλοπρωτεύων αὐτῶν, qui amat primatum gerere in eis. Vulg. and Erasmus.

† Which we believe it had not; at least there is no trace of it extant at that early period. On the contrary, the Epistle of Ignatius to the Trallians, which, whether genuine or spurious, is ancient, makes the Presbyters successors of the Apostles. "Be ye subject also to the Presbytery as to the Apostles of Jesus Christ," (Ep. ad Trall. cap. 2.)—"the Presbyters as the Council (συνέδριον) of God and the Band of the Apostles of Christ (σύνδεσμος ἀποστόλων Χριστοῦ.) Without these there is no elect Church, no assemblage of the saints, no congregation of the holy." Id. cap. 3. But we would not recommend our Presbyterian brethren to set up any claim to apostolic succession on the ground of these passages. We believe the good father Ignatius to have been quite innocent of this, and a good deal more trash and impiety that passes under his name.

‡ "Thou hast tried them which say they are Apostles, and are not; and hast found them liars."

“an apostasy,” “a departure from the faith,” a “mystery of iniquity already working,” (ἡδὴ ἐνεργεῖται) the “revelation” and “destruction” of which was to form a part of the Church’s history before the coming of “the day of Christ.” Here, every stroke of the sacred pencil portrays some feature of Catholicism; and history verifies the whole with a fearful minuteness. Its “opposing and exalting itself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped”—its “sitting in the temple of God”—its “coming after the working of Satan, with all power and signs and lying wonders”—its “strong delusion”—its uncommanded abstinences, “forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving,” all render the identity clear, and the application inevitable. But there was something which then “withheld” and “hindered” that “that Wicked might be revealed in his time,” and would continue to hinder “until it was taken out of the way.” These predictions are commonly applied to Popery. But they evidently refer to a whole, of which Popery is only a part; a germ, of which Popery is only a partial expansion; a principle, of which Popery is only one, though the principal application. They refer to that vast and multiform system of error, usurpation and corruption, of which these are the universal features, (some manifested here, some there, as times and circumstances permit)—“opposing,” (ἀντιτίθεται, *setting itself against* the word of God, its plain sense, its general reading, its free circulation,) “and exalting itself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped;” magnifying rites, forms, attitudes, vestments even, which are purely of human invention, above “worshipping God in the spirit;” and where it can and dare, introducing angels and saints as objects of worship; “commanding” what God has not commanded, and “forbidding” what God has not forbidden, and thus intruding itself as a legislator into the seat of God, and usurping his prerogative who is the “One Lawgiver” (James iv. 12;) “speaking lies in hypocrisy,” covering falsehood with the sanction of religion;* “working lying wonders” to sustain its pretensions; accompanied by “strong delusion” in those who are subjected to its

* Compare the moral principles of Jesuitism as exposed in the “Lettres Provinciales” of Pascal, or in their own works, and No. 90 of the Oxford Tracts.

influence. All these correspondences between prophecy and history attest the identity of Catholicism with the "Mystery of Iniquity," "the Wicked," "the Man of Sin," "the Son of perdition."

That which "withheld" or "let" (*ἡ κατέχευε*, *kept down*) "that he might be revealed in his time," was clearly, we think, the presence of the Apostles, whose inspired wisdom and miraculous power kept down the spirit of aspiration and corruption already "working," and who would not have failed to "visit with the rod," even with the exercise of "the power which the Lord had given them," any such aspirations after "the pre-eminence" (lit. *primacy*), as John actually promises to do in the case of Diotrephes,—“Wherefore, if I come, I will remember his deeds,” &c.

But when this "hindrance" was "taken out of the way" by "the departure" of all the Apostles,* forthwith the "Mystery of Iniquity" began to be "revealed" as Paul (2 Thess. ii. 8,) foretold that it would.

To follow, step by step, what the Apostle calls "the revelation of the mystery of iniquity," and Professor Schérer the "insensible development of Catholicism," would of course be out of the question in such a discussion as this. Let us take a method more consistent with our limits. Having contemplated the Church in her strictly primitive period, where no trace of Catholicism appears, (save in the inspired forewarnings of its approach,) let us again survey her in the fourth century, which may be regarded as the era of the visible and formal manifestation of Catholicism. Immediately we observe a marked change in the general sentiment of the Church towards the Holy Scriptures. Their plenary inspiration and supreme authority was, it is true, still admitted and insisted on. But Episcopacy and Monachism were the two great ideas in which the spirit of Catholicism was manifested in that age. For these no support could be found in the Scriptures; other sanction and authority must therefore be sought. This was found in tradition. Tradition had first entered the Church in the modest guise of a witness to the truth, and an exponent of the meaning of the

* Jerome (quoted by Lardner, VI. 169,) supposes the death of John to have taken place in the year 100. According to Eusebius he was still living at the accession of Trajan, A. D. 98.

written word. "If," says Irenæus,* "a question of secondary importance arise, would it not be proper to resort to the oldest churches, in which the Apostles personally conversed, and obtain from them certain and clear information concerning the matter in dispute?"

Throughout Irenæus, who dwells largely on tradition, it has no authority whatever save what it derives from the inspired Apostles and from Christ himself, as being an exact and faithful oral transmission of what they had taught, or explanation of what they had written. Its value in this respect, must then have been very considerable, as Irenæus wrote his books "*adversus Hæreses*" less than a century after the death of the Apostle John, enumerates the "*successiones Presbyterorum*" which in several churches connected his own with the apostolic age, and was himself acquainted with one at least who had personally conversed with those who had seen and heard the Apostles.† This value, however, which depended solely on the nearness of the apostolic age, must of course rapidly diminish, and ere long disappear for ever. The tradition of the spirit and meaning of the American Constitution was esteemed of some value when handed down by those who had personally conversed with Washington and its other founders. But one century has not yet elapsed and what is that tradition worth now? A lever, however, of such wide sweep and tremendous power as *oral tradition* once in the hand of clerical ambition was never to be relinquished, but on the contrary augmented to the utmost extent. We find accordingly that tradition once introduced, never rested nor paused in its aggressions till it had erected for itself a solitary throne and an absolute despotism. As early as the first half of the fourth century, we meet with the *παράδοσις*, and *ἀγραφτοι νόμοι* of the Church cited in support

* Si quibus de aliqua modica quæstione disceptatio esset, nonne oporteret in antiquissimas recurrere ecclesias, in quibus Apostoli conversati sunt, et ab eis de præsentî quæstione sumere quod certum et re liquidum est? Adv. Hær. III. 4.

† We speak here of course, of *oral tradition*. "Traditio" is sometimes used by Irenæus to denote the whole system of truth and life *delivered* by Christ and the inspired teachers and writers.

‡ Adv. Hær. Lib. IV. 45. Quemadmodum audiavi a quodam Presbytero qui audiverat ab his qui Apostolos viderant, &c.

of doctrines and rites for which no countenance could be found in Scripture. Many instances of this are at hand. Let us take one from Basil ad Amphilochem de Spiritu Sancto. We must, however, observe that the genuineness of this work is perhaps more than doubtful; Erasmus of the Romanists, and Scultetus of the Protestants, utterly reject it as unworthy of Basil in style and at variance with his doctrinal views in other parts of his works. Be it his or not, however, it avails our purpose as a historical record of the progress of Catholic ideas. "Of the doctrines and precepts held by the Church," says the writer, "some we have received in written records, others have been mysteriously handed down to us (*διαδοθέντα ἐν μυστηρίῳ*), by apostolical tradition, both of which have the same validity (*τῇ αὐτῇ ἰσχύν*) in relation to piety. . . . For example, where do we find it written that we must make the sign of the cross upon those who begin to hope in Jesus Christ? What book of Scripture teaches us that we must turn to the east when we pray? Whence do we learn to renounce the devil and his angels in baptism? Are not these things from an unwritten instruction? from a silent and mystical tradition, which our fathers have handed down to us in a submissive and uninquisitive secrecy?"

This remarkable passage was probably foisted into Basil at a later period. It is considerably beyond the age, as an evidence of Catholic progress. But whenever, or by whomsoever written, it shows that tradition had then assumed a totally different character from what it bears in Irenæus and the other writers of the second century. From a *witness* to the written Word, it had now become a *rival*. It had learned to veil itself in impenetrable mysteries, and to give forth its responses as of equal authority with those of Scripture. This "element" once admitted, speedily and rapidly carried forward the work of usurpation and corruption. The foreign element soon became the dominant one. Innumerable notions and usages were brought in, not a few of which may, even now, be traced to Paganism, while others are naturally enough accounted for by a prurient imagination, the pride of invention and the ambition of notoriety. "Things which the Lord commanded not, neither came it into his mind," were made terms of communion and of salvation. Some of these innovations, yielding no support to epis-

copal or papal sway were transient. But whenever a notion or usage tended to consolidate and strengthen ecclesiastical dominion, it was promptly adopted, incorporated among the *θεσμοὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοί* and enforced with all the power of the bishops, who, from the time of Constantine, seem to have acquired a power which overbore even that of civil and judicial officers,* an accession which they held on to amidst the persecutions of the following reigns, as if it were a part of their faith or their sacred function. So that they sometimes present the sad anomaly of being at once persecuted and persecutors. The inventions of one age under Episcopal, and by and by under Papal sanction, became the traditions of the next, and as such sacred and immutable. Catholicism, by exacting an implicit obedience to her own traditions, nullified the authority of heaven; by infusing a general and enthusiastic love and admiration for an ascetic and monastic life, she dissolved the most sacred ties and powerful sympathies of earth. She thus prepared the way for the most powerful despotism and the most abject slavery that the world has ever beheld. As this advanced, the Word of God declined and retired. This did not take place without a struggle. There were not wanting those who held up to the Church the pure idea of gospel truth and virtue, insisting that the Word of God was the sole and all-sufficient standard of faith and rule of life, and reminding the Church that she was "making void the Word of God by her traditions." To this extent at least, Jovinian and Vigilantius must be looked upon as confessors and reformers; and almost all the great preachers of the fourth century, though tainted with the general infection, bore their testimony against some one of the prevailing errors and corruptions. But these warnings were unheeded. "Catholicism" was to be fully "developed." "That Wicked" was to be "revealed," who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God or that is worshipped." And as the revelation went on, bringing out its multitudinous round of rites, orders, idol-

* Eusebius, among other augmentations of episcopal dignity and power by Constantine, states this, "that it should no longer be lawful for the governors of provinces to rescind the decrees of bishops—*παντες γὰρ εἶναι δικαστοῦ τοῦς ἱερεῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ δοκιμωτέρους*, for the priests of God were more worthy of respect than any judge!" Vit. Const. IV. 27.

atries and superstitions, the Word of God was thrust farther and farther from the vision of the Church, till at length it sank below her horizon, and the night came on. Then Catholicism reared her dusky throne and reigned with unresisted sway, while superstition and ignorance lay crouching and trembling at her feet.

Where, then, was the Bible? Where was the "idea of inspiration?" Buried in tomes of theology, or bandied about in the disputes of the schools. Held indeed theoretically, but held down most effectually by the iron sway and ever watchful jealousy and inexorable tyranny of "Catholicism." Did not her every movement indicate her consciousness that, with an inspired and open Bible before the Church, her reign could not last an hour. In the height of her power, the rustling of a single leaf of the Bible terrified her; nor could she recover her tranquillity till her fears, like those of Herod, had been allayed by some wholesale carnage. Her first act was to overlay the pages of the Scriptures with her traditions; her next, to claim for those traditions a co-ordinate rank and equal authority; her next, to arrogate to herself the sole and infallible interpretation of them; as soon as she could or dared, she forbade the reading of them by the people in their own tongue; she made them as scarce as possible even among the clergy; the libraries of her monasteries scarcely contained a copy of them. Catholicism hunted from the world the very book which she pretended to acknowledge as inspired and from God. It was at last so rare that the price of a Bible was almost a fortune. Even Bishops were found who had never seen a copy of the word of God. If any man held the light of its opened pages into the abyss of her corruptions, excommunication, the prison, and (when her power was absolute,) the stake was the punishment of his temerity. Leo the Isaurian, Clement of Ireland, Berenger, Wickliffe, Huss, Jerome of Prague, and Savonarola, bore the fury of Catholic persecution for no other heresy but that which would inevitably have brought Peter himself* to the stake, if Catholicism had then been in the ascendant, viz. that "we ought to obey God rather than men"—that Christians are "redeemed

* "And the other Apostles," Acts v, 29.

from" (not by) "the tradition received from the fathers with the precious blood of Christ," and that the proper nourishment of the believing soul is "the sincere milk of the word."

It is plain, then, that the historical relation of Catholicism and inspiration is precisely the reverse of that which Professor Schérer has indicated. Christians began with the most profound veneration for the sacred books as the word of God; the most distinct recognition of their authority, and the most frequent citation of them in all their doctrinal and moral teachings. This is "the idea of inspiration" as it was conceived in the fullness and freshness of the Church's primitive life. As we come down from age to age, we find that this "idea" becomes more and more dim in proportion as the other element of tradition and church authority obtrudes itself into prominence; till at length the Scripture is forgotten, and the Church supreme. The "idea of inspiration" and that of "Catholicism" have always been antagonist ideas. As the one has advanced, the other has declined. The conflict of these ideas has made the history of the Church what it is, a verification of the prophecy of our Saviour, "I am come to bring a sword—to cast a fire upon earth." In this conflict, the "idea of Catholicism" has wielded (when they have been within its reach) the material sword and fire. The idea of inspiration has wielded the sword of the Spirit, the fire of the word of God. Each armed with its appropriate weapons, their hostility has been unceasing. So far from the two being amicably developed together as kindred elements, all history shows that they cannot co-exist without mortal strife in the same Church, the same age, the same bosom. The assertion which Professor Schérer makes of the history of this "idea" in the Reformed Churches is not less surprising or less contradictory to history.

"The Reformation of the sixteenth century," he says, "after having begun in the person of Luther with a great freedom and spirituality of views on this subject, was checked in its development, and ended by retaining, among others, this relic of the system against which it rose up." If by the "freedom and spirituality of Luther's views" the writer means (as he evidently does,) his discarding the "idea of inspiration," and the "authority of Scripture," what will become of the assertion when com-

pared with the words of the great Reformer himself on this subject—in his commentaries, his controversial writings, his letters, his table-talk? “If I were a great poet,” said he, “I would write a magnificent poem on the virtue and usefulness of the word of God.” So extreme a *literalist* was he in fact, so stringent an assertor of “textual inspiration,” that to him “*hoc est corpus meum*” was sufficient to overpower all objections from the nature of things to the doctrine of consubstantiation.

“Protestantism remained,” says Professor Schérer, “a system of authority; the only difference in this respect, between it and Catholicism, is that it has substituted one authority for another authority—the Scripture for the Church.”

To this we entirely assent. Protestantism has simply substituted the authority of God for that of man; the authority of “the word of God” which our Lord declares “is truth,” (John xvii.) for the precarious and contradictory decisions of fathers, popes, councils, and traditions—of all that heterogeneous medley in fine, which has been absurdly and impiously called *the Church*. Is this an immaterial difference?

All the great minds which led in the movement of the Reformation were unanimous on this point, notwithstanding the minor differences which divided them, and the deplorable animosity and bitterness with which they were often maintained. We cannot here go into citations. But let any one glance over the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th chapters of the 1st Book of Calvin's Institutes, and he will see how distinctly and indignantly Calvin would disclaim that spurious “freedom and spirituality of views” with which he (in the latter part of this letter) as well as Luther is complimented by Professor Schérer. That “God is the author of the Scriptures”—that they are necessary and sufficient to lead to the true knowledge of God, that “by them God has been pleased to preserve his truth in perpetual remembrance”—that they must, however, be confirmed by the inward testimony of the Holy Spirit—but that this testimony, as well as the whole inward work of illumination and sanctification by the Holy Spirit is carried forward by and through the written Word—that this Word, so far from being “transient and temporary” in its use, “guides the sons of God to the very summit of perfection”—these great thoughts are elaborately and power-

fully defended and illustrated in those immortal chapters of the great Reformer. The 9th chapter particularly, assails the very position taken in this letter of Professor Schérer, and denounces with great severity and contempt the very sentiment which Professor Schérer imputes to the early Protestants. Let me beg the reader to consult this chapter (of three or four pages) entire. I will indulge myself in one or two brief quotations. "There have lately arisen some unstable men, who, haughtily pretending to be taught by the Spirit, deride the simplicity of those who still attend to (what they style) the dead and killing letter. But I would ask them, what spirit that is by whose inspiration they are elevated to such a sublimity? If they answer that it is the Spirit of Christ, how ridiculous is such an assurance! For, that the Apostles of Christ and other believers in the primitive church, were illuminated by no other Spirit, I think, they will concede. But not one of them learned, from his teaching, to condemn the Divine Word; they were rather filled with higher reverence for it, as their writings abundantly testify.—Have they imbibed a different spirit from that which the Lord promised to his disciples? Great as their infatuation is, I do not think them fanatical enough to hazard such avowal. But what kind of spirit did he promise? One truly (John xvi. 13) who should "not speak of himself" but suggest and instil into their minds those things which he had orally delivered. The office of the Spirit, then, which is promised to us, is not to feign new and unheard of revelations, or to coin a new system of doctrine, but to seal to our minds the same doctrine which the gospel delivers. Hence we readily understand that it is incumbent on us diligently to read and attend to the Scripture, if we would receive any advantage or satisfaction from the Spirit of God." Those who contend that the Christian faith and life is to be maintained by revelations of the Spirit apart from the Scripture, he denominates "unhappy men bent on delusion even to their own destruction," "despisers of the Scripture," "proud fanatics," &c. "A very different sobriety," he says, "becomes the children of God; who, while they are sensible that, exclusively of the Spirit of God, they are utterly destitute of the light of truth, yet are not ignorant that the Word is the instru-

ment, (organum), by which the Lord dispenses to believers the illumination of his Spirit."

Look through the sermons, commentaries, confessions, catechisms and controversies, in which the spirit of the Reformation is manifested, and you cannot fail to see a harmony on this point, amidst all their variations in respect to government and worship, which is truly grand and wonderful. The "idea" of the divine inspiration and supreme authority of the Scriptures in fact made the Reformation. It was the force of this principle which projected the new church out of the bosom of the old, and rendered return and reconciliation impossible. Protestantism rested on the Scriptures, appealed to them, studied them, translated, printed and circulated them, and enjoined the reading of them on all believers. Catholicism, on the contrary, suppressed and forbade them, and pronounced the study of them dangerous and impious except as their teachings were interpreted, and of course, controlled by the authority of the Church. It was the intense antagonism of these two ideas, inspiration and Catholicism, which rent Christendom asunder in the 16th century, and has kept it divided into two hostile camps to this day.

So palpably contradictory to history and to the actual condition of the world, is the strange assertion of Professor Schérer, that "this idea of inspiration which has formed the sacred collection and given it its dignity, is one of the elements of that Catholicism which was insensibly developed in the ancient Church"—and that "the Reformation of the 16th century, after having begun with a great freedom and spirituality of views on this subject was repressed (*refoulée*) in its development, and ended by retaining among others, this remnant of the system against which it had risen up." We have seen, on the contrary, that the idea of inspiration was most distinct and efficacious in the Church immediately after she came from the teaching of her Lord and his Apostles—that this idea gradually became confused and inoperative during the long ages of declension which followed—that it broke forth again into brightness and vitality in the revival or Reformation of the 16th century—that the Reformers planted their artillery on this rock, and

that Protestantism, as far as she has remained evangelical and vital, has never shifted her ground nor changed her weapons, but has found in the Word of God an inexhaustible magazine of all sorts of missiles wherewith she has beleaguered and assailed Catholicism so indefatigably and effectually, that that vast system of error and superstition at length totters to its foundations.

And when it falls, (as fall it must,) its overthrow will be the result, as it will be the termination of this unceasing conflict—this “warfare without herald.” It is a sublime and tranquilizing thought that the same page of the inspired word which foretells the revelation of this “mystery of iniquity,” foretells also its doom. “The Lord shall consume it with the Spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy it with the brightness of his coming.” In the unsearchable wisdom of God it was to be “revealed,” but not more certainly “revealed” than “consumed and destroyed.” It has its day in the history of the Church and of the world, and “a day of darkness and of gloominess, a day of clouds and of thick darkness” has it been; but, blessed be God! it is far spent. And is there not reason to believe that “the Spirit of the Lord” and “the brightness of his coming” which is to “abolish” this “apostasy,” (though the words by no means exclude some visible manifestation of Divine power) are to be understood principally of the truth of his Holy Word, embraced in the full faith of its plenary inspiration, preached, circulated, and diffused in every form, and above all, by that invisible, and therefore irresistible diffusion (even as “salt” and “light”) of a holy and benevolent life in all Christians? Our own country presents a wide and open field for this final struggle. Already the forces on both sides seem to be mustering upon it. We cannot look over its ample surface, and at the hosts of many tongues and races which immigration is pouring into it, without calling to mind the words of the prophet, “Multitudes, multitudes in the valley of decision!”—and along with them comes his stirring summons, “Prepare war, wake up the mighty men, let all the men of war draw near; . . . thither cause thy mighty ones to come down, O Lord.” The last conflict will be between the Church of God “built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself

being the chief corner-stone," and the church of man, even of "the man of sin," founded on the "traditions," "commandments and ordinances of men." Let all, then, who wish to commit their own destinies and those of their children to the word of God and the Church of God, put on the "armour of light," and come up to a conflict in which they have "the son of perdition" for an enemy, and the Son of God for a friend and ally.

We have thus briefly surveyed the history of the Church, or rather glanced at some of its prominent bearings on this great question of the plenary inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. Shall we claim a moment's farther attention, (severely as we have already tasked the reader's patience,) to some of the impressions it has left on our mind?

The first is the unanimous and constant testimony of the Church (the living and spiritual Church, we mean of course,) to the doctrine of inspiration, in its strongest and fullest form. We do not now speak of didactic statements, but of all the utterances in which her very heart and mind have spoken out, from the first lisps of her infancy through the wide and wonderful development of eloquence, learning, philosophy and poetry, which has been impregnated with her life during the last eighteen centuries—all constitute as it were, one profound and grand response to her Lord's declaration, "thy word is truth!"

The second is the close relation which this doctrine and sentiment every where and always bears to the life and power of the Church. When she has exhibited most of the spirit of her Lord in the purity of her faith, the simplicity of her worship, and the pacific energy of her labours for the conversion of the world, it has been in those periods when she has most highly prized, and deeply studied, and singly honoured the sacred volume of his inspired truth. Every memorable renovation of spiritual life which her annals record, has been accomplished in connection with this. When "Ezra the scribe* stood upon a pulpit of wood," and "opened the book in the sight of all the people," and "the Levites read in the book, in the law of God distinctly, and gave the sense and caused them to understand the reading," and "all the people wept when they heard the

* Neh. viii.

words of the law," and there was a speedy return to the pious usages of their fathers, and thereupon "there was very great gladness," and no subsequent relapse into national idolatry; when, in the amazing victories of primitive Christianity "the word of God" (the preached word constantly compared and corrected by the written,) "grew mightily and prevailed;" when the first and "chief successors of the Apostles travelled from land to land, preaching Christ and delivering the Scriptures of the Divine Gospels;"* when the long oppressed truth broke forth in the splendours of the Reformation, imparting a new impulse to human freedom and energy in every direction; and in every revival of spiritual and vital religion down to our own times, we behold a new manifestation of the Divine energy enshrined in the inspired Word.

And when Haldane, a wayfarer at Geneva, thirty years ago, assembled the youth of her old Theological School, and unable to speak the French language, silently traced on the sacred page the passages which reveal the divinity of Christ and the other vital doctrines of the gospel, and thus by the grace of God was the means of infusing a spiritual life which has since appeared in the establishment of her new and purer school of theology, and in all the wide and various instrumentalities of which she is now the centre, for the diffusion of Christianity, we see one of the most striking and peculiar examples of this truth which the history of the Church affords. It is no matter of wonder therefore, that Geneva holds fast to the faith of an inspired Bible to which she owes not only her ancient reformation from Popery, when like a trumpet at the lips of Calvin and his compeers, it sent forth those soul-stirring notes whose reverberations through Switzerland and Europe have often brought to our mind those glorious lines of Byron:

"Far along
From rock to rock the rattling crags among
Leaps the live thunder; not from one lone cloud,
For every mountain now hath found a tongue,
And Jura answers through her misty shroud
Back to the joyous Alps which call to her aloud:"

but the silent radiation of whose holy light has effected her recent no less wonderful revival from Rationalism. No wonder

* *Eus. Hist. Ecc.* III. 37.

she declines the same dose (however disguised) which formerly laid her in that fatal slumber. Justly and nobly has M. Merle D'Aubigné observed on this occasion: "If it were only a question of secondary matters, of shades of difference on the doctrine of inspiration, we would have been happy to make sacrifices to charity without compromising truth. We desire that a certain liberty be maintained in theological instruction. But all liberty has limits which we cannot overpass without touching the essence of things. The question which has been controverted among us was not a question of shades, (*une question de nuances*;) it involved the maintenance or abandonment of one of the most essential principles of evangelical Christianity. We could, therefore, no longer hesitate. The twenty-one members of your general committee have acted in this affair with the most perfect unanimity."* We quote these sentiments thus largely, so worthy of their distinguished and excellent author, and add the expression of our hearty concurrence with the more pleasure, as sundry very intelligible manifestations of sympathy with Professor Schérer have gone forth from certain quarters of our own land, coupled with insinuations that "the theory of inspiration has been drawn pretty tight at Geneva." To us these words, and the action of the committee which they present, seem to bear the impress of that fine maxim which "the pious and learned Rieger"† has remarked should be the motto of the Christian, "a large heart and a narrow conscience." Never was sympathy more misplaced than when extended to aberration from God's holy truth. We doubtless may and ought to feel profound compassion for the wanderer from truth, as well as the offender against law. But sympathy with the crime or the error, or such lenity in dealing with it as to leave the gangrene to spread, is treason against justice and truth, and in the end against charity itself.

Another lesson from the history of the Church is this—men must have some infallible oracle to resort to in dealing with the momentous questions which touch their eternal interests—an infallible Bible, an infallible Church, an infallible Pope, or an

* Disc. d'Ouverture, p. 10, 11.

† Quoted by M. Merle D'Aubigné in the same Discourse.

infallible self. The first is clearly the revelation of the Lord, and as clearly the faith of the primitive Church; the second gradually superseded it; the third followed; the fourth and last is the succedaneum of the subjective philosophy. It professes indeed to hold to a revelation direct to the individual, or rather, to what they would consider the very *umbilicus* of individuality, "the intuitional consciousness." But how determine the source, the genuineness of the revelations or impressions thus made? How distinguish the voice of the Divine Spirit within, amidst the din of our own vain thoughts, and the reverberations from the world without? What is to furnish the criterion? Who to apply it? The Scripture commands us "not to believe every spirit, but to try the spirits whether they be of God," and itself furnishes the test whereby we may "know the Spirit of God."* It directs us to bring all teachings,† and all inward impressions to the criterion of the written word. But the disciple of the subjective philosophy has parted with his faith in the written word. To him "the Bible is not the word of God," it "is no longer an authority;" it contains some things which are "very fine," "very rich,"‡ but it also contains "errors," "contradictions," "inaccurate statements," and "prophecies belied by facts"! Who, then, is to distinguish between the true and the false in the written word? "The Holy Spirit dwelling in the heart of the believer." But who is to distinguish between the suggestions of "the Spirit of truth and the spirit of error," for "many false prophets are gone out into the world," many whose supposed inspiration was delusion? M. Schérer, it is true, permits us to resort "to the great prophets of all times, to the living teaching of the Church, to the word of God personified in his servants, to the Spirit and to his manifestation;" but in all these there is a mixture of truth with error and delusion. Who, then, is to furnish and apply the criterion? The individual himself. Otherwise all is confusion and uncertainty. The individual sense is thus constituted the "sovereign authority in matters of faith, superior to the Church, superior to the

* 1 John iv. 1.

† Acts xvii. 11; Gal. i. 8, 9.

‡ "Très belle," "très féconde" and the like terms, M. Schérer applies to certain portions of the Apostolic writings which he is pleased to approve.

Scripture," and we might add, superior to the Spirit himself, since it is to sit in judgment on the revelations supposed to proceed from him. The individual is to himself at once Church, Pope, and Bible, and discerner of spirits! And yet there is no error, and almost no crime, which this individual sense, this infallible self, has not confidently classed among the "inspirations" of the holy and omniscient Spirit of God! Here is the latest form of infallibility. Here is "the emancipation," "the revolution" which M. Schérer has abandoned his professional chair to "signalize" to the world. A system which sends the soul trembling under the vast anxieties and uncertainties which accompany the momentous question "what must I do to be saved?" from the "real words of testimony" to a Babel of confused tongues, a many-voiced oracle which has sanctioned by its infallible response almost every form of fanaticism and wickedness which has ever scourged and troubled the world!

Between these four forms of infallibility lies the choice of every human soul!

We turn from this retrospect also with a deeper feeling of the truth that Christ is indeed "with his Church always, even unto the end of the world," else "the smoke ascending out of the bottomless pit"* must long since have quenched her light, and "the flood which the serpent cast out of his mouth after her" must utterly have "carried her away."† Even the "revelation" of Catholicism is a proof of the presence of Christ with his Church, because it is a fulfilment of his inspired word, and a manifestation of his omnipotent and ever wakeful care. The history of the Church is, in a certain sense, a perpetual revelation of the truth and grace of her Redeemer. Not an authoritative revelation however. It is the figment of authority which has made Catholicism, and substituted it for Christianity; which has put the Church herself on an infraction of her charter, an invasion of the rights and royalties of her Lord. This was the germ of her "apostasy," as it is the germ of all apostasy, whether in the Church or the individual soul—putting man for God, and obeying man instead of God. This has made her a Papal Church, a worldly hierarchy, a vast empire made up of aggressions, on the one hand, on the kingdom of God,

* Rev. ix.

† Rev. xii.

and on the other, on the powers of this world; a mass of error, corruption and tyranny, of which the world itself has been, and not without reason, ashamed. Still, this abuse and perversion does not in the least impair the glorious truth itself, that "now unto principalities and powers in the heavenly places," and of course to contemplative minds on earth who look at her history in its true light, "is made known by the Church the manifold wisdom of God." This renders church history, (not consulted in barren and precarious compends, but in the living products of Christian genius and piety which every age has produced,) "a vast and fruitful knowledge." There is, we firmly believe, no field in the vast domain of theological learning which will more richly repay the researches of the Christian scholar, or enable him to do more important and timely service to truth. Catholicism, in one or other of her branches, has almost had this field to herself; and the extent to which she has falsified the remains of Christian antiquity by her omissions, interpolations, mistranslations, and garbled indexes even, exceeds all belief of any one who has not carefully looked into the matter. There is no ground on which the ministry, the doctrine, and the worship of our Church stand stronger, or on which Catholicism is more weak and incapable of defence, than that of Christian antiquity.

Even in this movement of the subjective philosophy we joyfully recognize, not the control merely, but the overruling and guiding sway of the Head of the Church. There is a "balance of truth" in the world of mind and opinion, as well as a "balance of power" in the physical forces and political relations of nations. The very aberrations from the faith of the Church are made, in the end, to contribute to the maintenance of this equilibrium. The tendency of the human mind is to extremes, even in the right direction. The speculations which have of late tended to exaggerate the subjective side of Christian truth may be intended, and we trust and believe they are intended, to correct and compensate for a general and popular tendency in an opposite direction. The immense increase of the *material* (so to speak,) of Christianity by the translation, printing and distribution of the Holy Scriptures, which is the great and wonderful fact of our age, seems to have begotten in many minds an expectation that the mere multiplication and distribution of

copies of the inspired volume is to bring about the conversion of the world. Now this is an expectation wholly unwarranted, nay, it is utterly contradictory to prophecy, and subversive of the very nature of Christianity. The written word can never give a saving revelation of God to one human soul, unless the same Spirit who inspired it, impart a capacity for the intuition, belief, and reception of its truths. *Deest aliquid intus.* The letter is powerless without the Spirit. The whole artillery of truth can do nothing without the propulsive power of the Spirit. It is only when we "receive the Spirit which is from God that we can know the things which are freely given unto us of God." If a copy of the Bible were placed in every human abode, in every human hand; if its truths were lodged in every mind, unfolded by the most orthodox and skilful exposition, and pressed to the heart and conscience by the most eloquent appeals, would the conversion of the world be the necessary and sure result? If it were, it would be "by might and by power," and not "by the Spirit of the Lord of Hosts." But the conversion of the world is not to be so accomplished. After all this "planting" and "watering," God must "give the increase," or there will be none. The intellectual, religiously educated Saul of Tarsus, with his mind full of religious ideas, familiar doubtless with the facts of Christianity, and having beheld an overpowering manifestation of their truth in the martyrdom of Stephen, was untouched by one holy impression, unvisited by one ray of saving light. "When it pleased God to reveal his Son in me" discloses the true era of his conversion, an era through which every soul must pass which "passes from death unto life." Has not the Church been in danger of forgetting this? Amidst her own vastly increased activity, and the multiplied instrumentalities and facilities afforded by the physical and civil progress of society, has she not been tempted to form material ideas of the kingdom of God, and to overlook her absolute dependence on the Holy Spirit? Do we not sometimes hear appeals for money towards Bible distribution, and for men towards the missionary work, urged too much in the calculating and self-relying spirit of the world? Now, while this popular tendency is in full force, a strong counter-current of philosophical speculation sets in, which beyond measure

exalts and exaggerates the subjective. In this system, the Spirit is every thing, the word is nothing. Revelation is wholly intuitional, individual, subjective. There can be no such thing as "a revelation by verbal exposition," a revelation transmitted by written word or living voice. The prophets were wholly mistaken when they said, "thus saith the Lord"; the apostles not less so, when they declared that "holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," and that "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God." The thing is psychologically impossible; for there can be no revelation but that which is made to "the intuitional consciousness," and therefore revelation, and the inspiration which conveys it, are, and of necessity must be, generically the same in every believing soul that they were in the writers of the sacred volume.

These are startling propositions! If they only startle the Church into a more distinct recollection, and a deeper faith in the universal need of the Spirit's influence in order to the saving perception and experience of the truth, their effect will be salutary. These extreme statements will soon be perceived to be in direct conflict with the plain declarations of the Bible, the universal opinion of thinking men in all ages, and the perpetual sentiment and consciousness of the Christian Church, to say nothing of the psychological refutation of which they are capable, and which inevitably awaits them. Meanwhile, amidst all this clamour about "the objective and subjective," "the logical and intuitional," "the mechanical and dynamical," though it may bewilder many, and "seduce some," the very wants and longings of the renewed soul will keep it at the right point. The truth which shines forth in the word is its only steady light, the "sincere milk of the word" its indispensable aliment. The sober and spiritual Christian will find no repose but in the combined and mutually supporting truths of an inspired Bible, and a converting, enlightening, and sanctifying Spirit. No philosophic fog can long conceal from him that precious certainty inscribed in his Redeemer's last prayer, "thy word is truth"—nor that equally precious assurance "left" to his Church for all time, "the Spirit shall come and lead you into all truth." When in the faith and fresh remembrance of both these truths, the disciples shall, as at the beginning, "search the Scriptures

daily," and "continue with one accord in prayer and supplication," then will they again be "clothed with power, the Holy Ghost coming upon them;" then too, will "the word of God grow mighty and prevail." Then shall we behold a re-production of primitive preachers, men at once "mighty in the Scriptures" and "fervent in the Spirit," and therefore "eloquent men," "teaching effectually." Then will the Church go forth to sure and glorious victories, being armed with "the sword of the SPIRIT, which is the WORD OF GOD."

ART. II.—PETER COLLINSON.

"Memorials of John Bartram and Humphry Marshall; with notices of their Botanical Contemporaries, by William Darlington, M. D., LL.D., &c.; with Illustrations. Philadelphia, Lindsay & Blakiston: 1849."

THIS name indicates where those who would profit by the teachings of history may find a happy illustration of the many excellent traits of character which result from a life conformed to principles of Friends. The sect has been much criticised; the number of its adherents is limited in extent; we do not ourselves see things spiritual in the light they do, and we have heretofore expressed our dissent and given our reasons as occasion prompted. But the truth of history must concede to them rare virtues, characterized as they are by self-denial, and eminent success in their efforts to relieve suffering humanity. Indeed they deny themselves the use of some agencies which most Christians think powerful and effectual as means of doing good. They have had the test of time; they have had their trials, neither few nor small; they have been sifted and scanned; and, while differing from almost all the rest of the world in some great leading rules of life and conduct, they have persevered and have been sustained: after the lapse of more than two centuries, the world sees a vast product of good to the whole human family from the labours of these few men. Upon whom else in the wide world, since time began, has the sun of truth shone with a brighter light to carry him to the dark re-

cesses and secret depths of sorrow, suffering, sin and shame, to relieve the miseries of a brother sinner, a fellow immortal? Wherever man presents himself, of whatever race or kind; however wrecked in body, in mind, or in estate; however savage, barbarous, and idolatrous; however vicious and corrupt, the slave of his appetites and passions; nay, however sunk in the depths of infamy and crime, Friends regard him still as a fellow creature, to whom "our Father in heaven" has imparted an immortal soul, and who, while life lasts, should be treated and cared for as a fellow traveller to eternity.

Their success in these efforts has certainly been pre-eminent. Witness their treatment of the criminal and of the insane. We cite this as one of the good traits for which Friends are distinguished, and it is one which has contributed to give character to the age. Who does not rejoice to live in an age when the insane are no longer treated with cruelty, and when the most wretched in crime may be taught that there is still, for them even, a God of infinite mercy? How do we look back with wonder upon the thousands of years the world had existed before it was discovered that a grand panacea for diseases of the mind was to be found in the law of love? And how does the world seem to have forgotten that one came down from heaven "and abode awhile in the flesh," to teach man how he should treat his brother-sinner, and to point the dying malefactor to the gate of heaven? For the general prevalence, blessed influence, and practical application of these truths, we are greatly indebted to Friends.

Their quiet virtues, happy amenities, and silent worth, do not attract the gaze of the world; but they will repay us for seeking out and looking into them. Their simple habits; their industry, integrity, and thrift; their pleasure in doing good; their intense interest in nature's varied handiwork; their estimate of things conducive to comfort, peace, and happiness, over things luxurious and things ostentatious; their abhorrence of war; their active sympathy with all in distress, and their preference of the "good name which is better than precious ointment" over worldly glory, had all a faithful representative in Peter Collinson. In their full representation we do not think the Society has produced his superior. We do not say that he

was a better man than George Fox or William Penn; that he was so deep a thinker as Dr. Fothergill; that he did more to leave a name behind him than James Logan; that he was so great a naturalist as John Bartram; or, that he relieved as much distress as Elizabeth Fry. But, studying his character as it has been recently developed, it does appear to us that he combined more of all these respective qualities than either of the individuals named. One who has done more than any other towards this development, and who understands the whole subject as well as any man living, says of him, in a manuscript now under our eye—"he was one of the earliest and most distinguished cultivators, and most distinguished patrons, of the Natural Sciences in the Society of Friends; and, at the same time, an honour and an ornament to the sect." It must be acknowledged that the same authority says of Dr. Fothergill, the intimate friend of Peter Collinson, that he "regards him as the most accomplished Quaker that ever lived, whether considered as a man of science, or as a philanthropist"—adding, "while the Society of Friends may ever be proud of their great lawgiver Penn, the lovers of nature among them may boast of a Logan, a Collinson, a Fothergill, and a Marshall; to each of whom a *genus* has been dedicated, that will preserve the memory of their worth and services as long as the plants which bear their names shall continue to grow." But the pre-eminence in accomplishments among Friends, which our correspondent assigns to Dr. Fothergill, relates particularly to science and philanthropy. As a practical utilitarian, a helper of others to do good to their fellow-men, and to attain the heights and depths of scientific discovery; to push their researches through difficulties and dangers to earth's remotest bounds, and perhaps in some other characteristic excellencies, Peter Collinson surpassed him; although it must at the same time be confessed also, he was not so good a Whig, nor so great a friend to our revolutionary movement.

Could we ask Dr. Franklin—"who, of all men, best deserved a statue, in commemoration of active, disinterested, and valuable services in building up the Philadelphia Library?" he would say, "Peter Collinson." Those most knowing in the early history of this institution now say, that the marble which occu-

pies a niche in its front, would have found a more fitting place in front of the Philosophical Hall opposite. Ask Franklin again, "from whom he derived the information, and who furnished him with the hints and put into his hands the actual means whereby he made his splendid discovery of the identity of lightning and electricity," and he will tell you, "Peter Collinson."* It is melancholy to think that his thirty years gratuitous and invaluable services for the Library should have been terminated by this excellent man, as we have good authority to believe, under a sense that they had not been duly estimated by those having it in charge.

He was the only man in the Royal Society at London who appreciated Franklin's letters announcing his discovery; which, when first communicated there, were frowned down, sneered at, and refused a place in their published transactions. Peter Collinson had them published, drew the attention of knowing men to them, excited admiration of the wonderful secret disclosed, and was among the very first to foresee and proclaim Franklin's undying renown.

He did more than any man living to help to make John Bartram what he became, and without his aid Bartram could never have accomplished one half his wonderful achievements. Dr. Fothergill goes so far as to say, "That eminent naturalist, John Bartram, may almost be said to have been created such by my friend's assistance," "constantly exciting him to persevere in investigating the plants of America, which he has executed with indefatigable labour through a long course of years, and with amazing success."

* In Dr. Lettson's edition of Dr. Fothergill's works we find a letter from Dr. Franklin to Michael Collinson, Esq., dated "Craven Street, Feb. 8, 1770," from which we give an extract. After referring to and describing the valuable services rendered to the Philadelphia Library, he goes on to say:

"During the same time he transmitted to the Directors of the Library the earliest accounts of every new European improvement in agriculture and the arts, and every philosophical discovery; among which, in 1745, he sent over an account of the new German experiments in electricity, together with a glass tube, and some direction for using it, so as to repeat these experiments. This was the first notice I had of that curious subject, which I afterwards prosecuted with some diligence, being encouraged by the friendly reception he gave to the letters I wrote to him upon it. Please to accept this small testimony of mine to his memory, for which I shall ever have the utmost respect; and believe me, with sincere esteem,

Dear Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN."

It is an interesting fact, that it should have been reserved for our own time and for our own country, to bring to light far more than was before known of the life, history, and scientific habits and correspondence of that eminent and excellent man, who was a London merchant, and who died about the middle of the last century. True, the English themselves acknowledge, that it was an American who first told them what they wanted to know about Sebastian Cabot. The Edinburg Reviewers, even before that, had found out that "they should soon learn to love the Americans if they sent them many more such books," as one which Robert Walsh had written about France.

The recent work by Dr. Darlington, a Pennsylvanian, has awakened deep interest in England, with regard to one of their own sons collaterally introduced, and is equally well spoken of on both sides the water. It is entitled, "Memorials of John Bartram and Humphry Marshall;" but nearly one half of its five hundred and ninety-five pages of fair, large, open type, is occupied with the letters of Peter Collinson. No Philadelphian can read it without feeling that the next statue erected in the city of brotherly love after those of Penn and Franklin, and that contemplated in honour of Washington, should be one to perpetuate the memory of what she owes to Peter Collinson. Whoever reads it will find interesting matters of colonial history; minute particulars illustrating the character of the intercourse between this country and the old for fifty years before the Revolution, which he sees no where else.

But to return to Peter Collinson—since sounding his praises so loud, we must be permitted to call up Southey to our support. He thus sums up in few words, what was known and thought of this London friend of our own Logan, Franklin and Bartram, in his time:

"Peter Collinson, whose pious memory ought to be a standing toast at the meetings of the Horticultural Society, used to say that he never knew an instance in which the pursuit of such pleasure as the culture of a garden affords, did not find men temperate and virtuous, or make them so. And this may be affirmed as an undeniable and not unimportant fact relating to the lower classes of society, that whenever the garden of a cot-

tage or other humble dwelling is carefully and neatly kept, neatness and thrift and domestic comfort will be found within doors.

“When Mr. Allison settled at Thaxed-Grange, English gardens were beginning generally to profit by the benevolent and happy endeavours of Peter Collinson to improve them. That singularly good man availed himself of his mercantile connection, and of the opportunities afforded him by the Royal Society, of which he was one of the most diligent and useful members, to procure seeds and plants from all parts of the world, and these he liberally communicated to his friends. So they found their way first into the gardens of the curious, then of the rich, and lastly, when their beauty recommended them, spread themselves in those of ordinary persons. He divided his time between the counting-house in Grace-church street, and his country house and garden at Mill Hill near Hendon; it might have grieved him could he have foreseen that his grounds there would pass into the hands of a purchaser who in mere ignorance rooted out the rarest plants, and cut down trees which were scarcely to be found in perfection any where else in the kingdom at that time.

“Mr. Collinson was a man of whom it was truly said that, not having any public station, he was the means of procuring national advantages for his country, and possessed an influence which wealth cannot purchase, and will be honoured when titles are forgotten. For thirty years he executed gratuitously the commissions of the Philadelphia Subscription Library, the first that was established in America; he assisted the directors in their choice of books, took the whole care of collecting and shipping them, and transmitted to the directors the earliest account of every improvement in agriculture and the arts, and of every philosophical discovery.

“Franklin, who was the founder of that library, made his first electrical experiments with an apparatus that had been sent to it as a present by Peter Collinson. He deemed it, therefore, a proper mark of acknowledgment to inform him of the success with which it had been used, and his first essays on electricity were originally communicated to this good man. They were

read in the Royal Society, 'where they were not thought worth so much notice as to be printed in their transactions;' and his paper in which the sameness of lightning with electricity was first asserted, was laughed at by the connoisseurs. Peter Collinson, however, gave the letters to Cave for the Gentleman's Magazine. Cave forming a better judgment than the Royal Society had done, printed them separately in a pamphlet for which Dr. Fothergill wrote a preface; the pamphlet by successive additions swelled to a volume in quarto which went through five editions, and, as Franklin observes, 'cost Cave nothing for copy money.'

"What a contrast between this English Quaker and Monsieur La Cour at Leyden, who, having raised a double tuberosc from the seed, and propagated it by the roots till he had as many as he could find room to plant, destroyed the rest as fast as they were produced, that he might boast of being the only person in Europe who possessed it."

We present this passage entire, from that curious book of miscellanies, "The Doctor," which having no index, and one part having no connection with another, except that each was written down by Southey, few know all the good things it contains. The author's allusion to Franklin and the conduct of the Royal Society, are in a spirit above the prejudices which sometimes influence the judgment of a poet-laureate, and there are some who will suspect that Southey was not aware of the high compliment he was bestowing upon this country in his praise of Peter Collinson; or, where it was that Peter found such extensive means of conferring good upon his fellow subjects of the kingdom of England. It has a marked emphasis as coming from a high churchman, in reference to a simple quaker.

There is true magnanimity in the manner he speaks of, and leaves behind him an abiding testimonial to reprove, the Royal Society's treatment of Franklin's great discovery; his political affinities, for the greater part of his life, were of the *Wedderburne* school, and those prejudices and partialities which influence most men, imparting a tinge to their feelings and clouding their judgments, were in sympathy with the king's attorney-general in his signally notorious arraignment of Franklin

before the British nation.* Whoever looks at his likeness in the life just published by his son, will see more of the expression of a lover of truth and nature, than of a servile hanger-on to monarchy and aristocracy. Its pages tell us also, that in his college days, he planned, with Coleridge and others, a settlement in this Western world, as Hampden and Cromwell had once done. He was, perhaps, the best informed man, upon the greatest variety of subjects, of his day; and, if we mistake not, will in time be judged more charitably by our countrymen.

But what about this book which tells us so much that we did not know before of Peter Collinson, without any reference to him in the title-page?

Its first few pages are devoted to a brief sketch of the progress of botany in North America—comprehensive and condensed—beginning with the work of Jac. Cornutus on the plants of Canada, published in 1635, and John Josslyn's New England rarities of 1672, and coming down to the doings of the "accomplished and indefatigable" Asa Gray now *in medias res*. In looking over this sketch it is interesting to see such names as those of Logan, Clayton, Colden, Mitchell, Muhlenberg, intimately connected with the history of natural science.

We next find a biographical sketch of John Bartram, principally taken from a work by his son; followed by a description of a visit to him at the age of seventy, purporting to be from the pen of a Russian gentleman, which is a perfect daguerreotype picture of him and his surroundings, giving us an equally life-like sketch of the inner as of the outer man.†

* Those who search out the secret springs of action which produce great events, may discover here what gave that intenseness to the animosity which prepared our countrymen for blood.

† As this paper is a literary curiosity, we copy a letter from "the honourable and venerable Samuel Breck, of Philadelphia," to be found in a note at page 44 of the memorials, which gives the following account of Hector Saint John de Crevecoeur, who published letters as an American Farmer, and is now ascertained to have once appeared as Iwan Alexiowitz, the Russian gentleman referred to.

"In the year 1787 (says Mr. Breck) I arrived at Paris from the Royal and Military College of Soreze, in the then province of Languedoc, where I had spent more than four years. Thomas Jefferson, who was our plenipotentiary at the Court of Louis XVI., was travelling in Italy. A young Virginian, Mr. Short, received me in the Minister's name, being his secretary, and made me acquainted with a very amiable Frenchman, who had resided in the United States, and written there a work, entitled, 'Letters from an American Farmer,' flattering and favourable to our country. This gentleman was Hector Saint John de Crevecoeur.

The greater part of the volume is then taken up with the correspondence of John Bartram. The reminiscences of Humphry Marshall and his correspondence, occupy comparatively few pages, but all instructive and interesting.

The letters of Peter Collinson spread over a period of thirty-four years, and furnish a large portion of the *materiel* of which the work is composed. This *materiel* has been reclaimed from the dust, and mould, and lumber, of seventy years gone by, furbished up, arranged, and presented to us in an intelligible and attractive shape, without any apparent ambition on the part of the editor, but to do justice to his subject. His intense love of this is apparent from the care, and time, and labour bestowed upon it. That it was worth all it cost to bring these mouldering relics to light, every man of science, every man of sense, and every man of heart will say, who reads the book.

His work was exceedingly popular in France, and the fame acquired by it was a passport to the highest circles. The romantic descriptions in which he had indulged, in reference to the manners and primitive habits of our countrymen, made some of the great lords and ladies of Paris desirous to see a native American; among others a Polish princess took a fancy to see me, upon Saint John's report to her of his acquaintance with me, and invited me to dine with her. I went there accompanied by Mons. Crevecœur.

"That gentleman took me another day to dine with Mons. De Beaumenoir, at his apartments at the Hotel des Invalides, of which he was governor, and who had a daughter about to embark for New York, in the same packet that Mr. De Crevecœur and I had both taken passage. She was coming out to America, under St. John's protection, to marry M. De La Forest, who was then French consul at New York, and afterwards became a man of some note, as a diplomatist under Napoleon, who raised him to the dignity of a baron of his empire. St. John himself had been made consul general by King Louis.

"That kind friend took me, one morning, to visit Brissot De Warville, who served Philip d'Egalite (father of king Louis Phillippe) in some capacity, and had apartments at his residence, the Palais Royale. There we were received by Brissot. The Marquis de Valady, son-in-law of the Marquis de Vandrenil, presented me with a copy of St. John's letters, which I still possess. St. John was by nature, by education, and by his writings, a philanthropist; a man of serene temper and pure benevolence; the milk of human kindness circulated in every vein; of manners unassuming, prompt to serve, slow to censure; intelligent, beloved, and highly worthy of the esteem and respect he every where received. His society on ship-board was a treasure.

"He had a daughter, whose early history was marked by passages sufficiently curious and eventful, to make her the heroine of a novel. She married Mr. Otto, a French gentleman, who was an attaché, I think, to the Consular Office; and who rose under the revolutionary government of France to considerable diplomatic rank, even to the embassy to England for a short time."

The voyage above referred to is the same mentioned by Mr. Breck in his interesting letter recently published, wherein he describes New York as it appeared on his landing there, before we had a Constitution.

Some have thought it required sifting, and that there was some chaff which might be dispensed with in another edition. This may have been the general opinion on its first appearance; and we confess ourselves to have been of this mind until after perusing it carefully. But the oftener we read it, the more difficult do we find the task to point out any thing that should be omitted—the more unwilling are we to part with a single page or an individual letter. It abounds in those blessed little amenities which go to make life happy and a book entertaining; intermixed with ten thousand minutiae of the observations, studies and speculations of diligent inquirers into the secrets of Natural History, at the first dawn, as it were, of the sun of science. Its *naïveté* and simplicity, nay, its very imperfections even, add to its interest, after we become a little accustomed to them, inasmuch as they make it all a reality, taking us into the actual presence of those who lived a hundred years ago.

The editor cannot fail to attract to himself some portion of the admiration he has awakened for those whose memory he embalms. The work is worthy of the expense, good taste, and artistic skill with which it has been presented to us by the publishers, if it were only to illustrate the truth of what Linnæus said of Bartram, and what Fothergill said of Collinson's relations to him—“*The greatest natural botanist in the world.*” This from one to whom botanists concede the title of “The immortal Swede,” is, most truly—*Laus, laudari a laudato viro*—the greatest natural botanist in the world, in the time of Linnæus, upon the authority of Linnæus! And Peter Collinson “may almost be said to have created him such!” The lovers of nature everywhere, to whom the London merchant pointed him out, regarded him with admiration; the *savans* of Europe anxiously sought his correspondence; nobles and princes patronized his labours, and learned societies conferred upon him the highest testimonials of esteem. He was not only a man of science, but a man of genius. He was also endowed with extraordinary capacities of body as well as mind, enabling him to endure fatigue, encounter danger, overcome difficulties, undergo privation, and persevere to the end, whatever great object he had in view. Like Newton, in simple facts he saw great principles, and traced them out with profound interest and untiring

assiduity. Thus he became a man of great attainments. But he was not only a man of science, a man of genius, and a man of great capacities—he was a man of great virtues. His life is scarce more distinguished by his discoveries in the secrets of nature, than by his reverence for the great Author of those secrets, and love of his fellow creatures, for whose enjoyment in common with his own, they were in infinite wisdom contrived. His enthusiastic devotion to the study of nature's handiwork did not prevent his attention to the common business of life, the cultivation of his fields, provision for his family, building his house "with his own hands," "training up his children in the way in which they should go," and settling them in life. He was prudent, temperate, charitable, hospitable; maintaining a strict regard for the rights of others, and being scrupulously attentive to all the proprieties of life. It is among the most striking and interesting things to be remarked upon the long and cherished intimacy between him and the excellent Peter Collinson, that Peter's early letters abound with oft repeated and emphatic cautions to his friend John, not to allow these delightful studies of nature, equally cherished by them both, to interfere with attention to the duties of life, industry in business, economy, and care of his private affairs; and that the result should have been, while the London merchant, the prudent counsellor, was successful in business for a time, amassed a large estate, and to the last was highly and universally esteemed for substantial virtues, he fell himself into the enticing snare against which he had so anxiously guarded his friend, leaving an estate greatly dilapidated when he died; while John Bartram held on to the last, with his industries, economies, and care of his estate. The arrears of his claims upon Peter Collinson had accumulated to an amount which gave great anxiety to the son who succeeded him, and drew out the melancholy fact, that his father had felt himself obliged, at over seventy years of age, after a life so much devoted to the public, to ask a small pension from the king, and that it had been denied him.

Our authority for what Linnæus said of Bartram is Francis Lieber. Such applause from one so much applauded, must of itself cause naturalists to look with intense interest into memoirs of his life and doings. All liberal and inquiring minds

must be interested to know something of his biography, of whom, one of the highest compliments which could be paid to so good a man as Peter Collinson by the just and discriminating Fothergill, was to say, that he made John Bartram what he was.

He was of the third generation after those who came over with Penn, and settled as agriculturists upon the banks of the Delaware along side of their predecessors, the Swedes, and where the two races have since mingled their blood and extended themselves, constituting now an industrious, virtuous, and thriving population, with agricultural improvements, and a general state of worldly prosperity arising from this source, unsurpassed in any quarter of the Union. In his early career he was cotemporary with James Logan, who was himself a distinguished naturalist, and one of the first to appreciate the great idea of Linnæus; having tested by his own experiments, early, the truth of the sexes of plants. This learned and eminent man took a deep interest in John Bartram's devotion to natural science, and helped to give him character with Peter Collinson, and make him known to the *savans* abroad, to whom, at that time, an opportunity to correspond with a great natural botanist in the new world was of inestimable value. He was also, as we have already seen, cotemporary with Benjamin Franklin, who contributed in no small degree with Logan and Collinson to extend his reputation abroad. Indeed it may with truth be said that there was scarcely an individual in this country, after Logan and Franklin, who made himself more highly esteemed in Europe in the age in which he lived, than this Pennsylvania farmer.

The ancient county of Chester, adjoining Philadelphia on the south and west, was originally settled by the countrymen of Linnæus, and their descendants still flourish in the same region. When William Penn came over, many of his agricultural friends, with ample means and the characteristic virtue of thrift, located themselves, as before observed, in this county. But little more than a century and a half has rolled by, and there are now near a hundred houses of worship of the society of Friends in what was once Chester county; the county of Delaware having since been divided off from it on the south-east. This county gave

birth to John Bartram and Humphry Marshall, and it was fit and proper that their natal soil should also produce for them a memorialist. Its capital town, from whence this work originates, is not a little signalized for its attention to botanical and horticultural pursuits. It has its Hall of the Cabinet of Natural Science and its Horticultural Hall, with extensive collections in the various departments of the works of nature. A taste for the study of the natural sciences, and special delight in the cultivation of trees, plants, fruits and flowers, would seem to be indigenous with the dwellers in that region. Their anniversary horticultural exhibition is a great gala day, bringing together thousands of the substantial citizens, with wives and children, their countenances lighted up with a smile which indicates the joy they take in it.

Bartram and Marshall were farmers, and the sons of farmers; they cultivated their own acres and built their own houses "with their own hands." The woodcuts of these houses as they now stand, which we see in Dr. Darlington's book, give some idea of the substantial and the comfortable which prevailed among Friends in the construction of their dwellings, in Chester county, a hundred years gone by. In mind, and in reputation, these sons of the soil and distinguished naturalists were also self-cultivated, self-educated men. Brought into intimate contact, by their daily avocations, with some of the most interesting works of nature, they did not close their eyes, as so many of us do, to the beauties and wonders by which they were surrounded. They regarded with scrutinizing curiosity the springing blade, the opening bud, the blooming flower, the ripening fruit, with which nature seemed alive in all but infinite varieties. They soon found it to be among their highest earthly pleasures to make themselves acquainted with the secrets, principles, and and unnumbered varieties of the system, in this department of nature's wonder-workings. The enthusiasm with which respectively and successively they devoted themselves to the study, and the industry and perseverance with which they followed it, was accompanied with a modesty, prudence, worth, and other sterling virtues, which must endear their memory to all who read their lives, and give it a place in the inner shrine of every

naturalist. Linnæus, Sir Hans Sloane, Solander, Philip Miller, Gronovius, and Dillenius were among the correspondents of John Bartram. Dr. Fothergill, Sir Joseph Banks, and Dr. Franklin were among those of Humphry Marshall.

No two men in this country ever contributed so much to the botanical treasures of England, nor anything like so much to the chief ornaments of her grounds.

In proof of Bartram's *genius*, some letters of this self-educated Pennsylvania farmer may be cited, which are scarcely surpassed in beauty of thought and style by anything in our language.

The following passage from the work before us, teaches us how naturalists give their hearts to each other:

In a letter from Dr. Garden to Linnæus, dated Charleston, South Carolina, March 15, 1755, that gentleman says: 'When I came to New York, I immediately inquired for *Coldenhamia*, the seat of that most eminent botanist, Mr. Colden. Here, by good fortune, I first met with John Bartram, returning from the Blue Mountains, as they are called. How grateful was such a meeting to me! And how unusual in this part of the world! What congratulations and what salutations passed between us! How happy should I be to pass my life with men so distinguished by genius, acuteness, and liberality, as well as by eminent botanical learning and experience! Men, in whom the greatest knowledge and skill are united to the most amiable candour,

——— *Animæ, quales neque candidiores
Terra tulit.*

Such an estimate of Bartram, and such a report of him to the great master of the science in which they all rejoiced, is confirmed by the following letter, which bears date in 1762, and shows that their kind feelings were reciprocal. If there is any thing to surpass it in our language, it has not met our eye. The letter is from John Bartram to Dr. Garden.

"My dear worthy friend, I am much affected every time that I read thy pious reflections on the wonderful works of the omnipotent and omniscient Creator. The more we search and accurately examine his works in nature, the more wisdom we discover, whether we observe the mineral, vegetable, or animal

kingdom. But, as I am chiefly employed with the vegetable, I shall enlarge more upon it.

“What charming colours appear in the various tribes, in the regular succession of the vernal and autumnal flowers—these so nobly bold, those so delicately languid! What a glow is enkindled in some, what a gloss shines in others! With what a masterly skill is every one of the varying tints disposed! Here, they seem to be thrown on with an easy dash of security and freedom; there, they are adjusted by the nicest touches. The verdure of the empalement, or the shading of the petals, impart new liveliness to the whole, whether they are blended or arranged. Some are intersected with delicate stripes, or stud-ded with radiant spots; others affect to be genteelly powdered, or neatly fringed; others are plain in their aspect, and please with their naked simplicity. Some are arrayed in purple; some charm with the virgin’s white; others are dashed with crimson; while others are robed in scarlet. Some glitter like silver lace; others shine as if embroidered with gold. Some rise with curious cups, or pendulous bells; some are disposed in spreading umbels, others crowd in spiked clusters; some are dispersed on spreading branches of lofty trees, on dangling catkins; others sit contented on the humble shrub; some seated on high in the twining vine, and wafted to and fro; others garnish the prostrate, creeping plant. All these have their particular excellences; some for the beauty of their flowers; others their sweet scent; many the elegance of foliage, or the goodness of their fruit; some the nourishment that their roots afford us; others please the fancy with their regular growth; some are admired for their odd appearance, and many that offend the taste, smell, and sight, too, are of virtue in physic.

“But when we nearly examine the various motions of plants and flowers, in their evening contraction and morning expansion, they seem to be operated upon by something superior to only heat and cold, or shade and sunshine; such as the surprising tribes of the sensitive plants, and the petals of many flowers shutting close up in rainy weather, or in the evening, until the female part is fully impregnated: and if we won’t allow them real feeling, or what we call sense, it must be some action next degree inferior to it, for which we want a proper

epithet, or the immediate finger of God, to whom be all glory and praise." * * * *

"I don't dwell so long on the vegetable kingdom, as though I thought the wisdom and power of God were only manifest therein. The contemplation of the mineral, and especially the animal, will equally incline the pious heart to overflow with daily adorations and praises to the grand Giver and Supporter of universal life. But what amazing distant glories are disclosed in a midnight scene! Vast are the bodies which roll in the immense expanse! Orbs beyond orbs without number, suns beyond suns, systems beyond systems, with their proper inhabitants of the great Jehovah's empire, how can we look at these without amazement, or contemplate the Divine Majesty that rules them, without the most humble adoration? Esteeming ourselves, with all our wisdom, but as one of the smallest atoms of dust praising the living God, the great I AM."

The promptings of this beautiful effusion will be better understood perhaps by here perusing one or two extracts from Dr. Garden's prior letters to him:

"How eminently happy are those hours, which the humble and philosophic mind spends in investigating and contemplating the inconceivable beauties and mechanism of the works of nature; the true manifestations of that supremely wise and powerful Agent who daily upholds and blesses us.

"May that Fatherly Being continue to enlighten your mind, till that hour come, when the parting of this veil will lay before your eyes a new and more glorious field of contemplation, and still more unutterable sights of bliss."

Dr. Garden had before written to him in these words:

"I rejoice with you, on your increasing collection of these curious productions of the all-wise hand of our omnipotent Creator. May your soul be daily more filled with an humble admiration of his works, and your lips exercised in his praise."

* * * *

"When this scene of things passes away, and the great and first Author of all leads us to fields of a more rich and fertile clime, there shall we proceed with fresh vigour and enlarged faculties to view him nearer, worship and adore more strongly, and live more willingly within the pale of universal love. How

great is our God! How wonderful are his works, sought out of all them that take pleasure therein. Your letters, particularly, give me pleasure. They always contain something new and entertaining on some new-discovered work of God."

We now cite some passages from the correspondence, to show how Peter Collinson helped John Bartram, and was in truth the great means whereby he became so distinguished as to be "the greatest natural botanist in the world." Peter Collinson's first published letter is dated in 1734. In 1736, we find this paragraph: "Thy kind neighbour, James Logan, is so good as to order me to buy thee *Parkinson's Herbal*. He has shown a very tender regard for thee, in his letter to me. It may look grateful, every now and then, to call and enquire after thy friend Logan's welfare. He is a great man in every capacity, and for whom I have the highest value."

About the same time James Logan writes thus to the young but rising naturalist:

"FRIEND J. BARTRAM—Last night, in the twilight, I received the enclosed, and opened it by mistake. Last year Peter sent me some tables, which I never examined till since I last saw thee. They are six very large sheets, in which the author [Linnæus] digests all the productions of nature in classes.

"His method in the vegetables is altogether new, for he takes all his distinctions from the *stamina* and the *styles*, the first of which he calls husbands, and the other wives.

"The performance is very curious, and at this time worth thy notice. I would send it to thee, but, being in Latin, it will want some explanation, which after I have given thee, thou wilt, I believe, be fully able to deal with it thyself, since thou generally knows the plants' names. If thou wilt step to town to-morrow, thou wilt find me there with them at E. Shippen's, or J. Pemberton's, from twelve to three. I want also to say something further to thee, on microscopical observations.

"Thy real friend,

"J. LOGAN.

"Stenton, 19th of June, 1736."

This letter furnishes the evidence that Peter Collinson was the first one to call Logan's attention to the great discovery of Linnæus, and put the means in his power which led him to those experiments whereby he tested its truth, and made the publication which added so greatly to his own fame.

The next year Peter concludes a letter to his friend thus:

"Now, dear John, I have made some running remarks on thy curious letter, which contains so many fine remarks, that it deserved to be read before the Royal Society; and thee has their thanks for it, desiring thee to continue thy observations, and communicate them. I say make no apology. Thy style is much beyond what one might expect from a man of thy education. The facts are well described, and very intelligible."

In another, the same year, he says to him:

"Thy map of Schuylkill, is very prettily done, and very informing; now I can read and travel at the same time. Lord Petre has seen it, and is much pleased with that and thy journal; one helps to illustrate the other. I intend to communicate it to a curious map-maker: it may be of use to him in laying down that part of the river Schuylkill, undescribed."

March 3, 1741-2.—He writes:

"DEAR FRIEND JOHN:—By our good friend Captain Wright, I have sent Sir Hans's kind present, of his Natural History of Jamaica, in two volumes. These I have put in a box I had made on purpose for them, and directed it on two places for thee; and with it I sent on board, in a canvass wrapper, a large bundle of paper, a present from Dr. Dillenius, which, I think, will furnish thee with paper for specimens, and for seeds, for thy life time. It is fine Dutch paper, and very fit for such purposes, because it will bear ink."

(Then, after cordially thanking him for divers rare and curious objects of Natural History, just received, a bare reference to each of which occupies two printed pages, he goes on,)

"I thank thee for thy curious present of thy map, and thy draught of the fall of the river Owegos (?). I was really both delighted and surprised to see it so naturally done, and at thy ingenuity in the performance. Upon my word, friend John, I can't help admiring thy abilities in so many instances. I shall

be sparing to say what more I think. A man of thy prudence will place this to a right account, to encourage thee to proceed gently in these curious things, which belong to a man of leisure and not to a man of business. The main chance must be minded. Many an ingenious man has lost himself for want of this regard, by devoting too much of his time to these matters. A hint thee will take in friendship: thy obliging, grateful disposition may carry thee too far. I am glad and delight much in all these things—none more: but then I would not purchase them at the expense of my friend's precious time—to the detriment of his interest, and business, (now, dear John, take me right.) I showed them to Sir Hans. He was much pleased. Lord Petre deservedly much admires them; and, indeed, does every one that sees them, when they are told who was the performer.

“All this is writ by rote, or from memory, for I dare not, nay, I cannot, look into my letters; for I have no time to add more, but to tell thee—in the trunk of the Library Company, thee'll find a suit of clothes for thyself. This may serve to protect thy outward man, being a drugget coat, black waistcoat, and shagg breeches. And now, that thou may see I am not thoughtless of thy better part, I send thee R. Barclay's *Apology*, to replenish thy inward man. So farewell.”

In a postscript he adds:

“There is a map, and another parcel or two besides for thee, and Catesby's books; and Dr. Dillenius will send thee his *History of Mosses*.”

It is but just that we should say, John Bartram's views differed in many respects from those of his friend Collinson, both in his religious and political creed, and this is perhaps the proper place to refer to it.

When Bartram acknowledged the receipt of the last letter and its accompaniments, he concludes thus:

“I am greatly obliged to thee for thy present of a suit of clothes, which just came in the right time; and Barclay's *Apology* I shall take care of for thy sake. It answers thy advice much better than if thee had sent me one of *Natural History*, or *Botany*, which I should have spent ten times the

hours in reading of, while I have laboured for the maintenance of my family. Indeed, I have little respect to *apologies* and disputes about the ceremonial parts of religion, which often introduce animosities, confusion, and disorders of the mind—and sometimes body too: but, dear Peter, let us worship the One Almighty Power, in sincerity of heart, with resignation to his divine will, doing to others as we would have them do to us, if we were in their circumstances. Living in love and innocence, we may die in hope.”

There are many other passages throughout the correspondence, which indicate that the germ of those seeds which have since rent the society in twain, was cherished by these friends respectively, in opposition to each other, a century past.

John Bartram also seems to have agreed with Logan* as to the necessity of defensive war, while Peter Collinson adhered to strict views of Friends on this subject.

It still remains a study for the casuists, and is worthy of the best thoughts and most profound consideration of the wisest men, whether William Penn's great idea of founding a State, upon the principle of “love to God, and good will to man;” without recourse, under any conceivable circumstances to defensive war—to all necessary resistance to attack, or assault, could have been carried into effect without such men as James Logan at his right hand, whose principles so far adapted themselves to the actually existing state of things as to do what was necessary to be done, when the alternative came; to die yourself, suffer wives and children, old and young, the brightest and the best, to be cut down and all your human hopes destroyed, or to take the lives of your murderous assailants.

Logan's idea was, “that all government is founded on force,” and involves the necessity of defensive war; and he expresses the surprise with which he learned from Penn, on their first voyage to this country, the different views held by his patron the great philanthropist.

Franklin relates a singular anecdote of great point, as having

*See “A letter from James Logan to the Society of Friends, on the subject of their opposition in the Legislature to all means for the defence of the colony, September 22d, 1741.” *Article V. of the Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Vol. I. No. 1, May, 1851.*

come from Logan himself, detailing an occurrence on this voyage which led to an interchange of views.

Many distinguished individuals conforming to the principles of Friends in other respects, have been of James Logan's mind, in this particular. Of this number may be mentioned, John Dickinson and William Rawle, as well as John Bartram.

But the letter of James Logan, which now first appears in print, we are told was held by the committee of the yearly meeting to which it had been referred "unfit to be read to the meeting."

There were frequent passages between them as to Pitt, of whom Bartram was a great admirer. The following is from Collinson, in 1763:

"But my dear John, I am sorry to say thou art of that unhappy cast of mind there is no pleasing.

"Look into Pitt's peace, and see what a pitiful figure we should have made when he adopted Montcalm's boundary for our colonies. As Pitt did it, and accepted it, and made it the foundation of his peace—it was glorious! Pray look back and see what slaughter and destruction the Cherokees made (when Pitt's British glory was lost in Germany) on the back settlements of Carolina; but every thing the turn-coat did was glorious with my dear John! He heard all their cruelties, but did not then open his lips to complain. Whilst Pitt was sacrificing thousands of the best British heroes to his projects on the coast of France, to gratify his vanity—all was glorious!

"My dear John, take heart, and don't be carried away with reports. Revive thy drooping spirits, and look forward and hope for the best." . . .

"*Glorious* Pitt so presides in my dear John's mind he is invincible to complaints, except on the *sorry peace* that hath given so great an empire to Britain!" . . .

"I have a great respect for Pitt, and he has his merits; but every thing he did was not glorious, though my friend John thinks so."

But their most remarkable difference of views perhaps—one frequently, fully, and we may say ably discussed between them, was as to our treatment of the Indians. Bartram seems to have felt that their extermination was inevitable upon the approach

of civilized man; as much so as that of the beasts of the forest, and the most venomous reptiles; that they were irreclaimable; incapable of civilization; that all Christian efforts were lost upon them; while Collinson uniformly, earnestly, and perseveringly inculcated opposite views.

All will be interested to see a portion of this correspondence respecting the natives. It will be found curious, interesting, and instructive.

JOHN BARTRAM TO PETER COLLINSON.

“ February 21, 1756.

DEAR PETER—We are now in a grievous distressed condition; the barbarous, inhuman, ungrateful natives weekly murdering our back inhabitants; and those few Indians that profess some friendship to us, are watching for an opportunity to ruin us. And we that are near the city are under apprehensions too from the neutral French, which are sent among us full of resentment and revenge, although they yet appear tolerably civil when we feed them with the best we can afford. They are very fond of their brethren, the Irish and Dutch Romans, which are very numerous amongst us, many of which openly declare their wishes that the French and Indians would destroy us all; and others of them privately rejoice at our calamities. O deplorable condition! that we suspect our friend of treachery while he is willing to assist us, and can't discover our enemy till it is too late!

“By what we can understand by the reports of our back inhabitants, most of the Indians which are so cruel, are such as were almost daily familiars at their houses, ate, drank, cursed, and swore together—were even intimate playmates; and now, without any provocation, destroy all before them with fire, ball, and tomahawk. They commonly now shoot with rifles, with which they will at a great distance, from behind a tree, fence, ditch or rock, or under the covert of leaves, take such sure aim as seldom misseeth their mark. If they attack a house that is pretty well manned, they creep behind some fence, or hedge, or tree, and shoot red hot iron slugs, or punk, into the roof, and fire the house over their heads; and if they run out they are sure to be shot at, and most or all of them killed. If they

come to a house where most of the family are women and children, they break into it, kill them all, plunder the house, and burn it with the dead in it; or if any escape out, they pursue and kill them. If the cattle are in the stable, they fire it and burn the stable; if they are out, they are shot, and the barn burnt. If our captains pursue them in the level woods, they skip from tree to tree like monkeys; if in the mountains, like wild goats they leap from rock to rock, or hide themselves, and attack us in flank and rear, when, but the minute before, we pursued their track and thought they were all before us. They are like the angel of death—give us the mortal stroke when we think ourselves secure from danger.

“O Pennsylvania! thou that was the most flourishing and peaceable province in North America, art now scourged by the most barbarous creatures in the universe. All ages, sexes, and stations, have no mercy extended to them.” . . .

History does not contain a more graphic description of the character of early Indian warfare. Those amongst us who are disposed to be very severe upon the first settlers in New England for their frequent contests with the natives, and indulge themselves in invidious comparisons, might read this correspondence with profit. The question has two sides; and let us ever remember, with Jeremy Taylor, that severe judgment should begin at home.

JOHN BARTRAM TO PETER COLLINSON.

“ September 30, 1763.

DEAR PETER—I have now travelled near thirty years through our provinces, and in some, twenty times in the same provinces, and yet never, as I remembér, once found one single species in all after times, that I did not observe in my first journey through the same province. But many times I found that plant the first which neither I nor any person could find after, which plants, I suppose, were destroyed by the cattle. . . . The first time I crossed the Shenandoah I saw one or two plants, or rather stalk and seed of the *Meadia*, on its bank. I jumped off, got the seed, and brought it home, sent part to thee, and part I sowed myself—both which succeeded; and if I had not gone to that spot, perhaps it had been wholly lost to the world.

John Clayton asked me where I found it; I described the very spot to him, but neither he nor any person from him could find it after. O! what a noble discovery I could have made on the banks of the Ohio and Mississippi, if I had gone down, and the Indians had been peaceably inclined, as I knew many plants that grew on its northern branches. But we are at present all disappointed.

"I read lately, in our newspaper, of a noble and absolutely necessary scheme that was proposed in England, if it was practicable; that was, to search all the country of Canada and Louisiana for all natural productions, convenient situations for manufactories, and different soils, minerals, and vegetables; the last of which I dare take upon myself, as I know more of the North American plants than any others. But this would alarm the Indians to the highest degree. All the discoverers would be exposed to the greatest savage cruelty—the gun, tomahawk, torture, or revengeful, devouring jaws. Before this scheme can be executed, the Indians must be subdued, or drove above a thousand miles back. No treaty will make discovery safe. Many years past, in our most peaceable times, far beyond the mountains, as I was walking in a path with an Indian guide, hired for two dollars, an Indian man met me and pulled off my hat in a great passion, and chewed it all round—I suppose to show me that he would eat me if I came into that country again."

"October 23d, 1763.

"DEAR PETER—* * * * *

The most probable, and only method to establish a lasting peace with the barbarous Indians, is to bang them stoutly, and make them sensible that we are men whom they for many years despised as women; until then, it is only throwing away men, blood, and treasure, to make peace with them. They will not keep to any treaty of peace. They all are, with their fathers, the French, resolved to drive the English out of North America. And although some tribes pretend to be neutral friends, it is only with a design to supply the rest with ammunition to murder us. Perhaps now, and only now, is the critical time offered to

Britain to secure not only her old possessions, but her so much boasted new acquisitions, in sending us sufficient supplies to repel effectually those barbarous savages."

PETER COLLINSON TO JOHN BARTRAM.

"Ridgeway House, December 6, 1763.

"I am here retired, all alone, from the bustle and hurry of the town, meditating on the comforts I enjoy; and while the old log is burning, the fire of friendship is blazing—warms my imagination with reflecting on the variety of incidents that hath attended our long and agreeable correspondence.

"My dear John, thou dost not consider the law of right, and doing to others as we would be done unto.

"We, every manner of way, trick, cheat, and abuse these Indians with impunity. They were notoriously jockeyed and cheated out of their land in your province, by a man walking a tract of ground in one day, that was to be purchased of them.

"Your Governor promised the Indians, if they would not join the French, that when the war was over our troops would withdraw from Pittsburg. They sent to claim this promise, but were shuffled off. They resented it, as that fortress was situated on their hunting country.

"I could fill this letter with our arbitrary proceedings, all the colonies through; with our arbitrary, illegal taking their lands from them, making them drunk, and cheating them of their property. As their merciless, barbarous methods of revenge and resentment are so well known, our people should be more careful how they provoke them. Let a person of power come and take five or ten acres of my friend John's land from him, and give him half price, or no price for it, how easy and resigned he would be, and submit to such usage! But if an Indian resents it in this way, instead of doing him justice, and making peace with him, nothing but fire and faggot will do with my friend John! He does not search into the bottom of these insurrections. They are smothered up, because we are the aggressors. But see my two proposals, in the October Gentleman's Magazine, for a peace with the Indians.

* * * * *

"What a glorious scene is opened in that rich country about

Pensacola—if that despised country is worthy thy visitation. But because Pitt did not get it, thou canst not venture there on any pretence! All beyond the Carolinas is forbidden ground. They are none of thy darling Pitt's acquisitions!

* * * * *

"I hope what I have writ will be read with candour. Our long friendship will allow us to rally one another, and crack a joke without offence, as none was intended by thy sincere friend,
P. COLLINSON."

"London, January 1, 1763 (4).

"I am very thankful to the great Author of my being that I enter the new year in perfect good health and spirits. I heartily wish the like comfortable situation may attend my dear friend and his family.

* * * * *

"Thy quick discernment of plants is a knack peculiar to thyself, and is attained by the long exercise of thy faculties in that amusement, and is like the hare finders with us. Some can't discover them if close under their feet; others see them at a great distance.

"Indeed, my dear John, I must congratulate you on that happy discovery of my favourite *Meadia*. It is really remarkable none should be found since.

"I hear nothing more of that proposal thee mentions; but if there were any real intention of carrying it into execution, no one properer than thyself for Natural History and Botany.

"That the Indians should be alarmed at our sounding or measuring—I don't wonder they should be jealous of our invasion of their property. Every man is tenacious of his native rights, and if you invade their rights, you must take the consequences. Let those be well banged—I may say well hanged—that, by their unjust proceedings, provoked the Indians to hostilities, knowing before-hand their cruel resentments."

Bartram says to Collinson:

"March 4th, 1764.

* * * * *

"I think our Indians received a full value for that cheating

walk, and pretended to be fully satisfied with what they received above the first agreement; and as for Pittsburg, they let the French settle and build there; then why may not the English, after they had drove the French out, keep possession of it? And as the Indians have committed such barbarous destruction on our people, we have more reason to destroy them and possess their land than you have to keep Canada. And must all our provinces suffer a prodigious yearly expense, and have thousands of our innocent people barbarously murdered, because some of our traders made them drunk to get a skin cheap?—or an Irishman settles on a bit of their land which they will never make use of? And if we must settle any more land, or any of the branches of the Mississippi, pray say no more about our great British empire, while we must not be a farthing the better for it.

“I should be exceedingly pleased, if I could afford it, to make a thorough search, not only at Pensacola, but the coast of Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and the banks of the Mississippi. I make no difference *who got it*, if I could but safely travel in it.

“My dear friend, I am so far from taking offence at thy familiar way of writing, that it gives me much pleasure.”

COLLINSON TO BARTRAM.

“March 7, 1764.

* * * * *

“Is it reasonable to think the Indians will love us, after such a cruel, unprovoked slaughter at Lancaster, &c.? I hope the authors will be made examples of justice.”

“Mill Hill, May 28, 1766.

* * * * *

“In all thy expeditions, didst thee fall in with any Indians? what nation? and how did they behave? Is there any disposition in them to continue in peace and friendship? There is much talk of civilizing them. A good, sensible man, named Hammerer, a foreigner, who was long in London, could not be easy without going to reside among the Cherokees, in order to try to bring them to a sense of moral duties.”

What Bartram saw and had to encounter in his botanical excursions through western New York at that early day, will be better understood by those who read the "Narrative of a Journey made in the year 1737, by Conrad Weiser, from Tulpehocken to Onondago," lately published by the Pennsylvania Historical Society. After overcoming all but unendurable hardships on his journey, in the mouths of February and March, upon his arrival among the natives of that then savage frontier, he gives us this account of a conversation with them. "I asked them how it happened that they were so short of provisions now, while twelve years ago they had a greater supply than all the other Indians; and now their children looked like dead persons, and suffered much from hunger. They answered, that now game was scarce, and that hunting had strangely failed since last winter; some of them had procured nothing at all. That the Lord and Creator of the world was resolved to destroy the Indians. One of their seers, whom they named, had seen a vision of God, who had said to him the following words: 'You inquire after the cause why game has become scarce. I will tell you. You kill it for the sake of the skins which you give for strong liquor, and drown your senses, and kill one another, and carry on a dreadful debauchery. Therefore have I driven the wild animals out of the country, for they are mine. If you will do good and cease from your sins I will bring them back; if not, I will destroy them from off the face of the earth.'

"I inquired if they believed what the seer had seen and heard. They answered, yes, some believed it would happen so, others also believed it, but gave themselves no concern about it. Time will show, said they, what is to happen to us; rum will kill us, and leave the land clear for the Europeans without strife or purchase." p. 17.

Upon another occasion he tells us:

"This was the hardest and most fatiguing day's journey I had ever made; my bodily strength was so much exhausted that I trembled and shook so much all over, I thought I must fall from weariness, and perish. I stepped aside and sat down under a tree to die, which I hoped would be hastened by the cold approaching night. When my companions remarked my absence, they waited for me some time, then returned to seek me,

and found me sitting under a tree. But I could not be persuaded to proceed, for I thought it beyond my power. The entreaties of the old chief and the sensible reasoning of Shikelimo* (who said that evil days were better for us than good, for the first often warned us against sins and washed them out, while the latter often enticed us to sin), caused me to alter my resolution, and I arose."

Peter Collinson enlisted several of his friends to contribute £10 each, as a yearly stipend, to stimulate, and partially remunerate Bartram for his researches and the treasures he sent them from the new world; and finally had him appointed king's botanist, with a salary of £50 a year.

The interest expressed by Lord Petre was truly wonderful, and nothing can exceed the mournful outpouring of the heart in a letter which announces the early death of this excellent nobleman, and which, for the pathos of its allusion to the parting, is worthy to be placed along side of Dr. Garden's illustration of how naturalists become attached to each other on their first acquaintance. But the letter must speak for itself.

"London, *July 3d*, 1742.

"OH! FRIEND JOHN:—I can't express the concern of mind that I am under, on so many accounts. I have lost my friend, my brother. The man I loved, and was dearer to me than all men—is no more. I could fill this sheet and many more; but Oh! my anxiety of mind is so great, that I can hardly write; and yet I must tell thee, that on Friday, July 20, our dear friend Lord Petre was carried off by the small pox, in the thirtieth year of his age. Hard, hard, cruel hard, to be taken from his friends, his family, his country, in the prime of life; when he had so many thousand things locked up in his heart, for the benefit of them all—now lost in embryo.

"I can go no further, but to assure thee that I am thy friend.

P. COLLINSON."

"All our schemes are broke.

"Send no seeds for him, nor the Duke of Norfolk; for now, he that gave motion, is motionless—all is at an end.

"As I know this will be a great disappointment to thee, if thou hast a mind to send the seeds, as was ordered for Lord

* Father of the Logan whom Jefferson has made memorable.

Petre and Duke of Norfolk on thy own account and risk—I will do what I can to dispose of them. The Duke of Norfolk shall have the preference; but there is no obliging him to take them, as I had not the order from him, but from Lord Petre.

“Send those for the Duke of Richmond and P. Miller.

“Lord Petre was a fine, tall, comely personage—handsome—had the presence of a prince; yet was so happily mixed, that love and awe were begot at the same time. The affability and sweetness of his temper were beyond expression, without the least mixture of pride or haughtiness. With an engaging smile he always met his friends. But Oh! the endowments of his mind were not to be described. Few or none could excel him in the knowledge of the liberal arts and sciences. He was a great mechanic as well as a great mathematician; ready at figures and calculations, and elegant in his tastes.

“In his religious way,* an example of great piety; his morals of great temperance and sobriety; no loose word, or *double entendre*, did I ever hear—(this is something of the man.) For his virtues, his excellencies, and his endowments, I loved him, and he me, more like a brother than a friend.”

Thirty years after their correspondence had commenced, Peter Collinson writes thus to John Bartram:

“I have pleasure upon pleasure beyond measure, with perusing my dear John’s letters of October 31st, with the rare plants in Eden.”

——“Think, my dear John, with what amazement and delight I, with Dr. Solander, surveyed the quire of specimens. He thinks near half are new genera. This will enrich the fountain of knowledge.”——“But what surprises us most, is the *Tipitiwitchet* Sensitive. It is quite a new species, a new genus.” (*Dionæa muscipula*).——”

Again, soon after—

“I am glad, my dear John, I can send our friend Solander’s catalogue of thy last curious collection of specimens. There are wonderful things amongst them, especially the Sensitive, *Empetrum*,” &c. * * * *

“They enrich our knowledge, and anticipate our pleasures,

* Lord Petre belonged to the Roman Catholic Church.

and give us a good idea of the riches in store, to gratify the botanists of after ages. O, botany! delightfulest of all sciences! There is no end of thy gratifications. All botanists will join with me in thanking my dear John for his unwearied pains to gratify every inquisitive genius. I have sent Linnæus a specimen, and one leaf of *Tipitiwitchet* Sensitive: only to him would I spare such a jewel. Pray send more specimens. I am afraid we can never raise it—Linnæus will be in raptures at the sight of it.”

Again under date of August 4th, 1763:

“My garden, like thine, makes a glorious appearance; with fine long-spiked purple *Ononis*; with the all-spice of Carolina [*Calycanthus floridus*, L.,] abundantly in flower—spreading its perfumes abroad; the detectable red-flowering *Acacia*; my laurel-leaved *Magnolia*, with its noble blossoms, which will continue for two months or more. The great *Rhododendron* has been glorious beyond expression; and before, I told thee of the mountain *Magnolia*, and the surprising flowers of the red and yellow *Sarracenia*. Thus, my dear John, thou sees I am not much behind thee in a fine show, but when thy Eden plants flower, I shall not be able to bear the report of them.”

——“Consider, my dear John, what pleasure I feel now, I can give thee an order for a ten guinea box, for young Lord Petre. Little did I think, when I gave thee the first like order for his valuable father in 1735 or 1736, that I should live to give the like for his son. It may be truly said that the spirit of Elijah rests on Elisha, for he began this year with a box of thy seeds.”

In acknowledging this, Bartram thus expresses himself:

“I am heartily glad that young Lord Petre is possessed of the botanical taste of his father. I wish he may resemble him in virtue. I have intended to inquire after him and his mother in every late letter. The pear raised from her seed hath borne a number of the finest relished fruit. I think a better is not in the world.”

In a note to which, the editor informs us, “This tree, known as ‘Lady Petre’s Pear tree,’ is still (1848) flourishing at the Bartram garden, standing close by the house.”

Peter Collinson, in 1764, when noticing Bartram’s last

remark, says: "It has been thy patience to wait, but my pleasure to hear of the delicious pear raised from Lady Petre's seed; but she, dear good woman, is gone to rest."

In 1765 he makes this announcement:

"I have the pleasure to inform my good friend, that my repeated solicitations have not been in vain. I this day received certain intelligence from our gracious king that he had appointed thee his botanist, with a salary of fifty pounds a year."

These are a few of the many, many specimens of the acts of kindness, expressions of sympathy and admiration, and long abiding, devoted friendship, which these letters present, holding up Peter Collinson as a pattern for the doers of good in all succeeding ages.

"He was one of the earliest and most constant correspondents of Linnæus, and was highly distinguished in the circle of naturalists and antiquaries in London, for nearly half a century."

It is a melancholy fact, to know from authentic sources, that the political prejudices of his son Michael, should have led him to undervalue his father's most intimate friend, John Fothergill, and detract from Fothergill's merit in that interesting sketch of the life of Collinson which appeared soon after his death. The undervaluation of Franklin and Bartram, which appears in the same work once published,* (now happily out of print, a manuscript copy only having come under our eye,) by Michael, betrays an intenseness of political prejudice growing out of the war between the two countries, of which the son of such a man could not have been conscious. If others have been afflicted with the sight of a veritable copy of such a work, they must console themselves with the following passage from one of Franklin's letters—"If we may estimate the goodness of a man by his disposition to do good, and his constant endeavours and success in doing it, I can hardly conceive that a better man has ever existed;"—speaking of him† who was the first to sound Peter Collinson's praises, when he went from earth to heaven.

But even Peter Collinson, with Dr. Fothergill at his right

* Upon looking more carefully at the introduction, it appears that the edition printed was "*private and confined*," not "*a public one*."

† Dr. Fothergill.

hand, could hardly have made Bartram what he became, but for what he says of himself :

“ I had always since ten years old, a great inclination for plants, and knew all that I once observed by sight, though not their proper names, having no persons or books to instruct me;” and, for what his son says of him—“ He had all, or most of the education that could at that time be acquired in our country schools; and whenever an opportunity offered, he studied such of the Latin and Greek grammars and classics as his circumstances enabled him to purchase, and always sought the society of the most learned and virtuous men.” The son also says, that the intimate friendship and correspondence between his father and Peter Collinson continued fifty years, although the letters brought to light by Dr. Darlington, cover a period of but thirty-four. He purchased the place which his garden has made classic ground, at sheriff sale in 1728, and built the house still standing there in 1731.

Bartram’s garden has been an object of interest the world over, for a century past. Unique in its character and extent on this side the water, it became early somewhat famous. It was not only attractive to naturalists, but was generally visited by strangers who came to Philadelphia to spend any time, and frequently by the passing traveller. Its precise location is on the west bank of the Schuylkill, a little below Gray’s Ferry, an intervening bluff hiding it from the Woodlands, originally retired from the great public road leading south. Now, indeed, the railroad passes through a deep cut directly in rear of the house. We rejoice that since the appearance of these memorials it has fallen into hands which, as far as possible, will preserve what may keep alive its interesting memories. It was once feared, that in the changes of time, and chance, and fortune, this classic spot, where for many a long year things curious and beautiful in nature were cultivated, trained, and developed by a master hand, might become desecrated by occupation for the business purposes of every day life; and that not being able to preserve both “ the beautiful and the useful,” we should have had to console ourselves that our own Franklin had classic authority for placing “ the useful” first, had we been condemned to see Bartram’s Garden transformed to a coal yard. Philadel-

phians may thank Dr. Darlington's book, probably, for the escape.

Whoever visits the Bartram garden now, let him be sure to inquire for the "Lady Petre's pear tree;" and when he next attends the anniversary exhibition of the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society, let him remember to look at a specimen of its fruit which he will certainly find there. The president, secretary, or the second of the committee on fruits, while they live, will as certainly one of them be at hand to point out this product of a tree from seed planted more than a century ago, of fruit grown on the grounds of a noble horticulturist who was also a horticulturist nobleman, in England, in Bartram's garden, on the banks of the Schuylkill, by the agency of Peter Collinson.

We have referred to three officers of an existing society in connection with reminiscences of their distinguished predecessors in horticulture, because we know of no others who have done more to promote and extend the usefulness of this society; and we know of no society which has added more to the worldly comforts, the cheerfulness and happiness of all, in a city famed for its abounding good things, and more especially for the number of institutions, where "wisdom dwells with prudence, and finds out knowledge of witty inventions" to do good.

We had intended giving a passage or two from Dr. Fothergill's letter, on the death of his friend, but our prescribed limits forbid. For an opportunity to do this, copying from the original edition, we are indebted to that indefatigable and accomplished naturalist, Dr. Francis Boott,* of London, who, com-

* Since this article was commenced, we came across, at the Philadelphia Library, unlooked for, in a volume labelled "Pamphlets on Ethnology, &c.," a work with this title page—"Hortus Collinsonianus. An account of plants cultivated by the late Peter Collinson, Esq., F.R.S., arranged alphabetically, according to their modern names, from the catalogue of his garden, and other manuscripts. Not Published. Swansea: Printed by N. C. Murray and D. Rees, MDCCCXLIII." Its preface signed L. W. Dillwyn, Sketty Hall, March 8, 1843, in a full and interesting account of the work, gives us the following facts. "The gardens at Peckham and Mill Hill had attained such a high celebrity, that a publication of Mr. Collinson's Catalogue appears to have been called for by some of the most distinguished naturalists, and the reason for his noncompliance with their wishes is thus given in a letter of his, dated May 12, 1756, to his friend Linnæus:—'You must remember I am a merchant, a man of great business, with many affairs in my

binning American sympathies from his birth among us, with intimate relations to the many eminent lovers of nature around him, since this correspondence appeared, has furnished evidence of an intense desire to bring to light all that pertains to one who did so much good in his day and generation on both sides the water, and made so little noise in doing it.

We hope to be excused for indulging in so many extracts, if the reader shall find them give reality to the idea of the great and good John Fothergill, that Peter Collinson made John Bartram what he was; and if they shall lead more people to know than knew it before, that this Pennsylvania gardener of the London merchant's training, was, himself, a great man, in other respects, besides being the greatest natural botanist of his time.

head and on my hands. I can never pretend to publish a catalogue of my garden, unless I had one of your ingenious pupils to digest or methodize it for me. It only serves now for my own private use.' See Sir J. E. Smith's Correspondence of Linnæus, Vol. 1. p. 39.

He closes his prefatory remarks with the copy of a memorandum, to which Mr. Collinson had added his signature in 1763.

"I often stand with wonder and amazement when I view the inconceivable variety of flowers, shrubs, and trees, now in our gardens, and what were there forty years ago; in that time what quantities from all North America have annually been collected by my means and procuring, and for some years past a great variety of seeds are brought from China, and many fine plants raised; the China Mulberry I first raised, and from Siberia many curious shrubs and flowers. Very few gardens, if any, excel mine at Mill Hill, the rare exotics of which are my delight."

The horticulturist will find himself amply repaid by looking over this rare and curious, "not published" work, which he will find bound up with the pamphlets on Ethnology, in the Philadelphia Library, as stated. But where did it come from, and how did it get there? We have before referred to the interest awakened by Dr. Darlington's late work in England. One of the many interesting tokens of this was the reception, by the author, from L. W. Dillwyn, through the agency of Dr. Boott, of five copies of the *Hortus Collinsonianus*, one of which Doctor Darlington presented to the Philadelphia Library. These are the only copies, probably, to be found here.

In connection with this subject, it should also be stated, that the letter-book of James Logan, containing copies of many letters to Peter Collinson, is still extant, and a large file of the original letters of this prince of horticulturists in his day, is carefully preserved among the archives of the Logan family. Let us hope that some gifted one may yet arise, who will do more justice than has yet been done to each of these distinguished names.

ART. III. — *History of the Old Covenant.* By J. H. Kurtz.
Vol. I. Berlin, 1848, 8vo. pp. 301.*

AMONG the most interesting and important questions arising in connexion with the study of the Old Testament is that which concerns its relation to the New. This too is confessedly one of the most difficult and disputed questions in Biblical interpretation; and upon which as various and conflicting theories have been entertained as upon any other. The difficulty lies in the details, and in the attempt to give accurate definitions and lay down precise rules. In the general it is very plain that the Old Dispensation was preparatory to the New, and prophetic of it. But there is much that is vague and intangible about such a statement. And it is when we come to ask after its limits, and to fix with exactness its meaning, when we come to inquire definitely to what extent, in what sense, and in how large a part of it the Old Testament is prophetic of Christ, or preparatory for his coming and work, that we begin to discern the difficulties with which the subject is encompassed.

That there are in the Old Testament both predictions and types of a coming Messiah is very clear. That it awakened among the Jews long before the advent expectations of his coming—expectations, which were shared wherever the Scriptures were circulated, is matter of history. The unquestionable authority of the New Testament too, both by express declarations and by frequent implication, requires us to believe that Moses and the prophets wrote of Christ. The general position, therefore, that Christ is spoken of in the Old Testament is impregnable. But how far is he to be found there?

If we admit nothing to be written respecting Christ, but those specific statements of the prophets made *ex professo* respecting a personal Messiah, we shall find indeed only scattered intimations of him here and there. He will not even thus be banished from the Old Testament; but he will be confined to comparatively a very small compass in that portion of Holy Scripture.

* Geschichte des Alten Bundes von Joh. Heinr. Kurtz. u. s. w.

Some works,—able and useful works, too, and carrying the weight of invincible demonstration with them,—which have been written to show how the prophecies have been fulfilled in our Redeemer, have yet we fear to some extent weakened the cause, which they undertook to maintain, by allowing the impression to be silently left upon the mind, that it is only or mainly in isolated predictions scattered here and there, that Jesus is to be found. It ought to be brought distinctly out that these are only a part, and a very inconsiderable part of the testimony there contained, that the doctrine of the Messiah does not rest merely upon disconnected proof-texts, however numerous or explicit; but only that in them there comes more prominently into view what the whole drift and current of Old Testament Scripture equally conspires to teach.

The student of the Old Testament, from reasons which have already been alluded to, cannot be long engaged in its study before arriving at the conviction that Christ is foretold there. There are predictions and types which are so clear as upon their bare inspection to compel instantly this conclusion. But after reaching this point it will not be long before he is compelled to take another step, and admit that these explicit predictions of a Messiah and these manifest types are not the only things which speak of him. He will find it impossible upon any satisfactory and consistent principles to limit the Messianic content of Scripture exclusively to these. All the reasons which will constrain him to forsake this ground, need not be here detailed. We shall single out two, which are of themselves sufficiently stringent.

One is the exceeding abruptness and the isolated character, which would thus be attributed to these acknowledged Messianic paragraphs. The dying patriarch, Jacob, is describing to his sons the portion their descendants shall respectively possess in the land of Canaan, when suddenly, with nothing to indicate a transition, he speaks of the coming of Shiloh, and then as suddenly returns to his original theme, and goes on with the partition of Canaan. Isaiah is giving to Ahaz a sign, that the two kings warring against him should not accomplish their hostile purpose, and he tells him of the virgin's son. In the prediction which occupies the last twenty-seven chapters of his book, all

is so intermingled, and so apparently spoken of the same subject, that while of some parts Jerome has well said that it seems more as though we were reading a gospel than a prophecy, it is yet impossible to make a separation, and say with accuracy which verses refer to Christ and which to the time of the Babylonish exile. An announcement is made to David of a son, who shall sit upon his throne and build a temple for the Lord, which runs imperceptibly into a prediction of Him, who is the greatest of his descendants, and the most glorious of his successors. The Psalms appear to be describing the kingdom of David or of Solomon, and almost before we are aware, certainly without advising us of any change of subject, we find attributes ascribed to it of universality, perpetuity, &c., which are the standing characteristics of Messiah's reign, and which never pertained and never can pertain to any other. Again, David or some other suffering saint seems to be describing in his own person the sorrows he has endured, and his abandonment of God, when suddenly, with no intimation that the same description is not continued, we light upon passages which are among the most evident predictions of Christ anywhere to be found. Now, it is impossible to refer these explicit predictions to Christ, and at the same time assume that the context, with which they are so intimately united, has no reference, bears no relation to him, without a violence of procedure which would be tolerated in the exposition of no other book. Verses must be rent out of their connexion, and applied to an entirely different subject, without anything on the face of the passage to justify it. If no principle be laid down, no rule established, but only whenever anything is said by a sacred writer that can be applied to Christ, (no matter what the immediate subject of which he is speaking,) this is assumed to be a prediction of him, and the rest of the discourse to relate to something wholly different, what is this but to make the Scripture the mere plaything of a capricious fancy, and to obtrude upon it as its meaning, not that which the scope of the writer would indicate, but whatever any interpreter may choose?

The same is true of the types of Scripture. There are here and there in the history and institutions of the Old Testament, types so clear and manifest, that their reference to Christ will

not be denied by any believer in revelation. But if it be affirmed that these stand alone in their reference to him, they present themselves in a strange isolation; and the question instantly arises, to which no satisfactory answer can be given, By what right are these considered predictive of Christ, when no allusion to him is found in all by which they are surrounded? Are we at liberty to go through the history of Israel, and pick out all that bears a real or seeming analogy to the history of Christ, and discarding all the rest as irrelevant, erect out of these random and violently sundered fragments a figure of him that was to come? To whose mind can such a course of procedure carry conviction? or, in the interpretation of what book except the Bible would such trifling be accepted as its just sense? If the Bible be an intelligible book, with a fixed meaning of its own other than that which any interpreter may at will fix upon it—if it be the product of a rational mind and addressed to rational minds, all such capricious dealing with it must be discarded. It is by such an arbitrary mode of not only departing from all just principles, but of acting irrespective of any settled principles whatever, that such incongruous and extravagant senses have been forced upon Scripture as have in some quarters brought the very name of types into disrepute, and made the whole idea of their existence an object of ridicule and contempt.

The other argument, which we shall here mention as constraining to the belief that Christ is to be found elsewhere than in the express Messianic predictions and the manifest types, is drawn from the authority of the New Testament. The Holy Spirit is surely the best expositor of his own mind. The Spirit, which guided the apostles and evangelists, is the same that spake through Moses and the prophets. He can tell us with infallible authority, what was his meaning in any thing that he inspired the holy men of old to say. Now we find the writers of the New Testament quoting the language of the Old, or alluding to it as applicable to Christ, declaring that it was fulfilled in him, drawing from it inferences as to his character and work, and that not only from its explicit predictions and types, but equally from such parts as on the theory of those who find Christ nowhere but in these, have no reference to him whatever.

And after all the deductions that can be made on the ground of the Old Testament being used in the New by way of accommodation rather than of explication, it is yet impossible for him who examines the inspired interpretations given of the Old Testament with any candour, to avoid the conclusion that Christ is represented as spoken of in many passages where no distinct mention of him lies upon the surface; and if their authority be admitted as infallible, of course he must be there.

Here, then, we come to be pressed by the difficulty of finding that certain rule, those settled principles, which shall approve themselves as sound before an enlightened judgment, by which to decide where references to Christ are to be assumed, and how far they are to be pressed; so that we may not on the one hand deny to the Scriptures what they actually contain, nor on the other bring in upon them what has no existence but in our own imagination. There must be some rule besides mere conjecture or caprice. The point of perplexity in the whole subject, is the determination of what that rule is. And it is in the endeavour to fix upon it that such various and conflicting theories of interpretation have been broached. Aside from all examination it would seem to be the most obvious and simplest rule to refer to Christ only such predictions as are explicitly made of him, and such types as manifestly point to their fulfilment in him. But from reasons which have just been adduced, the finding of a Messianic content in these, and limiting it to them, must be given up as untenable. The authority of the New Testament is against it. The structure of the Old Testament itself, and the context in which these predictions and types stand, is against it. They cannot be torn from their connexion, and referred to a totally different subject from that to which all around them refers, but by the most violent and arbitrary procedure. Either then these types and predictions themselves have no direct relation to Christ, or else the entire passages in which they stand cannot be separated from all relation to him. Some, who were unbelievers in a supernatural revelation, have not scrupled to take the first horn of this dilemma, and have maintained that no direct prediction of Christ, or which is tantamount to the same thing, no prediction of him at all properly so called, is to be found in the Old Testament; that its language invariably

referred to some other subject as indicated by the connexion, and if it is applied to Christ, it can only be in the way of accommodation, and altogether apart from the real scope of the writer. When they are confronted with the manifest incongruity of the language with any other subject than Christ, they make a shift to explain it away as a figure of speech, hyperbole, oriental imagery, or something of the sort. Some have even pushed their consistency to the still more absurd length of denying that the Jewish people entertained any expectation of a Messiah's coming. Our readers, however, would not thank us for proving either that the Jews entertained expectations of a Messiah's coming, or that such expectations were founded on their sacred books. If then we are compelled to admit this, there is only one other horn to the dilemma stated above, and it must be acknowledged not only that Christ is to be found in the Old Testament in its plain predictions and its evident types, but that he is to be found in it elsewhere also.

It is not our design here to enumerate all the methods which have been proposed of solving the question before us, nor to enter upon the merits and demerits of each in detail. Several of the early fathers and others assumed an allegorical sense of Scripture different from its plain and obvious meaning, and always underlying it, often indeed in their expositions superseding it. Others have employed every variety of method in dealing with scripture types. One class in order to make out a type everywhere has assumed the most fanciful and grotesque analogies. Another has affirmed with positiveness that nothing should be admitted to be a type, for which there cannot be adduced the express warrant of the New Testament writers in so many words. While another still has been willing to admit a type there also, where it would be natural to conclude that one was contained by proceeding on the same principles, which the inspired writers of the New Testament appear to have followed. The fault of both the allegorical and the typical methods just referred to, lies in assuming that there is either everywhere or at least in certain parts of the Old Testament, what has been called a double sense, one obvious, one concealed; one designed by the writer, and lying within his immediate scope, the other designed by the Holy Spirit to refer to

an entirely different subject from that which was intended by the writer, or which would be understood by his immediate readers. Thus it is supposed that an Old Testament writer might be speaking of David, or Solomon, or Judah, and mean nothing more, and those of his own day see nothing more in it; whereas we in New Testament times, might see that the Spirit designed in this language to describe Christ and the Christian Church.

The objection to this theory is not to be found perhaps in the fact that it interprets the Bible differently from all other books; for the uniqueness in the mode of its composition, in that it has a divine and a human author, certainly renders it conceivable that it might contain such distinct senses. A more serious objection is found in the want of any certain or satisfactory criterion to tell us in what passages the Spirit designed a different sense from that which the human penman had, and what the sense of the Spirit was. Who is qualified to decide this point? And is it not apparent that the assumption of such a sense with no rule to determine where it is, or what it is, leaves every thing to vague conjecture, deprives us of all certainty in the interpretation of Scripture, and makes it in fact whatever any interpreter may choose to make it? A more serious objection still is, that it mistakes entirely the position and design of this portion of God's revelation, and its relation to the people and the age to which it was given as their instructor and guide. It disregards the significancy of the Old Testament for Old Testament times, as though it could not be explained by itself, and had no meaning for them for whom it was primarily and especially designed. It assumes that in the sense of the Spirit it was unintelligible to them; and in fact that this was never unveiled, until it was rendered comparatively unnecessary by the superior clearness of the New Testament. The revelation made to any age, though significant for all coming time, was specially adapted to the wants and capacities of that age. A hidden sense of the kind spoken of above, would be of no use to the Old Testament saints, for it was undiscoverable by them; nor is it of use to us, for we have the same things which it is supposed to teach, taught more plainly in passages where that sense is obvious.

The double sense of which we have spoken, must not be confounded with that interpretation which assigns to the same prophecy a two-fold or even manifold accomplishment. Nor must it be supposed, that in saying what we have of the former, we have meant in any wise to discredit the latter. It is very frequently the case, that the same prophecy, after having been fulfilled in a lower, is fulfilled again in a higher subject; sometimes there is a series of fulfilments of ever increasing magnitude and extent, until in the last the acme is reached of perfect correspondence with the prophetic picture. But this is a very different thing from the assertion, that there is in the words of inspiration a concealed sense, which the Spirit of God intended, but which no rule of explication could ever evolve out of them.

The views of our author upon this subject are these. God's eternal purpose of redeeming fallen man is laid at the foundation of all human history, at least as that is viewed in the Bible. The sacred history of the world is from first to last nothing more nor less than the history of redemption; a history which is not yet fully unfolded, and will not be, until the curse shall be entirely done away, and the last ransomed of earth raised to the complete inheritance of the children of God. This work in its gradual progress to the consummation, has its successive stages, through which it has passed or has yet to pass; and it rests for its accomplishment upon another purpose, that of the incarnation. God assumes human nature in order to raise man to a participation of the divine. The incarnation thus becomes the central point in human history, as it is the hinge on which the destinies of the world are suspended. All things converge to bring it about, that its effects may then diverge over the earth. Every thing is bent first to prepare the way for the coming of the Son of God, as that which shall provide salvation and spread it over all mankind. His coming, as the salvation which he effects, is not a thing by itself, unlooked for, with no previous preparation, and nothing to induce it, flashing suddenly and unaccountably upon the world as a meteoric phenomenon, but the end of a long process, the termination of a series which had it from the first in view, and was framing its steady progress towards its accomplishment. This is no mere growth of nature, no product of natural causes, either acting of themselves

or under superior control. The result is due to God's almighty agency, yet not exerting itself in the way of some sudden unexplained intervention of bare omnipotence, but gradually maturing the fruit, whose seeds had ages before been cast into the soil of human history. This, which was true of the history of the world in general before the advent, was true in a very special manner of that portion of the race which was under particular divine conduct with reference to this very thing, which was made the depository of divine revelation, and from the midst of which the salvation of the world was to go forth. The incarnation of the Son of God with a view to the salvation of man is thus made the capstone of the Old Testament pyramid, the apex towards which all was converging, and as each successive course was laid from the foundation up, it was so placed as to indicate what the whole would be when completed, and to awaken the anticipation of what was yet to come. In this sense the whole of that history is predictive of the future. It bears in itself the evidences of a plan, unfinished indeed, but so regular in its structure and so evident in its design that from any stage whatever of its advancement, there may be derived data sufficient on which to base a conception more or less accurate of the whole.

Now this plan of God not left for human sagacity to discover and figure out, but revealed, and under such gracious superintendence as secures that it shall not be ultimately defeated, but be ever advancing to its accomplishment, renders sacred history, which is the field of its development, predictive in two ways, both from its positive and its negative side, both by reason of its possessions and its needs, what has been gained, and what is still lacking, what it has, and what it has not.

This plan is furthered to its completion not so much by aggregation like the successive courses of a building, as by what more resembles an organic development; not so much by superposition from without as by an unfolding from within. That is from the first given to man in embryo, which is destined for him in its perfection. At any period in this progress, then, what is possessed is nothing for itself, it is not the end but only a step towards the end, and as such a sign of what is yet to come. It

has ever in it the germ of a succeeding future, waiting for its season to be unfolded. Just as the seed reveals to the observer the future plant wrapped up in itself, or as the bud holds in it the flower, and the flower the fruit, and this again is but the seed of a new growth, so each stage of the history has that in it, which marks it as preparatory to a succeeding stage—that which it would not have were it the end beyond which nothing is to be looked for. Each fresh advance grows out of that last preceding, and is itself prognostic of the next.

The negative side of the sacred history is equally predictive with the positive. A perfect Saviour and a complete salvation is the end designed. It is only necessary, therefore, that a deficiency or a want should make itself felt in order to furnish an indication of something to be provided as its supply. The partial is predictive of the complete, the limited of the universal. Every thing imperfect, every felt necessity which is not as yet adequately met, reveals a new constituent which will be required to make up that which is to come in which there shall be no imperfection.

While, however, all the history is thus tending to its ultimate goal, and is every where predictive of it, it is not so equally in every part. It does not flow with a steady, uniform current throughout; but there are premonitions of the sublime cataract, in which it is to have its issue, in the many antecedent waterfalls scattered along its course. Before it reaches the end it passes through several crises, as it were, in which the characteristics of the end come more evidently out, are brought more prominently into view; which are in a more eminent sense preliminary, a foreshadowing of what is yet to come. As in climbing a mountain we rise by a succession of steep ascents followed by a level space or even slight declivities, each of these ascents being in brief what the mountain is on a grander scale; so in the history we find some characters and some events, in which he for whose coming all is a preparation, is more plainly imaged forth. While all is typical, these are types *par excellence*. It is as though the history were a living thing, and were endowed with an instinctive struggling to bring forth the like of that which is its grand and ultimate product. Abraham, David,

Solomon, clearly foreshadowed Christ, and the period of the Exodus overflowed with typical references to him; while in other men and other times the prediction was often faint.

The preparation which was going forward on Old Testament ground for the coming down of God into the flesh, had both its divine and its human factors. The plan was of God, the efficiency was of God; yet its unfolding was to take place upon the arena of human history, the product in a measure of the free agency of man. Hence the possibility of an abnormal as well as of a normal development. The plan being of God, could not be endangered as to its ultimate success; yet for a season, through the culpability of man, it might seem to stand still, or even to go backward, and there be nothing to point to the destined end. The men, to whom the process was confided, might betray their trust; and for that season the type would go wholly out in darkness. Only those who act the part assigned them, and in some good measure correspond to the ideal pattern of what they ought to be, are predictive, and only in so far as they do this are they predictive. All the rest are excrescences on the plant, not part of its natural healthy growth, not belonging properly to it. Thus the kings of the theocracy, as a whole, are emblems of Messiah the Prince; but among those kings, pious princes such as David and Hezekiah are to be reckoned specific types of Christ, while in wicked princes such as Ahaz and Jehoiachin, the type is almost, if not quite obscured. Solomon reigning righteously is predictive of Christ, but not Solomon building high places for the abominations of the heathen.

That this development, which God is conducting amongst men, may not be on the one hand as respects them a violent or an unconscious one, but that they may be free, intelligent, and responsible actors in it; and that it may on the other hand be raised above all possibility of failure through their ignorance or perverseness, two things were necessary—they must be enlightened, and they must be controlled.

In the first place, they amongst whom this plan is unfolding, must be made acquainted with the end toward which all is tending, and with the place which each advance as it is made holds in the general scheme. The plan did not originate with them. The grace and wisdom of God projected it. It is not any thing

springing from them, but solely the presence of God in the history, which renders it predictive. As a general rule men never understand their own age; much less could they detect this supernatural plan, and discover its real nature, unless it were revealed to them from heaven. This revelation is the aim of prophecy. It is addressed to them who live when it is spoken, for their benefit, to solve the problem of their own times, to make known their present duty, to give them the encouragement, the consolation, the warning, the direction they require. Hence with this as its task, prophecy cannot reveal every thing at once, nor every thing indiscriminately. It would be out of place, useless, and injurious; would retard instead of furthering the development, or shape it out of due proportion. Merely to give a proof of the Divine omniscience to future generations, or to authenticate the claims of the Messiah when he should come, is not its aim. The Messiah had independent testimonials in himself sufficient to convince; and it would be strange, if so large a part of divine revelation were intended to be a sealed book, and answer no valuable end for centuries after it was communicated. It was intended primarily and mainly for the prophet's contemporaries; and that not with the view of gratifying a vain curiosity in its passion to pry into the future, but to throw light upon the present, and to set it in its true relation to what is yet to come. It draws its lessons of duty, encouragement, or warning, from the whole plan of God, that which remains to be unfolded as well as that which has been unfolded already; yet only such lessons as are appropriate to the present. Consequently, though without being absolutely bound to this, it yet prevailingly looks upon the future as it is the product of the present, sees it through the medium of the present. What prophecy shall disclose is not a question as to the extent of God's omniscience, but as to man's capacities and wants. The language of the Saviour regarding his own teachings is equally applicable to the teachings of his Spirit, as he spoke by the prophets. "I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now." He spake as they were able to receive it. Every thing in its proper place, order, and measure, is the universal law of the divine procedure and distribution. The plant is not created before there is a soil in which it may root itself.

Nor does the fruit attach itself to the stem until the bud and the blossom have first preceded it. God might have revealed to Adam, (whatever infidels may say to the contrary,) every event that has ever occurred, or is yet to occur, upon this world's surface. But prophecy would thus be degraded to mere sooth-saying. And is it not apparent that such random, uncalled-for predictions, having only the doubtful merit of disclosing a distant future, but with no particular end in view, and of no particular use to the times when it was made known, would have been vastly inferior to the wisdom and goodness of that system of disclosure which pervades the prophecies, by which the present is made the mirror of the future, and the future is made to educate the present?

Thus is produced what may be called an organic connexion of the Old Testament prophecy and its history. One grows with the other, and they are inseparably entwined together. As the plan of God in the history advances to its completion, prophecy is unfolded with a corresponding ratio. At the outset its announcements are made chiefly in general outlines, then become gradually more full and distinct. With every fresh want that makes itself felt, prophecy draws a new trait in the coming Saviour by which that want shall be supplied. With every image of the future good which the grace of God brings into the history, prophecy points again at the great original of whom this is the imperfect foreshadowing. To anticipate the progress of the history, and hold him up as a remedy for evils which had never yet been experienced, or to describe him by images which have no type in the present, and no significance, no felt reality for it, would be unseasonable and unwise. At each point of time what the people needed to know just then was revealed to them; future necessities were left to be supplied as they should arise. A prophecy, which was required by the condition of things in the time of Isaiah, would have been wholly out of place delivered to Abraham. Prophecy has thus its historic aspect, as the history has its prophetic aspect. They are closely linked in together, and correspond ever in their advances; the prophecy keeping pace with the history as its interpreter, or outrunning it as its guide.

Such was the end to be answered by one of the divine functions.

tions of the sacred history—one of the modes in which God interfered to conduct it to its destined end. Prophecy was to enlighten man. It has been already said that in order to prevent failure and ensure a happy issue, it was needful that man, though free and acting freely, should nevertheless be controlled. This required another mode of divine interference, and introduces a new divine function into the history. God dwells indeed in all history, conducting it to the end which he has purposed shall be accomplished by it. But the history of that people, among whom the salvation of the race was to unfold itself, he pervaded in a very especial manner. The purposed result was not one of natural ability but of divine grace. Left to the conduct of men there would have been a perpetual degeneracy and a certain failure. There was needed, therefore, constant strengthening and correction from above to set it right, and keep it so, and push it forward to completion. God not merely presided over it, superintending, directing, overruling, but was ever in it, pervading, vivifying it by his sovereign almighty agency, and ensuring that the result should be brought about. This supernatural agency of God in the Old Testament history is more or less distinct according to circumstances, and to the exigencies of each particular case. Sometimes these call for immediate, direct, almighty intervention, or what is ordinarily called the miracle in the proper sense; at others it falls more into the back ground, and accomplishes all its ends without being so distinctly perceived. The history is miraculous throughout, *i. e.*, it is ever under supernatural control, though what are strictly termed miracles are not found on every page. They never appear uncalled for; yet they are never lacking when needed.

Both the divine functions of the history, therefore, the prophecy and the miracle co-operate throughout to strengthen and to direct it to its appointed end of paving the way for the incarnation of the Son of God. Yet they are not equally manifest upon the surface of the history in all its parts. Both may at certain periods, and even for long periods cease entirely as to their external manifestation, though not as to their actual existence, and real though concealed operation. Light and strengthening are first given, and then the history is left to itself for

a while, receiving no additional communication, but subsisting on that furnished in the past, until new necessities call once more for fresh supplies.

Thus viewed, all appearance of isolation or abruptness is taken from what is supernatural in the Old Testament. Its miracles, its prophecies, are not mere arbitrary phenomena, without any particular necessity or appropriateness, or connexion with what goes before or follows after, but are integral functions of the history, necessary to its proper unfolding according to a preconceived plan. They are God's hand in history, visible indeed in every portion of it, but more prominently displayed, whenever the occasion demands it.

Christ is thus presented in the volume before us as the end of the whole of the Old Testament; not the subject of a few scattered predictions merely, or shadowed forth in a few isolated types, but every thing that it contains meets its accomplishment in him. As far as the Old Testament is a consistent scheme, of which all the parts harmonize to one common result, he is the completion of the whole.

The manner in which the progress of things in the heathen world stood related to the coming Saviour, presents an interesting topic for investigation which our author rather indicates than enters upon. Even here he finds that which is predictive of Christ. There is a development here also; but it is a hot-bed growth, and abnormal. The deep-seated and ever-clamorous wants of human nature made themselves felt; but men sought to supply them for themselves having no revelation from heaven; and things shot up into monster shapes, because the heathen world was not, like Israel, under supernatural conduct. The nations were suffered the while to walk in their own ways. A recent and popular English writer has taken up this idea, and to some extent unfolded it in a treatise on the Unconscious Prophecies of Heathendom.* But there is much ground yet to be explored, and much rich fruit yet, we doubt not, to be gathered. We look with no common interest upon the researches which are now making into the mythologies and the religions of the ancient heathen world; and we are persuaded that the

* Christ the Desire of all Nations, or the Unconscious Prophecies of Heathendom, being the Hulsean Lectures for the year 1846, by R. C. Trench, M. A.

result in every case will be, as it has been strikingly already, to demonstrate not only how immeasurably superior Christianity is to every form of Pagan superstition, but also how these last are ever monstrous and abnormal growths adhering about those very truths, which Christianity presents us in their purity and in their genuine development. In general, Kurtz assigns to heathenism both a negative and a positive work in preparation for the coming of Christ. The negative was to reveal men's moral and spiritual necessities, and the impossibility of their supplying them themselves, that after an experience of the total failure of all their own devices, they might the more readily accept of God's plan when made known to them. The positive was to develop an intellectual culture and refinement, and whatever lay within the sphere of men's native abilities, which might be turned over to the uses of the Christian Church, when the time for its establishment should arrive. And it is remarkable how, when heathenism had accomplished this its appointed task, it sank away itself to barbarism, and has produced only the most stunted and valueless intellectual growths since.

The history of the Old Covenant as defined in the volume before us forms one section of the history of Redemption, and is in a measure complete in itself, having as the common aim to which it all tended, the incarnation. The history of Redemption stretches from the creation and the fall to the consummation of all things, and the complete deliverance of the sons of God. The history of the Old Covenant though linked with what precedes as the conditions in which it had its origin, and contributing to what follows by the results which it unfolds, is yet in strictness limited by the call of Abraham as its commencement, and the coming of Christ as its close. Two schemes of development had been started previously, and though a valuable purpose had been answered by each of them, they were without a successful result as to effecting the redemption of man. The first had from the excessive wickedness which overspread the world, to be violently broken off, and all mankind destroyed. One godly family was saved, and another unfolding took place in the line of its descendants. But the same depraved tendency was not slow in manifesting itself again; and it became apparent that if effective measures were not taken to stay

the progress of corruption, it would speedily become incurable and there would be another failure. It was then that God selected one among the descendants of Shem to be the starting point of a new development, to be the germ of a race in the midst of which salvation might unfold itself, not for his individual benefit merely, nor for that of his offspring, but that thus the redemption of the world might be effected. Abram was called to be the father of a people who should be severed from all others, fenced in by a restrictive economy so framed as to shut out as far as possible all unfriendly influences, trained up amidst divine interpositions and communications of the divine will, and kept in constant expectancy of the future good. When Christ should come, then first might these barriers be thrown down, which had served their purpose of preventing the incursions of an ungodly world from destroying the infant Church, but which must no longer be permitted to remain after it has attained to full age, to trammel its strong arm, or to limit the sphere of its manly operations.

The history is thus divided: From the creation to the call of Abraham is preliminary. The 1st period contains the history of the chosen family to its descent into Egypt. The 2d, its establishment as a people, embracing the times of Moses, Joshua and the Judges. 3d. The kingdom. 4th. The exile and return. 5th. The period of expectation, whose task it was to prepare for the salvation now on the eve of appearing. 6th. The period of fulfilment, whose object is the salvation exhibited in Christ, its reception by the covenant people, the dissolution of the Old Covenant in the judgment upon them, and the hopes and prospects which, on the ground of prophecy, yet await them in the future. The volume before us is occupied with the book of Genesis, and includes therefore the preliminary and the family periods. Passing by the former, we shall follow our author sufficiently in the latter to give some idea of his views and his method of treating his subject.

The family period was in the strictest sense a preparatory one; it was the foundation stage of a dispensation, which was itself preparatory. It belonged to this age to provide a people and a land for the unfolding of the promised salvation. So long as the chosen seed consisted of but one or two individuals

or a single family, and that wandering from place to place with no fixed habitation, the redemption that was to overspread the world could not be introduced through them. The first thing to be done, then, in preparation for the salvation that was to come, was to provide a nation and a land. This was the end after which the patriarchal age was striving; this was the prime want, which was awakened in their minds; it was this to which the leadings of God were conducting them. When this should be accomplished the first stage would be passed. It was with reference to this, therefore, in particular, that they needed to be assured that it should be effected, that what in their times seemed primarily to obstruct the entrance of the promised good for the world should be taken out of the way; their descendants should grow to a mighty nation, should be settled in Canaan, and the world should be redeemed. It was not until after this first step was taken, and Israel had become a nation and Canaan was theirs, that it was made apparent that not the time of complete fulfilment had arrived, but only that the first stage of approach to it had been traversed. A sense of fresh wants was awakened in the chosen seed, and there was needed the assurance of God that these too should be supplied, and should not be permitted to stand for ever in the way of the expected deliverance. To conclude, therefore, from the prominence assigned to a large posterity and the inheritance of Canaan in the revelations made to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, that this was all they looked for, that their expectations were wholly of a temporal and earthly nature, and that they had no idea of a spiritual redemption, is not only to run counter to the authority of the New Testament, which in repeated passages declares the reverse, but to mistake all the aims and tendencies of the history itself. The end ever held before them was the blessing of God upon all nations; and a multiplied seed and the promised land were regarded ever not as temporal advantages, not as an end in themselves, but as opening the way to the salvation of the world, which was through this medium to be effected.

The call of Abraham was grounded in both an objective and a subjective necessity. On the one hand it was necessary in order to sunder him from the idolatrous influences to which he was exposed in the land of his kindred, and to make of his

descendants an independent people instead of a mere co-ordinate branch of a larger stock; and on the other it was necessary to his training in faith, obedience, and self-denial, that he should be required on the bare command of God to renounce the good things of the present in hope of a better future. The promise made to him that in his seed all nations should be blessed, is Messianic in as far as it points to the coming salvation; but it contains no definite and clear intimation of a personal Redeemer, through whom this should be effected. It is the seed of Abraham in its entirety, and collectively that is presented as the bearer of the blessing. The hopes of the patriarchs were all connected with the expansion of the individual into a great people. Not until this expansion had first taken place was the hope of salvation concentrated, as in the predictions from Moses onward, upon an individual from amongst this seed. The promise made to Abraham is an advance upon that made to our first parents, inasmuch as it limits to a single race what had before been predicted as arising out of Eve's descendants, and inasmuch as what was barely negative there, the crushing of the tempter, has become positive here, a blessing upon all the families of the earth.

In what befell Abram in Egypt is seen how God delivers his chosen out of the embarrassment into which his own culpable conduct had thrown him, and how even the monarch of Egypt must bow before him, and restore what he had taken from him. Lot is separated from Abram as the last remnant of his kindred that still adhered to him; and the promise of Canaan and of a large posterity is repeated with more fulness than before. The land is given to him and to his seed for ever—a grant which remains good, says Kurtz, though Israel be exiled from his inheritance for seventy, or even for eighteen hundred years. Abram next appears as the defender of the land from foreign violence and the chastiser of its foes, having in the victory which by God's help he gains over Chedorlaomer, a pledge of divine aid and protection against all its future enemies. On his return Melchizedek meets and blesses him. This mysterious personage has been taken respectively for Shem, for Ham, for Enoch, for a man created directly of God just for that juncture, for an angel, for the Son of God appearing antecedently to his

humiliation in human form, and by one sect of ancient heretics for the Holy Ghost. He was, however, a pious Canaanitish prince. The Salem, of which he was king, was a real place, and not merely a significant title, and that not identical with a supposed Shalem near to Shechem, (Gen. xxxiii. 18) nor with Salim on the banks of the Jordan, (John iii. 23) but with Jerusalem; as is proved by the testimony of Onkelos and of Josephus, by the identity of the names ("peace" and "possession of peace"), by Ps. lxxvi. 2, where incontestably Salem means Jerusalem, by the hereditary name of the king (Melchizedek, king of righteousness, identical with Adonizedec, lord of righteousness, Josh. x. 3), by its vicinity to the king's dale (Gen. xiv. 17) the spot where Absalom afterwards reared his pillar (2 Sam. xviii. 18), now known as the valley of Jehoshaphat, and by its lying directly upon the route from Damascus, whither Abram pursued the flying kings, to Hebron where he had fixed his residence. At this point, where the roads to Sodom and to Hebron diverge, the king of Sodom comes up the valley of the Kidron to greet the victor, while Melchizedek descends from his royal citadel to bless him. The last surviving flower of the Noachic covenant thus gives its sanction and its blessing to the representative of the covenant that was destined to succeed them.

Thus far the record speaks of promises given to Abram; now a covenant is made (xv. 18,) and ratified on the part of God by the passage between the sundered parts of a sacrifice, of a symbol of the divine presence akin to that which appeared afterwards to Moses in the burning bush, or to the people in the pillar of fire and cloud, or in the tabernacle in the glory above the mercy-seat. For ten years Abram had been waiting in vain for his expected offspring, until he was almost ready to conclude that the steward of his house was destined to inherit his promises and his hopes. But his faith is reassured by the express declaration that a child of his own body should be his heir. In all that had thus far passed, no mention had been made of Sarah, and in her impatience she concludes that she can be the mother only by adoption of the promised seed, and hopes to find in the child of Hagar what she sought. The event soon shows the vanity of all expedients of man's devising to hasten unseasonably the fulfilment of what God had promised.

Thirteen years more of longing and expectation pass away for the fuller trial of the patriarch's faith, and more completely evidencing the barrenness of Sarah. The time was now approaching when grace would give what could no longer be hoped for from nature. Now first, there was required the ratification of the covenant on the part of Abraham, by the circumcision of himself and all the males of his household.

As to the origin of this rite the same controversy has been waged as about many others belonging to the Old Testament ceremonial, which resemble those found in Pagan worship. Were they adopted by the Pagans from the Jews, or by the Jews from the Pagans?—and, if the latter, how is this consistent with their forming part of a divine revelation? Kurtz has no hesitation in admitting that its practice in Egypt or in other lands may have preceded its adoption by Abraham; and this not because he assigns much weight to the testimony of Herodotus, that the inhabitants of Palestine borrowed this rite from Egypt, with which Jer. ix. 25, 26, and Ezek. xxxii. may be reconciled by the consideration that the Egyptians were not universally circumcised, but only the priests, and those who were admitted to the sacred mysteries. He places his admission rather on the ground of the relation found to subsist between the symbols of the Old Testament and of heathen worship generally, the embodiment of religious conceptions being to a large extent the same in both, while in many cases the priority is evidently not on the side of Israel. Without giving any decided opinion in this individual case, we yet agree so far with our author in his views, that we are not startled in the least to find in the outward forms of Pagan nations generally, or in the rites of Egypt in particular, much that bears an analogy to the ceremonial of the Jews. The peculiarity of Judaism is not that it employs a different kind of outward symbols from all the varieties of Paganism, but that its teachings through those symbols are the reverse of theirs; it teaches what they never knew, a true God and a holy religion. There is no copying of Pagan institutions, and introducing them with their Pagan errors attached, into the worship of God; but symbols, which were used in these institutions and profaned to idolatrous ends, are set in new combinations, purged of their profane ideas, and made to point to God and holiness. It would

be just as reasonable to demand that when God makes a verbal revelation, he should not do so through the medium of a language known and understood before, but should coin an entirely new tongue for the purpose—or that he should have it written in characters unused and unintelligible by man, as that when he makes a revelation in symbols he should employ such as none had ever used. It would be just as reasonable to insist that God should not make known his will through the Apostles in Greek, because that was the language of a profane, idolatrous nation, as that he must not make it known to Abraham or to Moses in Egyptian symbols, because they likewise were employed for idolatrous purposes. The writings of Paul are not reduced to a level with those of Plato, because they wrote in the same language, and used many of the same words; nor are the institutes of the Old Testament placed on a par with those of Egyptian priests, because there may be symbols common to them both. Everything turns not on the occurrence of similar outward forms, but on the ideas which they are set to express. Paul and Plato used the same language; but Paul used it to teach the revealed truths of God, Plato human philosophy. Moses used symbols in common with the Egyptian priests: but there cannot be a more absolute contrast than between the truths of the holy religion which he inculcated, and the falsehoods and delusions propagated by them. Yet while we speak thus, we feel bound to enter our protest against the course of those interpreters, who seem determined to deny to the Old Testament ceremonial not only the possession of anything divine, but even of anything original, and who affect to have discovered that all its institutions were copied either from the Egyptians or from other heathen nations. In the dress of the priests, and the day of atonement, and the plan of the tabernacle, and everything else we have some Egyptian analogy proved upon us by that wonder-working dilemma, in which Spencer led the way. Either the Egyptians did the same, and then it was borrowed from them; or they did differently, and then it was established for the sake of creating a distinction. In either case, the ground of the institution lay in Egypt. We have the Cherubim likened to the Sphinx, and we regret that Hengstenberg, in what we cannot but esteem an incautious zeal for Egyptian

analogies, lent this his sanction. We have the Hebrew ark paraded with cuts from the monuments of the Pharaohs, to prove an identity (Kitto's Cyclop., I. pp. 216-7), when Bähr has long ago demonstrated that there was nothing whatever in their fundamental structure or design in common; and that the ark bore actually more resemblance to a chest found by Captain Cook among the South Sea Islanders, carried by them on poles and called the house of God, than to anything discoverable in Egypt; when he has proved, too, that the rites of Israel contain analogies in many cases quite as striking with those of the remotest nations, and who had no possible intercourse with them, as with those of Egypt and other countries with which they were brought into immediate contact. Wherever it can be shown, therefore, that a particular rite of the Old Testament had its parallel among the heathen, or wherever it can be made probable that it had its origin in Egypt, we feel no difficulty in the admission, and think that in doing so we do not derogate in the least from its divine enactment and authority. Still we conceive it to be due to historic verity as well as to the just claims of religion, not to allow every casual resemblance to be straightway converted into a proof of identity, and to assert the originality of the inspired ceremonial, not only in the truths and ideas which it teaches, and which are everywhere original, but also in such outward forms as are in fact peculiar to itself.

We pass to the last and severest trial of Abraham's faith. The child of the promise has been born; the command of God comes, that he must be offered in sacrifice. It is needless to recite here even for the purpose of refuting them, the malignant misrepresentations which have been made of this, as though human sacrifices were offered by the Hebrews, or as though their God required them. Still the question is one which needs a solution, How could the Lord issue such a command? How could the same God, who, repeatedly in the law, expressed his abhorrence of such sacrifices, (Deut. xii. 31,) here enjoin them? It is to evade the difficulty, not to meet it, to say with Hengstenberg, that Abraham mistook the intention of the Divine command, which was not to *slay* Isaac, but to *offer* him to God; and that he committed the error of understanding that in a literal

and outward sense which was intended to be carried out in a figurative and spiritual sense only. The explanation given by our author is undoubtedly the true one, that the command was intended only as a trial. God never designed to allow it to be carried out to full accomplishment. It was his purpose from the first, to interfere just as he did interfere in the decisive moment. It was to discover the strength of Abraham's faith and the steadfastness of his obedience. And as soon as this was evidenced, and it was seen that the patriarch's faith did not stagger, and his unflinching obedience was made to appear, then the trial was complete. Isaac was already sacrificed in purpose; to slay him could have answered no further end.

But why was exactly this trial selected? Kurtz answers, it was that Abraham might be taught by his receiving Isaac back as it were from the dead, yet more than by the long delay of his birth, that he was the child not of natural descent but of the gracious promise. It was that he and Isaac might both be taught that all their possessions, even a dearest and best-loved child, and life itself are the Lord's, and must be surrendered at his bidding; and what was thus inculcated upon the first father and first son of the chosen race, was through them impressed upon all their posterity. But there was a deeper reason for it than these. The Canaanites, on every hill and under every green tree sacrificed their children in the service of their idols; and now it should be made to appear both to the patriarch and to others, whether he had as earnest an attachment to the true God as they to their miserable idols; whether he would make such sacrifices for the cause of the God he worshipped, as they for their cruel superstitions. There was a truth too, obscured and mingled as it was with horrid error, in the human sacrifices practised by the Canaanites, and indeed to a greater or less extent by almost every ancient heathen nation. This should here be sifted out and handed over to Abraham and his posterity to be a seed, whence might spring anticipations and longings after that, for whose full and complete revelation the world was not yet prepared. Human sacrifice was the convulsive effort of heathenism in its despair of finding an adequate mode of appeasing the anger of God. Men felt, and rightly felt that some expiation was necessary. They felt, and

this too, rightly, that the sacrifice of animals presented no adequate atonement for offences, in which man's life was the forfeit. They felt, and rightly again, that nothing in the wide world was too dear, nothing too precious, to give for regaining the favour of God. And in their desperation they offer up a human life as the costliest thing they knew, not heeding that they are offering to God an unwilling and therefore valueless victim, and a life which, itself sinful, cannot atone for sin, besides bringing on themselves the guilt of murder. This was man's solution, false and inhuman, as it was offensive to the Most High, of that dread question which agitates every conscience, How shall I be just with God? The true solution was not yet given to the world. It should not be, until the time appointed in the divine plan of saving mercy had arrived. Meanwhile it should be intimated that such a solution would be given, though for the present it was withheld. In the direction to offer Isaac it was evidently implied that the dearest and the best must be given unto God—that something more valuable than the life of an animal is needed as an atonement for human guilt; while in the staying Abraham's hand from giving the fatal stroke, it was declared that Isaac was not the sacrifice which was demanded; it was something more precious, something more pure than that beloved child; what it should be was left for God to reveal. And in the pointing out of the ram to be placed upon the altar in the stead of Isaac, it was declared that until the true sacrifice should appear, animal sacrifices, though in themselves inoperative and insufficient to wash away sin, received the divine sanction and would be admitted as prefiguring that which was to come. The disclosing, therefore, as is here done, of the imperfection that inhered in animal sacrifices, and that there was nothing then adequate to take their place was equivalent to a pledge on the part of a gracious God, that there should be a perfect sacrifice provided and offered, and that its sovereign efficacy should even then be reckoned unto those, who in faith and pious fear offered up what was temporarily and until its appearing admitted in its place. And now it is easy to see why Abraham was directed to go to the mountains of Moriah to offer up his son, where subsequently in the temple, were to be offered those animal sacrifices, which here received a divine

legitimation for their temporary purpose, and where, too, that offering the end of all sacrifice was in the fulness of time to be presented unto God on behalf of a guilty world.

We shall not pursue the history further; but we cannot pass by the blessing of Jacob without presenting our author's views upon that most interesting and important passage.

This is the last instance of a patriarchal blessing, because Jacob was the last single head of the chosen race. And this paternal blessing is not, as those of Abraham and Isaac had been, repeated and confirmed to the sons by God himself, probably because none were to be set aside here as Ishmael or Esau, that there was needed a fresh divine investiture for the rightful heir. Since all the sons were together partakers of the promise, the divine ratification of this already made to the parent was valid for all coming generations.

The patriarch's time had come to be gathered to his fathers. He had summoned his sons around his bedside to see their father die; and as he looked upon them, his eye ranges forward in prophetic vision to the time when all would be fulfilled, which God had promised to Abraham, and to Isaac, and repeated likewise to himself. The departing seer beholds in faith and by the spirit of inspiration, all accomplished which he had been taught to expect, and all those hindrances and evils removed, in which the present came sensibly short of its realization. Israel, no longer a single family, or a few families, is swollen to a great nation; the period of their wanderings and their exile has given place to the confirmed possession of the promised land; and the expected salvation has come, and makes its victorious way of blessing over all the earth. Enraptured by the sight, he feels impelled to tell his sons what shall befall them "in the last days."

The period thus fixed in the outset as the one traversed by the prediction, is not the future indefinitely. The same expression occurs in fifteen other passages in the Old Testament, and one corresponding to it occurs several times in the New. Its meaning invariably is the ultimate future, the period of complete accomplishment, in a word, the Messianic period. It must mean the same here. That the prophecy is principally employed upon the occupation of the promised land, is not

inconsistent with this interpretation. That was to Jacob's view the time of the end. The promises of God, and the leadings of his providence, Jacob's expectations and hopes, were all directed to this, a numerous posterity possessing the land of Canaan as a medium of blessing to the race. The point of Israel's settlement in Canaan was presented to the eye of the patriarch as lying precisely on a range with the salvation of the world; and without marking the chronological interval which separates them, he sees them both together. This representation is imperfect, but it is not false. It does not disclose all that God's omniscience might have revealed about the times and the periods. But all that it does disclose, finds its complete and accurate fulfilment either in one event, or in the other of those contemplated, or perhaps in both. These events do not synchronize in actual fact, it is true; but there is a bond which links them together sufficient to justify the intimate connexion in which they here appear. The possession of Canaan by a great nation of Israel's descendants, was in order to the salvation of the world. The former was an important step in the unfolding of that gracious plan, by which the latter was to be secured. Yet when that step came to be taken, it would be found that the point of ultimate accomplishment lay still far in the distance; other necessities will have to be met, and other obstacles to be taken out of the way; much will still remain to be done in preparation before the blessing on all nations can be realized. But this interval is not revealed to Jacob. The salvation of the world lies to him immediately behind the possession of Canaan, and the two things appear to coalesce. Without being conscious, apparently, of any abruptness of transition or of intermingling separate events, he passes readily from one to the other, or speaks indifferently of either, or even of both at once.

The passage of most interest in this prophecy is the blessing pronounced upon Judah. That we have here a prediction of the peaceful dominion of the Redeemer to be established over all nations, has almost the united weight of all the interpreters of Scripture in its favour. This is the ancient Jewish understanding of the passage, and the one which has always prevailed among Christian writers. That it is in fact Messianic,

and was so intended by the patriarch himself, appears not only from the way in which it has been commonly understood, from the scope of the entire prophecy in which it stands, from the introductory words, which distinctly mark it as having in view the last days or the Messianic period; but also from the impossibility of inventing any other meaning, which can, with even tolerable plausibility, be put upon it. The one which has most pretensions in its favour, understands by Shiloh, (v. 10,) the place of that name, where the tabernacle was pitched by Joshua, and where it still abode in the days of Eli, and so translates the verse as to read, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, &c., until he comes to Shiloh." But besides the grammatical difficulties which might be urged, and besides the fact that there is no evidence that such a place as Shiloh existed in the time of Jacob, and that it is highly probable that it derived both its origin and its name from the host of Israel encamping there temporarily after the subjugation of the land was completed, there would be a great incongruity in connecting this prophecy with a place, which even if it existed, was so inconsiderable as never once to be mentioned in the sojourning of either Jacob or his fathers in the land of Canaan, and that too while the rest of the prophecy enters into no such minute detail, but spends itself rather upon the great outlines of future destiny. But without delaying to mention other grounds, by which this interpretation may be shown to be untenable, there is one farther consideration, which is of itself sufficient to establish its unsoundness, and that is, it absolutely divests the prediction of all its meaning. What sense would there be in saying that the sceptre should not depart from Judah until he comes to Shiloh, when in fact he had never then received the sceptre at all? The only thing which can in that case be pointed out as its fulfilment is, that Judah went first in the order of the tribes as they marched through the wilderness. But that was no such pre-eminence as is here asserted. The sceptre and the law-giver belonged to a different tribe from that of Judah. It was first Moses a Levite, and then Joshua an Ephraimite, who led them. And although there were things which might be gathered under the general head of the fulfilment of this prediction before the days of David, it was not until in him Judah attained the

sovereignty, that the superiority here assigned that tribe received any marked accomplishment. The denial of the genuineness of the prophecy even, furnishes no escape from this difficulty: for no one in the time of David or of the Judges, could have written this supposing it to describe what had in his days already occurred. Nor does Tuch mend the matter, by translating "as long as they shall come to Shiloh" in their annual festivals, *i. e.* in the writer's intention, for ever; for besides violating the grammatical construction, and giving to the words a sense wholly inadmissible, he obtrudes upon the writer the expectation that the sanctuary would be for ever without a fixed place of abode, and makes the future rule of Judah dependent on the continuance of a state of things, with the cessation of which, Asaph on the other hand, links the commencement of the sovereignty of that tribe, Ps. lxxviii. 60, 67—72.

What, then, does Shiloh here mean? Calvin follows some Jewish interpreters, in supposing it to be an obsolete word meaning *his* (Judah's) *son*. But of the existence of such a word, or of its having this sense, there is no evidence. A large number of the ancient and most valuable versions render it "he to whom it belongs," or "for whom it is reserved." This passage would then find a parallel in Ezek. xxi. 27, "until he come, whose right it is." The chief, in fact the decisive objection against this explanation of the word is, that it not only assumes an unusual grammatical form, and an unusual and harsh ellipsis, but it requires an unwarranted alteration of the text. The true meaning of Shiloh, according to its derivation, is *rest* or *peace*. This is, by the majority of commentators, taken as the abstract for the concrete, and understood as a personal designation of the Messiah, equivalent to the *Peacemaker*. To this Kurtz objects that Shiloh must, for grammatical reasons, be the object, and not the subject of the verb; and that the expectation of a personal Messiah was foreign to the patriarchal period. The promises and hopes of that period, and the immediate wants that were felt, all related to the expansion from one to a great people. The introduction of the future good was as yet revealed only in the indefinite form, which made this people in their totality the medium of blessing, the

bearer of salvation to the world. It was only after this expansion had taken place, and the necessity began to be felt of concentration, of deliverances effected for the people by an individual head and ruler, that there was a basis in the history on which to ground the expectation that redemption should be by one raised up from among the people. It was not until a necessity arose, which called forth a Moses, a Joshua, or a David for its temporary supply, that the idea could attain consistency and shape of their antitype in an individual, personal Messiah. The Mosaic period furnishes the first and still somewhat indefinite prediction of an individual Redeemer (Deut. xviii., 18, 19); the history of David first brings his personality clearly and distinctly out. On these grounds, which he certainly puts with much ingenuity, Kurtz defends his rendering: "Until he (Judah) comes to rest, (a state of quiet, peaceful possession,) and the obedience of the peoples is yielded unto him." The "until" marks not the limit or cessation of his dominion, but the entrance of that period when every disturbing power shall cease, and all that could threaten its perpetuity shall be at an end. The sceptre shall not depart from Judah until his victory is universal and complete, and then, of course, it never shall depart.*

* Some interpreters of note and ability have understood this prophecy simply to declare that the temporal government of Judah should be continued until Shiloh's coming, and that then it should be broken up and destroyed; and this coincides so remarkably with the actual event, that it seems at first view to have a strong recommendation in its favour. But this appears to be a very mechanical mode of interpretation. There is an outward, superficial cleaving to the letter; but the spirit is lost sight of. Whoever duly considers either the analogy of Scripture or the scope of the prophecy before us, must be satisfied that there is here promised to Judah a sceptre and a lawgiver in all time to come; not one that should endure until Shiloh's coming and then be irretrievably lost, but one which should then first be fully and firmly established. To raise the hopes of God's chosen people, and encourage them in all times of despondency, they are assured of a sovereignty in Judah which shall not be overwhelmed till the last victory is gained, and the last foe is destroyed, and it is set in triumph over a submissive world; and beyond that the most timid and doubting need no assurance of its continuance. It is the universal testimony of the prophets that the kingdom of Judah and the throne of David were destined to stand, not for a limited period, but for ever. The kingdom of Judah is never, either in the Old Testament or in the New, put in contrast with that of the Messiah, as though the former were to give place to the latter, but they are invariably spoken of as coincident, the latter being the legitimate continuation of the former. Christ is not the founder of a new dynasty, but the culminating point of the old, in whom all that is completely realized which appeared faintly and imperfectly in them that preceded him. This being the unvarying representation

Judah appears in this passage as a resistless warrior, a lion capturing his prey, and whom none might venture to provoke. He wins his victorious way through conflict and strife, to universal empire and undisturbed repose. Then, when every foe is vanquished or destroyed, he sits down to enjoy in peace the fruits of victory. He rides upon the peaceful ass, and feeds on wine and milk. These blessings, which he wins as the prince and champion of his brethren, are for them as for himself; and even over the nations now willingly subject to him must the benefits of his peaceful dominion be expected to flow.

This blessing is Messianic in its character, but not exclusively so; and it is Messianic only because that is true of the Messiah alone in its full sense, which is here attributed to the tribe from which he sprang. It had several imperfect fulfilments before Christ came, as at various periods of the national history the portrait here sketched of Judah corresponded more or less with his actual character and condition. The part Judah took in the conquest of the land, the elevation of David to the throne of Israel, the extent of his dominion, and his victories over surrounding nations, the peaceful reign of Solomon, all fall legitimately within the range of this prediction, and are justly to be regarded as its partial fulfilments. And yet neither these nor any other events in the past fortunes of Judah are adequate to the language here employed. It meets its full accomplishment only in him to whom we have the authority of the New Testament for applying the symbol here given of the tribe, the Lion of the tribe of Judah.

The following passage, relating to the accomplishment of this prediction, we give almost in our author's own words: "In its most immediate application, it has respect to the same time with

of all the writers of Scripture of the perpetuity of the kingdom of Judah, its identity with the kingdom of the Messiah, and its elevation to the highest pitch of glory and prosperity in his person, it would be extremely strange if in the passage before us alone, the very one which we should expect to lie at the foundation of all the others, and give character to them all, a contrary view prevailed, and it was here declared that the sceptre of Judah should be of limited duration, and should be abolished in favour of another which should rise up after it. This view of the perpetuity of Judah's dominion, while it includes within itself the same historical fulfilment which is claimed on behalf of the more restricted understanding of the passage, includes likewise vastly more.

all the rest of the blessing of Jacob, the time of complete possession of the promised land. To Jacob's eye this moment marked the beginning of the last days, the time of the end. The relative rest, with which the pilgrimage of his seed ceased, is undistinguished from the absolute rest, the end and conclusion of that whole movement, which commenced with the call of Abraham. What, in the actual event, proves to be a long line, stretching from its commencement in the relative rest under Joshua, to its termination in the absolute rest under Christ, appears to him coincident with its initial point, behind which it all lies, and which as the commencement of a developement already includes in itself potentially the end, and is its prefiguration. The rest here promised found its first preliminary and imperfect exhibition in the time of Joshua; but that this fulfilment was only preliminary, was speedily shown by the still existing disquiet. Whilst, therefore, in the entrance of this relative rest the prophecy of Jacob enters upon its fulfilment, it continues in consequence of the yet remaining disquiet to be still prophetic, until in the introduction of the absolute rest it finds its highest and ultimate fulfilment.

"It is Judah's princely rank and bearing in his sovereignty over his brethren, and in his victorious conflict with his foes, which has won the rest and peace which he enjoys. Just in that measure, therefore, in which the time of Joshua exhibits the predicted repose, must the time before Joshua verify Judah's princely character. Had the rest under Joshua been the true, absolute rest, the pre-eminence of Judah must have revealed itself before that time in its most perfect form. But if, as we have seen, Jacob's prophecy of a future rest continues still prophetic, even after its first preliminary and imperfect exhibition under Joshua, the prophecy of Judah's distinction can in the time before Joshua have met with only a preliminary and partial fulfilment (his precedence in the order of march through the desert.) It must after this still continue prophetic, and point to a sovereignty of Judah, which should be constantly more and more unfolding itself, until its highest manifestation should rise as far above its earliest, as the absolute rest under Christ surpasses the relative under Joshua.

"This prophecy of the rest into which Judah as the prince,

representative, and champion of his brethren should enter with them, relates to the time of the end. Subjectively to Jacob the time of Joshua was the end; for then all the wants and needs of the patriarchal period which had pressed themselves on Jacob's consciousness, and all the requisites which Jacob knew as conditions of the coming salvation were supplied. But there were still other wants and needs, still other requisites and conditions of the coming salvation of which Jacob yet knew nothing, and which, in the time of Joshua, were not yet supplied. Objectively, therefore, this is not yet the end; and Jacob's prophecy, as the product not of his inward state alone but of the illuminating Spirit of God, points every future observer to a higher form of Judah's sovereignty than the precedence of that tribe in the desert, and to a higher rest than that which the possession of the promised land brought with it."

The genuineness of this prediction of Jacob has been most violently contested, but in a manner which plainly shows that the secret of the opposition made to it lies in the palpable proof of inspiration which it affords. The discord, which prevails in the ranks of its opposers with respect to the real date of its composition, affords no very favourable presumption in the outset as to the certainty of those criteria on which they rely. Heinrichs confidently refers it to the time of David, Tuch to that of Samuel, and Ewald with as much positiveness as either to that of Samson. Fortunately we are able to furnish as thorough and conclusive a demonstration of genuineness in this instance, as we can in the case of any disputed passage of the Bible whatever. Kurtz sums up the argument under four heads, which, for convenience, we arrange in a different order.

1. The blessing is as a whole too indefinite, deals too much in general outlines and too little in individual forms to be a *vaticinium post eventum*. It has no such merely external, accidental congruence with the events of any period, as a feigned prediction, put into the mouth of Jacob by one living in that period, would necessarily have. Many of the blessings were suggested by the names of Jacob's sons, or by some incident in their history, or some peculiarity in their temper, which the patriarch had marked; and they are in

some cases at least (a remark made by Hengstenberg, which may be worthy of attention) rather true of them as branches of the chosen people, than characteristic of them as individual tribes.

2. The contents of the prophecy and its form agree entirely with the views and expectations of Jacob, and have nothing in them that would be at all surprising as coming from him on the supposition that he were really endowed with prophetic foresight. The proof of this has been sufficiently exhibited already.

3. The blessing contains positive data, which compel us to refer its composition to the ante-Mosaic period. The dispersion of Levi here appears as a judgment upon him for his misconduct. But this was accomplished, after the unholy zeal of the parent had been succeeded by the pious zeal of his descendants, *Exod. xxxii. 27—29*, and the curse had in consequence been converted into a blessing, by his being honoured to be the priestly tribe, and receiving in consequence as his inheritance cities selected from all parts of the land. But nothing is here said of the dignity of Levi as invested with the priesthood, or as being in any wise distinguished above his brethren. There is only the language of rebuke and malediction. It is impossible, as even critics of the most destructive school have been compelled to acknowledge, that language, such as we find here, could have been used after the priestly succession was fixed in the line of Levi. Tuch indeed endeavours to escape this conclusion, by referring its composition to the period when the misconduct of the sons of Eli had brought the priesthood into disrepute, *1 Sam. ii. 17*, and when Levites wandered through the land homeless, and ready to enter the service of any who would give them wages. *Judg. xvii. 7—12*. But we cannot say much in praise of that candour which thus extends without evidence the misconduct of a single vagabond Levite, or of Eli's two profligate sons, to the whole tribe to which they belonged. Nor, however low the sacerdotal tribe may have sunk in character or influence, would any writer of a truly theocratic spirit, as the author of this prophecy manifestly was, have represented that in such unqualified terms as a curse, which was the direct consequence of their investiture with the priesthood. And then the very instances referred to, show the opposite of that for which

they are adduced, and how high an estimate was set upon a connexion with the priestly tribe even in the case of one least worthy of such consideration. Judg. xvii. 13. Now, if this passage could not have been written after the priesthood was established in the tribe of Levi, and if, according to Tuch's own admission, this is as certain as any thing can be in the early history of Israel, that the priesthood was conferred upon Levi by Moses, the ante-Mosaic origin of this prophecy is indisputable. And if that be granted, it has now been carried back so near the time of its reputed origin, that no one would longer hesitate to admit its having been really uttered by Jacob.

4. There is no time after the fulfilment under Joshua, when all these various blessings could have had their origin. If with Tuch, on the ground of what is said of Levi, we refer its composition to the time of Samuel, or with Ewald, give the preference to the blessing of Dan, and fix it in the time of Samson, the blessing of Judah will stand plumply in the way. For how does the superior honour put upon this tribe accord with its miserable faint-heartedness in the time of Samson, Judg. xv. 9, etc., or with the insignificance of that tribe in the time of Samuel, which was such that it is but once or twice mentioned during the whole course of his ministry until the rise of David, and then not in a way calculated to make an impression of its prominence over other tribes? And besides, how do the other parts of the prophecy, which depict in such glowing colours the happy lot of the various tribes, agree with their wretched disorganized condition, their frequent apostacies, and the frequent oppressions to which they were subject in the times of the later judges, a period which our opponents delight in representing as one of even greater disorder than it really was?

Or if, to escape these difficulties, the composition of this prophecy be referred with Heinrichs to a still later date, the reign of David or Solomon, Charybdis will be cleared, but it is only to fall into Scylla. The blessing of Judah is provided for, but what is said of Levi presents a fatal obstacle. For from that time forward the sacerdotal tribe enjoyed the highest consideration; and the last faintest possibility has vanished of bringing the language of this malediction into any thing like harmony with the period assigned for its origin.

Now, if the tone of the whole prophecy, and particularly the blessing pronounced upon Judah, forbid our assigning it to the period of the judges, and on the other hand, the utterance respecting Levi excludes it from the time of David and Solomon, and this is the utmost limit to which it can by any possibility be carried, we are forced back again by this route also to our previous conclusion of its ante-Mosaic origin, or which is equivalent, its genuineness as a production of Jacob—a conclusion, which there is nothing to oppose, except the rationalistic dictum “there can be no real prophecy.”

ART. IV.—*Panslavism and Germanism.* By Count Valerian Kransinski. London, 1846.

Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress and Decline of the Reformation in Poland, by do. London, 1840. 2 vols.

Lectures on the Religious History of the Slavonic Nations: by do. London, 1849.

UNTIL the outbreak of the recent revolution in the old world, we presume that comparatively few among us were aware that that the population of Europe included so many distinct and hostile races as were then engaged in fierce conflict for new rights, or old privileges. Yet it would seem that even the lapse of centuries has not effected a fusion of these diverse social elements, such as we see accomplished in our country in the course of a few years. On the contrary, their antagonism appears to be as vigorous as it was a thousand years ago; and those best acquainted with the subject, do not hesitate to affirm that unless the mighty power of the gospel is brought to bear upon the discordant and heaving mass, we may look for a more terrible explosion than any that history has recorded.

Of the Celtic race only a few remnants survive, and these (unless in Ireland) are politically considered of no great importance. But the Teutonic and Slavonic races number, each of them, many millions; are spread over vast regions, and still retain in undiminished strength the antipathies generated by

conquests which were won before Europe had emerged from the night of barbarism. The main design of the first of the works named at the head of this article* is to draw the attention of Britain and Germany to the position of the Slavonic race on the east of Europe, and to the important fact that it is the only barrier against the ambitious schemes of Russia. He labours to show, that to delay any longer the work of amalgamating these hostile races through the agency of the pure gospel, is seriously to endanger the civilization of Europe.

Of the several European races, the Slavonic is much the most numerous, and occupies the largest amount of territory. Russia is pre-eminently a Slavonic power, having under its dominion 53,592,000; Austria has 16,791,000, Prussia 2,108,000, Turkey 6,100,000, Cracow 130,000, Saxony 60,000. In a religious point of view, the race is divided as follows: Greeks 54,011,000, Græco-Romans 2,900,000, Romanists 19,359,000, Protestants 1,531,000. Within the last half century there has been a decided quickening of the Slavonic intellect, and many admirable works have been produced in every branch of literature and science. One important result of this intellectual awakening is the growing desire for a political union of the manifold divisions of the race, the establishment of a Slavonic nationality, and a growing willingness to array themselves under any power which holds out the hope that this deep seated longing may be gratified. Whether such a rallying point can be found is somewhat doubtful; but if it ever is, it must be in Russia. And yet it must be owned, that, if it be true that the Slavonians are now beginning to recognize the fact, that however particulars may be modified by climate, religion, or other causes, they are essentially one race, and that their dialects are so nearly related that the sailors of Ragusa can easily converse with the fishermen of Archangel, the realization of this fond dream—as many will regard it—is not impossible. M. Kransinski affirms that the feeling of nationality is stronger and more widely diffused than it has ever been, and is accompanied with the firm belief

* Some years ago, Mr. Kollar, a popular Slowack poet proposed the union of all the branches of the Slavonic family under one empire. *Panslavism* was the name which he gave to this project, and it has since been retained as a convenient generic appellative.

that the Slavonic race is destined to exert an influence on the politics of Europe proportionate to its numerical and territorial grandeur. The subject opens an interesting field for speculation, but our object at present is not so much to discuss the possibilities of the future, as to describe the events of the past, particularly those connected with the religious history of the race.

The first missionaries to the Slavonians were members of the Greek Church; in matters of faith and discipline they were closely allied to that Church, yet from an early period they recognized the authority of the Pope of Rome, and hence after the schism between the East and the West they went with the latter. Still their Popery was of a very moderate kind, amounting to little more than the acknowledgment of the Roman Pontiff as the supreme bishop. Divine service was performed in the vulgar tongue, the priests were allowed to marry, and the cup was given to the laity. Distasteful as these concessions were to Rome—whose motto has ever been, all or nothing—she was forced to yield them, as any direct attempt at their removal would have resulted in schism. With a view to extend the Papal power the Bishop of Prague was raised to the dignity of Archbishop, and about the same time the University of Prague was founded. But various causes combined to frustrate the well-laid schemes of the Pope. Happily for Bohemia, the monarch who then filled her throne—Charles IV. of Germany and I. of Bohemia—was a man of enlightened views, averse from war, anxious to elevate his people, and by no means disposed to become the tool of Papal ambition. During his long and peaceful reign, Bohemia made great progress, in wealth, in literature, and even in religion. Charles found the country exhausted by the constant wars in which his father had been engaged. He applied himself to the removal of abuses, and by a series of wise measures, by sacredly preserving the constitutional liberties of the kingdom, and by inviting the co-operation of all classes of his people, in carrying out his measures, he gained the most brilliant success. Nor was the policy of Charles the only obstacle in the way of Rome. Many Vaudois, driven by her ruthless bigotry from their ancient homes, had sought and found a refuge in Bohemia; so early as A. D. 1176, many of the followers of

Waldo settled in that country, and though obliged to act with extreme caution, they succeeded in gaining a great multitude of Bohemian adherents. Of course, so far as their influence went, it would be decidedly antagonistic to the Papacy.

Indeed the course of events in Bohemia, during the century before the birth of Luther, seemed to be precisely of a character to prepare that country for becoming one of the earliest centres of Protestantism. The liberties long enjoyed and so tenaciously asserted by the Bohemian Church; the limited extent of the Papal authority; the intellectual revival in the days of Charles I.; the wide diffusion of Waldensian doctrines, and more especially the effects produced by the labours and martyrdom of Huss, would almost inevitably have led an observer of the state of Europe at that period to conclude, that, whatever might be the fate of the Reformed Church in other kingdoms, she would not fail to be permanently established in Bohemia. Such undoubtedly would have been the result, if the successors of Charles had been equally worthy of the throne. That excellent monarch was hardly cold in his grave, before a drama was opened, which, whether we consider the marvellous scenes enacted or the extraordinary personages who appeared upon the stage, is not surpassed in interest by any other in the annals of Europe. In the ordering of a kind Providence, the long and peaceful reign of Charles was not only a breathing spell after years of exhausting turmoil, but a period during which the energies of a gallant people were recruited with a view to a most unequal, yet glorious struggle for their civil and religious freedom.

One of the most prominent actors in the scenes adverted to was John Huss. The life of this eminent Ante-Protestant Reformer has been so often told, and the chief incidents of his career are so generally known, that it is quite needless to dwell upon them at length. Born at Hussinetz, (from which place he got his name), of humble parents, he won for himself high distinction by his genius, learning, and piety. The Jesuit Balbinus with rare candour for one of his order, says of him, that "his modesty, his severe morals, his pure conduct, the sweetness of his temper, and his affability to the meanest, persuaded more than the greatest eloquence." He was equally at home in the pulpit and the professional chair. In 1393 he was admitted

Master of Arts at the University of Prague; in 1401 he was made Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy; and about the same time he was chosen Confessor to the Queen. The personal virtues and the winning eloquence of Huss could hardly fail to gain for him a commanding influence, but the immense popularity which he so speedily secured, was probably more owing to his strong national attachments, than to any other single cause. He was, in his sympathies and tastes, a thorough Bohemian. He cultivated the national language and literature with a noble zeal and permanent success, for the laws of Bohemian orthography, as fixed by Huss, have been ever since observed. But the immediate occasion of his popularity was the share he took in a contest which arose between the German and Bohemian members of the University of Prague. This institution, as we have before mentioned, was founded by Charles IV., A.D. 1347, on the model of the Universities of Paris and Bologna. By the statutes of these seminaries, foreigners were allowed one vote, and natives three, in all University matters; but as, at the opening of the University of Prague, a much greater number of doctors and masters came from Germany than from Bohemia, the old law of voting was reversed, three votes being given to foreigners, and only one to natives. As, in process of time, the reason of this arrangement ceased to exist, the Bohemians demanded that the rule should be changed, and that they should be allowed a larger share of power in the academic senate. The Germans, naturally enough, yet most unreasonably, refused the request, and resolved to hold fast to their ancient predominance. In the long contest which ensued, Huss took a prominent part, as the champion of his nation, and finally gained the victory—a result which so disgusted the Germans, that they left Prague in a body, and soon after laid the foundations of the University of Leipsic. From the active share which Huss took in this quarrel, his name became as odious throughout Germany as it was popular in Bohemia, and there is reason to believe that the animosity thus excited against him had something to do with the subsequent violation of the imperial safe-conduct, which has stamped the name of Sigismund, and of the Council of Constance, with indelible infamy.

The marriage of Richard II. of England to a Bohemian

princess brought the two countries, remote as they are from each other, into relations which readily account for the early introduction of the writings and opinions of Wickliffe into Bohemia. Huss was one of the first among his countrymen to adopt the views of the English Reformer, and he immediately began to publish his new convictions with boldness and success, both in his sermons and his academic lectures. Up to the time when the works of Wickliffe came into his hands, he had been a sincere and earnest-minded Catholic, but after his eyes were opened to the manifold corruptions of the dominant Church, he was as cordially detested by Rome for his heresy, as by Germany for his patriotism. Protected, however, by the monarch of Bohemia, and idolized by all classes of his countrymen, he could safely bid defiance to the thunders of the Vatican, as his enemies well knew, while in his native land, and hence the eagerness with which the latter sought to entice him away from his secure position. At last, in an evil hour, trusting to the pledged word and written promise of the emperor of Germany, that he should be protected in life and liberty, he consents to meet his Romish foes beyond the limits of Bohemia, and in the presence of the collected dignitaries of the so-called Catholic Church, expound and vindicate the faith he preached. The story of his appearance before the Council of Constance, of the shameless violation of public faith, of his base betrayal into the hands of the bigots thirsting for his blood, of his heroic constancy in the true faith, and of his glorious death, has been often told, and is doubtless familiar to most of our readers. Suffice it to say, that the news of his cruel fate, coupled as it was with an unheard of breach of public faith, roused Bohemia almost to phrenzy. She resented the murder of her cherished son as a foul insult offered to herself. The University of Prague, for which Huss had fought so manfully, and incurred so much odium, published an appeal to Europe in vindication of his principles, his character, and his life; a medal was struck in honour of him; and the day on which he died was ordered to be observed as a solemn annual festival to commemorate his martyrdom. The perfidy of the emperor received a few years afterwards a meet retribution in the loss of the Bohemian crown; while the bigotry of Rome, like "vaulting ambition,"

overleaped itself, for the death of Huss, instead of checking, gave a fresh impulse to the spread of those doctrines in the defence of which he had sacrificed his life. Vast numbers speedily gathered around the standard of reform, which was still borne aloft, though he who first unfurled it had been smitten down. The progress of the new movement was greatly favoured by the character of Winceslav, the reigning monarch, who was of an indolent turn, fond of pleasure, and averse from any policy which demanded energy in the government, or that exposed his kingdom to the danger of commotion, and though he had no sympathy with the doctrines of Huss, he had as little love for Romish priests.

Unhappily for the cause of truth, the followers of Huss, soon after his death, were divided into two parties, known as the Calixtins and the Taborites. The latter were prepared to carry out his principles to their legitimate results, and with this view wished to form a distinct communion; while the former were unwilling to abandon the old Church, and contented themselves with aiming at the removal of the more clamant abuses in doctrine and discipline. For a considerable time this disagreement was unattended by bitterness of feeling, but it necessarily weakened the power and influence of the large body which had risen in rebellion against the despotism of Rome, and which, if it had been of one mind as to the proper limits of reform, would probably have succeeded in planting the civil and religious liberty of Bohemia upon a firm and lasting foundation. By the death of Winceslav, the movement, which hitherto had been purely a religious one, assumed a political character. His brother, the Emperor Sigismund, claimed the vacant throne, and he would doubtless have been chosen to fill it, but for his base betrayal of Huss, and his well-known devotion to Rome. For both these reasons, especially the first of them, he was detested by the great mass of the nation, but odious as he had made himself, his claims were not peremptorily set aside. He was offered the crown upon condition of his giving a formal promise to maintain the liberties of the kingdom, and to carry out certain ecclesiastical reforms; but, as he refused these conditions, the Bohemians solemnly declared that he was unworthy of the throne. It was evident that an appeal must be made to arms.

Nor was the question simply one of succession; the Pope was as deeply concerned in its settlement as the Emperor. Accordingly Rome and Germany, with hearty good will, combined their forces for the double purpose of putting down Bohemian rebellion, and the extinction of Bohemian heresy. The contest which ensued was not merely a struggle between a tyrannical king and a people resolved to defend their rights; it also became from its very outset a war of religion, and a war of races. The odds were so fearfully against the Bohemians, that successful resistance seemed to be perfectly hopeless. Sigismund entered Bohemia at the head of an army containing five Electors, two Dukes, two Landgraves, more than fifty Princes of Germany, and over one hundred thousand soldiers. But the battle is not always to the strong, nor the race to the swift; this mighty host was defeated and utterly broken by the Bohemians, under the command of one of those extraordinary men who appear at rare intervals upon the stage of human affairs.

John Ziska, the Hussite leader to whom we refer, may be said to have been the Cromwell of Bohemia. Unlike the great English captain, he had indeed spent his earlier years in the profession of arms, and had seen a good deal of service, but like him he trained a multitude of rude peasants into an army of warriors "whose backs no enemy ever saw," and who never fought a battle without gaining a most decisive triumph. In his boyhood he lost an eye, and this circumstance gave rise to the nickname—Zisca (one eyed)—under which he became known to Europe.* During the siege of Raby by the Imperial forces he lost his other eye, yet it was after he had thus become totally blind that he evinced his most consummate generalship, and gained his most splendid victories. Zisca, who was at the time attached as chamberlain to the court of Winceslav, was profoundly affected by the martyrdom of Huss, though it must be owned that he regarded the event with the eye of a patriot rather than a Christian. It was the insult to his country that moved his soul. The king one day perceived his chamberlain, who had been before one of the gayest of courtiers, walking the corridors of the

* His family name was John Troeznowski. He was of noble descent, and was born at Troez, now his paternal estate, during the latter half of the 13th century.

palace with folded arms, and wrapt in deep meditation, and said to him—"Yanku (*i. e.* Johnny), what is the matter with you?"—"I cannot brook the insult offered to Bohemia at Constance by the murder of John Huss," was Zisca's reply. The king rejoined—"Neither you nor I are able to avenge this insult, *but should you have the means to do it, you have my permission.*" The eagerness with which Zisca caught at this idea, which his royal master threw out more in jest than earnest, clearly proves his thorough persuasion that stirring times were at hand. He at once secured under the hand and seal of the king the authority which he had verbally granted, and though he had then neither wealth nor influence, yet with the resolute energy of a great mind, he set about the execution of the plans he had meditated for the defence of his country against both Imperial and Papal tyranny. During the four years that elapsed between the martyrdom of Huss and the terrible war, of which that event was the principal cause, Zisca succeeded in enlisting a number of the wealthier nobles in his scheme, and when at last the crisis arrived, he saw gathering around his standard thousands of the peasants whom he had summoned to the defence of Bohemia, by one of those short and pungent epistles, which strike the most sensitive chord of a nation's heart, and cause it to vibrate with the most powerful effect.—"Dearest Brethren," said he, "imitate the example of your ancestors, who were always able to defend the cause of God and their own. For ourselves, my brethren, having always before our eyes the law of God and the good of the country, we must be very vigilant; and it is requisite that whoever is able to wield a knife, to throw a stone, or to lift a cudgel should be ready to march. Therefore I inform you that we are collecting troops from all parts in order to fight against the enemies of truth and the destroyers of our nation; and I beseech you to inform your preacher, that he should exhort the people in his sermons, to make war on the Antichrist, and that every one, old and young, should prepare himself for it.—Remember your first encounter, when you were few against many,—unarmed against armed men. God's hand is not shortened. Have courage and be ready. May God strengthen you! Zisca of the Chalice in the hope of God, chief of the Taborites." The limits of this article will not permit us to dwell upon the subse-

quent history of this remarkable man, or to give any details of the battles he won and the astonishing feats of courage and military skill which he displayed on the most difficult occasions. His career was most brilliant, though comparatively brief, as he was cut off by the plague on the 11 Oct. 1424, while besieging Przybislav. Even Cochläus, who cordially hated him, confesses that he was the greatest general who ever lived, as he never lost a battle, and converted a motley throng of peasants and artizans into an army of accomplished and invincible warriors. After the loss of his sight, he was always conducted in a car close to the standard of the army, and after getting from his officers all the information they could give him relative to the features of the locality, the force and position of the enemy, he issued his orders. The most wonderful feature of his military exploits is, that after he became totally blind, he performed his most skilful strategic movements, in circumstances of extreme difficulty, with a rapidity and success which have hardly a parallel in the annals of modern warfare. Though Zisca early put himself at the head of the Taborites, the extreme section of the Hussites, he was probably led to do this, not so much by religious sympathy as by political considerations, and during his whole public career, he appears to have acted as a patriot defending the liberties of his country, rather than as a Christian Reformer seeking the purity of the Church. His views of gospel truth were on many points necessarily imperfect, for he had never been a scholar, and amid the turmoil of the camp research and meditation were impossible. But with all the defects of his faith, and the faults in his conduct, there is reason to believe that he was not a stranger to renewing grace; at all events his countrymen had abundant cause to cherish his memory, as they did with an almost idolatrous fondness, and to shed the bitter tears with which thousands watered his grave.

The Taborites now chose for their leader Procop the Tonsured, although a considerable portion of the Hussite army formed a distinct body under the name of Orphans. These last refused to recognize the authority of any single leader, declaring that no man in the wide world was worthy to succeed the peerless Zisca.

History has not given the same celebrity to the name of Pro-

cop as to that of the blind hero, whose place he took, and who, with prophetic discernment, had fixed upon him as his successor, yet the candid student of Procop's life will, we think, be forced to assent to the high estimate of his worth by his contemporaries, and to confess that he deserves to be ranked among the greatest men of his day. Little, if at all inferior to Zisca in military genius, he was endowed with qualities to which Zisca made no pretensions. He was an accomplished scholar and large-minded patriot, as well as a victorious general, and even when complete master of Bohemia, and the idolized leader of her triumphant armies, his constant aim and effort was not to aggrandize himself, but to restore to his country an honourable peace. Procop was the son of a noble without fortune. By the aid of a maternal uncle, who adopted him, he received a learned education, and was enabled to travel extensively through Italy, France, Spain, and Palestine. After his return home, he was induced, much against his will, to enter the priesthood, and hence received the nickname of the *Tonsured*. On the outbreak of the Hussite war, he abandoned the Church for the army, and attached himself to Zisca, who speedily discovered his great abilities, and as before stated, pointed him out as his successor. By his admiring countrymen he was called *Procop the Great*, and he certainly was more deserving of the title than some of those whose names it adorns.

The terror produced by Zisca's arms gave the Hussites a short interval of repose even after his death, during which they made occasional incursions into the adjacent provinces of Germany. At length the emperor prepared to invade Bohemia at the head of 200,000 of the choicest troops of Germany. The Hussites were far inferior in point of numbers, but they were animated with the confidence of success, generated by an unbroken series of triumphs. The two armies met on the plain of Toplitz, on the confines of the Germanic and Teutonic worlds. The Germans charged with the utmost impetuosity, and in the outset succeeded in breaking the first line of defence, but the violence of the effort, combined with the fatigues of a long march, had so exhausted them that they were unable to follow up the advantage. At this critical moment Procop gave the signal of attack, and pouring in his fresh and furious Hussites,

swept the field like a resistless flood. The rout of the Germans was complete, and the slaughter immense. Great, however, as were the material fruits of this victory, its moral advantages were still greater, as it confirmed the Bohemians in the belief that they were invincible.

Rome, now fully alive to the danger which threatened her spiritual sway in common with the imperial dominion, roused herself to meet the crisis, and by a bull, dated 16th February, 1427, published a crusade for the extermination of the rebellious heretics, whom she declared to be worse than Turks and Saracens. Europe had not for centuries heard such an appeal; yet the summons of the Pope were not unheeded. From the Elbe to the Rhine, the holy recruits were gathered; the rich burghers of the Hanse towns, and the hardy children of the Alps rallied around the joint standard of Pope and Emperor. The command of the crusade was given to Cardinal Beaufort, an Englishman and a Plantagenet, who found himself at the head of 90,000 horse and nearly 100,000 foot soldiers. In the presence of this formidable foe, the Bohemians forgot all their religious differences; men of all forms of faith, Taborites, Orphans, Calixtins, and even Catholics, and of all ranks, from the magnate to the mechanic, flew to the rescue of their common fatherland. Beaufort's army entered Bohemia in three divisions, and laid siege to the town of Meiss. The Bohemians instantly marched to meet the invaders, and the moment they appeared the crusaders fled, before a single blow had been struck—a fact which, strange as it seems, rests upon the testimony of Eneas Silvius, a contemporary historian. Besides a great multitude of prisoners, the amount of booty which fell into the hands of the victors was enormous; and it is even said that the riches gained on that memorable day laid the foundation of the present wealth of some of the most eminent families of Bohemia. The Pope wrote a letter of condolence to Beaufort, and urged him to renew the crusade, but the cardinal was quite satisfied with his short military experience, and wisely resolved to leave to others the task of eradicating heresy by force of arms. One happy effect of this union in defence of their country, was the removal of the asperity of the religious differences among the Bohemians. A truce of six months was

agreed upon between the Hussites and the Catholics, and at the end of it a Synod was called for the purpose of trying to heal their divisions.

Sigismund now made another trial of diplomacy, but as the Bohemians steadily insisted on their old demands, with which he was not yet ready to comply, nothing remained but to appeal again to arms. A new crusade was proclaimed, and notwithstanding the ill success of former efforts the bigotry of Rome, the thirst for revenge of Germany, and above all, the desire to regain the golden harvests which Bohemian valour had so largely reaped, combined to muster another mighty host of 40,000 cavalry and 90,000 foot. The crusading army, under the command of Cardinal Cesarini, aided by the Electors of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Bavaria, entered Bohemia through the great forest which skirts its western boundary. Deceived by the skilful manœuvres of Procop, and by the news of dissension among the Hussites, they advanced with great confidence, and attacked the town of Taush. Procop, at the head of his Taborites, however, soon put the besiegers to flight; they rallied again at Reisenbergh, and took up a very strong position, but soon finding that the quarrels of their enemies were a mere feint, and that the main force of the latter was rapidly approaching, the crusaders of Cesarini followed the example set them by those of his brother Beaufort. The Duke of Bavaria was one of the first to flee, and in his haste to reach a place of safety he abandoned his equipage, in the hope that the plunder of it would attract and delay his pursuers. The Elector of Brandenburg followed with equal speed. In fact, the only man who retained his courage amid the general panic was Cesarini, the priest; he strove hard to stem the torrent of fugitives, entreating them to call to mind the heroism of their pagan ancestors, and not to entail disgrace upon themselves and their country. Roused by the eloquence of the Cardinal, enforced as it was by his own brave example, they resolved to make a stand; their old position was resumed, but their courage was only momentary; at the first glimpse of the terrible Bohemian, the whole army threw down their arms and fled, bearing the heroic old Cardinal himself, sorely against his will, on the bosom of the terror-stricken crowd. Multitudes were overtaken and

slain. Two hundred wagons, several of them laden with gold and silver, and many more, as an old chronicler is careful to note, "with excellent wine," fell into the hands of the Bohemians. Cesarini lost his hat, cross, bell, and the Papal bull proclaiming the crusade.

The history of Bohemia during this eventful period, while fraught with scenes of romantic interest, suggests lessons that the patriot, as well as the Christian, may ponder with profit. We see in her a nation struggling against fearful odds for her liberties and her religion. Germany musters her hosts, Rome publishes a crusade, and summons her devotees from every land that bows to her sceptre, to join in the effort to subdue heresy and rebellion; yet, against the united power of Pope and Emperor, Bohemia stands up single-handed, and wins a succession of the most brilliant victories. How is this to be explained? The cause of it certainly is not sought in any peculiarity of race. The German is not inferior to the Slavon in any one of the elements of the soldier. The explanation is to be found mainly in the fact that the Bohemians were fighting *pro aris et focis*; they felt, with all the force of a religious conviction, that they were contending for the most precious blessings a nation can enjoy, against the most hateful tyranny that ever cursed the earth. Then again, they were acting only on the defensive; the battle was upon their own soil; and it pleased a kind Providence to raise up for them leaders endowed with military genius of the highest order, under whose guidance every soldier believed that he was marching to certain triumph. Happily for Bohemia, the seeds of her weakness and final misfortune—her sectarian differences—had not had time to germinate. Catholic and Calixtin had not yet learned to hate each other with a bitterness, all the more intense from the closeness of the tie that bound them together; and hence in the presence of the invading German, they forgot their dogmas and disputes, remembering only that they were Bohemians. And the glorious success which crowned their arms, even if it stood alone in the annals of the past, would go a good way towards proving that a brave and united people may safely bid defiance to any combination of foreign powers formed to subjugate or to crush them.

It was now manifest that neither the Emperor nor the Pope

could effect their designs in Bohemia by force of arms; indeed it is very doubtful whether another army of invasion could have been collected on any terms, for it was a common saying in Germany, that "every Hussite had a hundred devils in him." Diplomacy was now the last resort. Nor were the Bohemian leaders with all the laurels and wealth they had won, averse from peace; they longed for it, and in no aspect of his character does Procop appear more illustrious than in his eagerness to terminate the quarrel honourably. He held out in one hand the olive branch, even when wielding with the other the victor's sword. Sustained by his invincible Taborites, if he had pleased, perhaps he might have placed the crown on his own head; but his lofty patriotism was equal to his heroic valour, and he nobly resisted temptations by which so many conquerors have been conquered.

Soon after the opening of the Council of Basle, the Emperor addressed a letter to the Hussites, couched in affectionate terms, begging them to hold a conference on the points in dispute, at Basle, and promising their delegates full liberty of worship while in that city. They were not to be caught, however, by the honied words of a man whom they had ample reason to distrust, and it required considerable negotiation before their consent was obtained. At length they sent some three hundred delegates, among whom were priests belonging to their various sects, and a large body of laymen headed by Procop, and attended by the Polish ambassador. Eneas Silvius, who was present, has left us quite a lively account of their arrival at Basle. The whole population of the town were out to meet them, and as they gazed upon their strange dresses and terrible countenances, the simple Balois concluded that the wide-spread story must be true—that "every Hussite had a hundred devils in him."—All eyes were fixed upon Procop "the invincible, the valiant, the fearless, the indefatigable general," who had put to flight so many armies, and filled Europe with the fame of his exploits.

The delegates were instructed to demand the ratification of the *Four Articles*, which from first to last the Hussites had proposed as the basis of peace. These articles were as follows:

1. The word of God is to be freely announced by Christian priests throughout the kingdom of Bohemia and Moravia.
2. The venerable sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus

Christ is to be given in two kinds to adults as well as children, as instituted by Jesus Christ.

3. The priests and monks, many of whom meddle with the affairs of the State, are to be deprived of the worldly goods which they have in great abundance, and which cause them to neglect their sacred office ; and their goods shall be restored to us, in order that, in accordance with the doctrine of the Gospels and the practice of the Apostles, the clergy should be subject to us, and living in poverty serve as a pattern of humility to others.

4. All public sins which are called mortal, and other trespasses of the law of God, are to be punished according to the laws of the land, by those who have charge of them, without any regard to the persons committing them, in order to wipe from the kingdom of Bohemia the bad reputation of tolerating disorders.

The Basle fathers tried hard to inveigle the Hussite delegates into a doctrinal discussion, but nothing could induce the latter to abandon, or essentially modify their original position. In the course of the deliberations, Cesarini, one of the ablest of the Romish doctors, found that his old antagonist Procop, was as much his superior in the field of debate, as he had before been on the field of battle. One occasion the cardinal reproached the Bohemians for holding the mendicant orders to be an invention of the devil. "True," said Procop, "for since they were not instituted by the patriarchs, nor by Moses, nor the prophets, nor Christ, nor his apostles, what else can they be but an invention of the devil and a work of darkness"—a reply that created a general burst of laughter in the council. After a residence at Basle of three months, the delegates succeeded in getting a solemn confirmation of the Four Articles, slightly modified, which were immediately published under the name of *Compactata*. Sigismund was accordingly recognized as king of Bohemia by the Catholics and Calixtins, to which latter party most of the magnates belonged ; but the Taborites and Orphans, suspicious of the sincerity of both Emperor and Pope—and as subsequent events showed, with good reason—refused to receive him as their sovereign ; and with Procop at their head, they resolved to prolong the contest. There can be

no doubt that Procop was prompted to take this step by the hope of placing the liberties of his country on a more secure basis, still, it must be admitted, that the step itself was unwise and unfortunate. The strife was no longer with foreign foes, but between different classes of Bohemians. On the 29th May, 1434, the Imperial and the Taborite armies met upon the plains of Lipan, about four miles from Prague; the Hussites fought with their accustomed valour, and would probably have added another to their long list of triumphs, but for the treason of Czapak, the leader of the Orebites, who with his cavalry fled from the field. Upon seeing this, Procop with his best troops rushed into the thickest of the fight, and fell overpowered by numbers, as Eneas Silvius finely observes, "*non tam victus, quam vincendo fessus.*"*

We cannot leave this singular episode in modern history, without noticing a circumstance which is even more marvellous than the military successes of Bohemia, and that is the progress made by her literature amid influences so unpropitious. While the war was going on, the lectures in the University of Prague were uninterrupted, and the education of the masses was vigorously prosecuted. Tracts on religious subjects, full of talent as well as zeal, were written by common artizans. Eneas Silvius relates that the Taborite women were familiar with the whole Bible, and of the Hussites generally, though he bitterly hated them as heretics, he says—" *Nam perfidum genus illud hominum hoc solum boni habet, quod literas amat.*"

From the close of the war until the Reformation, the history of Bohemia offers little that is worthy of particular notice. The division between the Calixtins and the Taborites gradually became wider and wider, their religious differences being greatly embittered by the unhappy civil war to which we have adverted. The latter were subjected to several severe persecutions, but the sect still lived. Under the name of the Bohemian Brethren, which they adopted in 1450, they formed a distinct religious community. In 1500 they had over two hundred places of worship. Though they retained the name and office of bishop, their mode of government was essentially Presbyterian,

* *Historia Bohemiæ*, chap. 51.

and as witnesses for the precious truth of the Gospel in an age when Europe was sunk in Papal darkness, their early history is full of interest.* On the accession of the house of Austria to the Bohemian throne they were bitterly persecuted, and great numbers were forced into exile; but notwithstanding their unfavourable position their zeal was unabated, and early in the 16th century they published a version of the Holy Scriptures in their own language. Ultimately the Bohemian Church became merged in that of the Moravian Brethren, chiefly through the agency of Count Zinzendorf, who in the 18th century gathered the few scattered remnants of the Church that survived in the country of its birth. So that the Moravians of the present day may be regarded as the lineal descendants (ecclesiastically) of the body founded by John Huss.

We have not room to enter into the details of the subsequent history of the Calixtins; we can only say that though the Pope, with characteristic duplicity, refused to sanction the *Compactata*, they were still maintained for more than a century after their enactment. The Protestant Reformation had a happy influence on the Calixtin or the Utraquist Church, as it was sometimes called, purifying its faith, and enlarging its limits. It continued to exist, in spite of a vigorous onset by the order of Jesuits, then in the first flush of its youth, until 1620. So deep and universal was the indignation which the Jesuits excited against themselves in Bohemia, that they were banished the country, and it was made treason on the part of any one ever to propose their return. King Ferdinand their devoted patron was dethroned, and Frederic, Palatine of the Rhine, was chosen to fill the vacant throne. No doubt one reason of the choice was the expectation which the Bohemians had, of being sustained by his father-in-law, James I. of England, as well as by the Protestant princes of Germany. But in this they were miserably disappointed. Though the battle really was one between Rome and the Reformation, between the great cause of Protestant freedom and Popish bondage, England and Germany abandoned Bohemia, allied as she was to them by the ties of a

* See *Histoire Ancienne et Moderne de l'Église des Frères de Bohême et de Moravie*, par A. Bost. 2 vols. Paris, 1844.

common faith, to certain ruin. She fell; and in a few years scarcely a trace of the Reformation could be found in the land which was the first to cast off the yoke of Rome. A severe and immediate punishment was inflicted by Ferdinand himself upon the Protestant sovereigns of Germany, for their base conduct towards the Bohemians. As soon as he had crushed the Bohemians, he began to trample on the religious and civil liberties of those who had deserted them in the hour of need. The consequence of this was the memorable Thirty Years' War, which desolated Germany. Perhaps the fate of Bohemia might have been different, if the days of that truly Christian hero, Gustavus Adolphus, who saved Germany from destruction, had been prolonged; but his work was done when he had succeeded in rolling back the flood which threatened to submerge Protestant Europe. Meanwhile Bohemia so long free was again bound in the chains of Romish tyranny; nor is it difficult to discover the causes of the seeming ease and rapidity with which the mournful process was accomplished. History shows that the success of a cause tells with more effect upon the masses than its intrinsic merits. To side with the victorious is easy and profitable. No wonder, therefore, that when the most intelligent and influential Bohemian Protestants had been driven into exile, or had perished on the scaffold, the remainder were driven like so many sheep into the pale of the Roman Church, or were tempted to conceal their real creed under an outward conformity to its rites.

But we cannot bring this article to a close without at least a brief notice of the religious history of another great branch of the Slavonic race—the Polish. As might be expected the ecclesiastical history of Poland has many points of affinity with that of Bohemia; the same agencies were at work in both countries, and in each they produced essentially the same results. The ground for reformation had been largely prepared in Poland before the movement began in the west of Europe, and there is reason to think that it would have originated in Poland, even if it had received no impulse from abroad. The doctrines of Luther spread with great rapidity in Polish Prussia, which was inhabited by a population chiefly of German origin; and so early as 1524, the Reformed cause had made such progress in Dantzic, the

principal city of the province, that five churches were given up to its adherents. A powerful and in the main a wholesome influence was exerted by the Universities of Cracow and Konigsberg, founded near the close of the 15th century. Then again Poland enjoyed a degree of religious freedom, which at that time was unknown in any other part of Europe. Crowds of persecuted foreigners here found a refuge and a home. At Cracow, Vilna, Posen, and other cities, there were French and Italian congregations: while not only in these towns, but in many other parts of Poland there were great numbers of Protestant Scotsmen settled.* In fact—without dwelling longer upon the causes of the result—so widely were the doctrines of the Reformation diffused, and at one time so vast were the numbers of Protestants, not only among the common people, but also among all ranks of the nobility, that the restoration of the Papal rule seemed quite as hopeless as it is at this moment in England.

The Protestant cause reached the zenith of its prosperity at the conclusion of the Concensus of Sandomir in 1570. It then embraced most of the leading families of Poland; its churches were numbered by thousands; schools were everywhere established, and many printing offices were in active operation sending forth literary and scientific as well as religious works. And it deserves to be noticed that this flourishing era of Polish Protestantism was the Augustan age of Polish literature. The majority of the lay members of the Polish Senate were either avowed Protestants or members of the Greek Church; and the king himself gave unmistakeable proof that his sympathies were on the side of the reformed. In fine, the Roman Church in Poland seemed to be on the brink of remediless ruin, yet she was saved, and enabled to regain her ancient dominion partly through the efforts of one of those powerful characters, who occasionally appear in history, accelerating or arresting for centuries the march of events, and partly through the matchless folly of her enemies. The character to whom we refer was Hosius, not inaptly styled the Great Cardinal.

* Many of the Scottish families were settled in Poland before the Reformation, but became its zealous friends. There are even now, says our author, many families in Poland of Scottish descent belonging to the class of the nobles. Among them are the Haliburtons, Bonars, Wilsons, Forsyths, Inglis and others.

Stanislaus Hosius (or Hosen) was born at Cracow in 1504, and as his name indicates was of German descent. After receiving as complete an education as his own country could furnish, he repaired to the University of Padua, and from thence to Bologna. On his return to Poland he entered the Church, and through the favour of the Queen to whose patronage he had been recommended, he rapidly rose to the highest dignities in his native land and in the Roman Church. He was made Cardinal by Pius IV. in 1561, and appointed President of the Council of Trent, in which office his conduct was such as to give the Pope entire satisfaction. He spent his last years at Rome, where he died in 1579. Bayle, in his elaborate eulogy of Hosius, pronounces him to be the greatest man that Poland had ever produced; this is doubtless an exaggerated estimate of the man, yet all authorities concur in the admission that his talents were of the highest order, that his piety was sincere, and that he was adorned with many noble virtues. No Roman prelate of his times resisted the progress of the Reformation with more zeal than Hosius, and his activity and ability were equal to his zeal. Like Napoleon he dictated to several amanuenses at the same time; during his meals he often transacted important business, answered letters which came to him from all quarters, or listened to the reading of some new work. With the political and religious history of Europe he was thoroughly acquainted, and kept himself well informed about the doings of each of the leading Reformers of his day, with a view to counteract his efforts. In order to oppose the progress of reform, he continually addressed the king, the higher nobility, and the clergy, and was incessantly active at diets, synods, chapters, and provincial assemblies. Yet amid these manifold public labours he found time to compose works, which have earned for him the reputation of being one of the greatest writers of his Church, and which have been translated into the principal languages of Europe. He wrote with equal facility in Latin, Polish, and German, with wonderful versatility adapting his style to the character and taste of his readers. Thus his Latin works show the erudite and subtle theologian, while in his German he successfully imitates the sturdiness of Luther's style, condescending to his broad humour, and coarse but striking expressions, and in

his Polish he assumes the light and playful manner suited to the taste of his countrymen.* He made a particular study of the polemical works which one class of Protestants wrote against another, and skilfully availed himself of the arguments, by which some of them were infatuated enough to urge the application of penal laws to those who erred in religious matters.

Such was the great antagonist of the Reformation in Poland, who, the more effectually to secure the subjugation of his country to the dominion of Rome, called to his assistance the newly-established order of Jesuits. These were enemies that might well excite alarm under any circumstances, and yet formidable as they were, their efforts would have been utterly fruitless, but for the amazing infatuation of the Protestants themselves. Sectarian bigotry and divisions were the real causes of the downfall of Poland. The Protestants were split into three principal parties, viz: the Bohemian, the Genevese or Reformed, and Lutheran. Between the Bohemian and the Genevese Churches the only point of difference was the episcopal form of government of the former, but this created no bar to their cordial communion and co-operation. These united Churches endeavoured to extend their alliance to the Lutherans, by far the most difficult part of the scheme, in consequence of the tenacity with which the latter held on to their peculiar dogma concerning the Eucharist, and their bigoted denunciation of all who did not agree with them. After a great deal of labour on the part of all parties, a kind of federal union was finally concluded on the 14th of April, 1570. Had it remained unimpaired the permanent triumph of the Protestants would have been the certain and speedy result; but the Lutherans were never hearty in it, and partly from this cause, and partly through the wiles of the Jesuits they were induced to abandon it. But it is only fair to add that Lutheran bigotry was not alone in damaging the cause of the Reformation; it received quite as much injury from the spurious liberality and daring speculation of a certain portion

* The principal works of Hosius are *Confessio Catholicæ Fidei Christianæ*, of which, his biographer Rescius says, thirty-two editions were published during the author's life; *De Expresso Verbo Dei*; *Propugnatio Christ. et Cathol. Doctrinæ*; *De Communione sub utraque Specie*. The best edition of his works is that of Cologne 1584.

of the Genevese Church. We of course refer to the soul-destroying heresy of Socinianism by which some of the Polish Churches began to be infected. No wonder that many devout and reflecting minds among the Catholics became alarmed when they saw such results flowing from the Reformed movement—bitter dissension among its professed friends, and heresies which destroyed the foundation of the Christian system; no wonder that multitudes, who at one time had been almost ready to abandon Rome, hesitated in the view of such effects of the new doctrines, and in the end became more devoted in their allegiance to her than ever before. Such a field was precisely the one for the Jesuits to work in; they did enter it, and gained what proved to be for Poland, most disastrous success. They could not eradicate the Reformed Church, but they brought her down from the lofty and dominant position which she once held, to the low estate in which she remained until quite recently, of a barely tolerated sect.

ART. V.—*The Typology of Scripture*; or, the Doctrine of Types investigated in its principles, and applied to the explanation of the earlier revelations of God, considered as preparatory exhibitions of the leading truths of the Gospel. By Rev. Patrick Fairbairn, Salton. Vol. I.—Investigation of Principles and Patriarchal Period. Vol. II.—Mosaic Dispensation. Edinburgh, 1847. 12mo. pp. 1115.

Jonah: his Life, Character, and Mission, viewed in connexion with the Prophet's own times, and future manifestations of God's mind and will in prophecy. By the Rev. Patrick Fairbairn, Salton, Author of "*Typology of Scripture*." Edinburgh, 1849. 18mo. pp. 245.

Ezekiel, and the Book of his Prophecy. An Exposition. By the Rev. Patrick Fairbairn, Salton, Author of "*Typology of Scripture*," "*Jonah*," &c. Edinburgh, 1851. 8vo. pp. 460.

There is nothing in experimental science more curious and interesting, at least to the uninitiated multitude, than the changes wrought by chemical combination, in which the mixture of two substances produces a third wholly different in apparent qualities from both. There is something analogous

to this in intellectual and moral processes, especially in the modifications of opinion which arise from the concurrence of entirely different mental habits or modes of culture. The most remarkable example, in our own day, is afforded by the various combinations of the German element with the science and literature of other nations. The intellectual influence of that extraordinary people has been felt in some degree by every other in the civilized world, and by no two with precisely the same result. If we could trace this German influence in its effects upon the mind of France or Holland, we should no doubt find it terminating in results as different from one another as from those which we actually see in the Anglo-Saxon race. Even here, however, there are palpable distinctions and varieties, which it would be interesting to investigate, but which we can only indicate in passing.

The force of German mind was felt in the biblical science of America still earlier perhaps than in that of England. The impression here made was a deep and lasting one. The particular mode of thought, which happened then to be predominant among the German theologians, may still be traced among ourselves. It has even lasted longer here than in its native soil, as nations may be sometimes said to outlive themselves by surviving in their colonies. There is a reverence in New England for the dicta of De Wette and Gesenius, which is no longer felt among their countrymen. There is sometimes a religious awe in differing from them, even on the part of Christian men, that would seem absurd to the corresponding class of Germans. Essentially the same, and yet perceptibly unlike, is the effect of the like causes on the English Independents. In the Anglican writers, on the other hand, who have made themselves acquainted with the theological and biblical literature of the Germans, there is a strong predominance of English character and ways of thinking, which materially qualifies the German tincture, even when particularly strong. Of this, the most remarkable example is afforded by the works of Trench, in which, however, the new element is further modified by the unusually strong infusion of patristic learning.

But of all such combinations, the most interesting to our-

selves is in that of German culture, with its characteristic freedom and audacity, with the severer forms of Scottish Presbyterianism. The extent to which the process has been carried may be gathered from the fact, that the translation of Biblical works from the German is said to have been more extensive in Scotland than in either England or America. How this influence *ab extra* has affected the most rigid and the laxest class of Scottish theologians we have no means of determining, nor any such desire to know as we unquestionably feel in reference to the general mass of strong-built, well-informed, and orthodox yet independent Scottish minds, as represented by the educated clergy of the Free Church, in which we have all the national traits distinctly marked, without the local or ecclesiastical peculiarities of the establishment on one hand, or of the various seceding bodies on the other. It is certainly an interesting question, how does Germanism operate on this great body of intelligent and well-trained Calvinists, and we have looked with some impatience for the means and opportunity of solving the inquiry. After several partial and unsatisfying samples of the combination in question, we have now the advantage of a more complete one in the writings of the Rev. Patrick Fairbairn, the last of which is little more than two months old. Having turned the volumes over somewhat hastily, but certainly not inattentively, to satisfy our own curiosity, we now propose to give some brief account of our impressions, not so much in the way of minute analysis or formal criticism as in that of general description.

The "Typology of Scripture" claims our first attention, not only by priority of date, but by the importance of the subject. There are indeed few topics connected with Biblical interpretation, which seem to be more in need of re-investigation. The old opinions have gone out of vogue, without being replaced by any better, or indeed by any other system, so that the whole subject has been long in a most unsettled state. This would be no great evil if typology were merely a matter of curious speculation; but embracing as it does some of the most difficult and interesting questions of interpretation, its perversion or neglect cannot fail to be attended by the most pernicious consequences.

Under these impressions, which have long been forming, we

opened Mr. Fairbairn's book with some misgiving, but were soon agreeably surprised by certain indications, which went far to reassure us, and by enumerating which we may best assist our readers in forming a correct idea of the work itself. The first favourable symptom that appeared was the convincing proof afforded, that the author had not merely "crammed" for the occasion, but had long and patiently revolved the subject in his mind, and thought out his own theory before he undertook to write his book. Another, near akin to this, was his freedom from the affectation of some writers, who remove difficulties by denying their existence. But in this book the difficulties of the subject are distinctly recognized and fairly appreciated. Had this test of competency and candour been wanting, we should scarcely have consented to accompany the author in his lucubrations. We have long since lost our faith in those empirics to whom every thing is easy. A writer must know something by experience of our doubts and perplexities, before we can expect him to remove them. But in this respect we have no fault to find with the Typology before us.

The book is recommended by another quality too often wanting in such cases. The author is acquainted with the history of his subject. He does not come to the discussion of it, with a few *ex parte* notions gathered from some recent writer. He knows not only where the difficulty lies, but what attempts have heretofore been made for its removal. The historical introduction by itself went far to command our confidence in the author's competence to discuss so delicate a subject. Contempt of history or of the past is one of the surest signs of a dogmatical empiricism.

Under this last head we include a knowledge of the modern German writings on the subject. This knowledge extends not only to the rationalists, but to the believing school or schools of Hengstenberg, Hävernicks, Kurtz, Delitzsch, Caspari, and the like. Such knowledge we consider indispensable to a satisfactory discussion of the subject. Whatever may be thought of the German speculations, they have put a new face upon all such subjects. We go further, and affirm that the harm done by German infidelity is less than the good done by German faith combined with German learning. The questions raised by the

neologists have at least the merit of provoking their own answers.

At the same time, we are struck with the sturdy independence of the author's mind, in reference even to the best and safest of these German guides. There is no trace of the disposition, which we have too often seen in English and American writers, to regard a point as settled because this or that distinguished German says so. Mr. Fairbairn manfully maintains the right of private judgment against schools and doctors no less than against popes and councils. This circumstance creates a strong presumption in his favour, as an honest and independent seeker of the truth, without regard to mere authority or fashion.

Another merit of this treatise is its intellectual and scientific character. It is neither a dry catalogue of insulated facts, nor a cloud of vague abstractions, but a rational and logical discussion. It is no vain boast but a correct description when the author represents the contents of his book to be typology "investigated in its principles." It is no mean praise of it to say, as we have no hesitation in saying, that the best parts of it are those which deal with general facts and principles, and which require in their treatment large and comprehensive views of the design of revelation and the mutual connection of its parts. For such views the author's mind appears to have not only a strong predilection, but a more than ordinary aptitude.

A still more interesting feature of the work is the extent to which these large and often novel views are made to harmonize with the strictest requisitions of old fashioned Calvinistic orthodoxy. It is pleasing to see that the results of modern speculation and discussion on the Bible can be so naturally reconciled and brought into connexion with a sound theology. We have seen no evidence so clear as we discover in this treatise, of the fact that such a harmony is possible, and we wonder at the large amount of solid theological matter which the author has contrived without unnatural coercion to infuse into his bold and free investigation of the principles of scriptural typology.

The work is not only orthodox in creed, but evangelical in spirit, and practically useful in its tendency throughout. Its moral influence on well-disposed readers cannot fail to be a

good one. This is no small merit in an age when such discussions are so often either positively hurtful in their tendency, or at the best entirely negative and destitute of any definite religious character. The appearance of such a work is an encouraging prognostic of the speedy restoration of a union which has long been interrupted, that of learned and original discussion of disputed points with doctrinal soundness and a pious spirit.

But all these are preliminary generalities, having no peculiar references to the subject of typology. The qualities which we have pointed out might have been displayed, and with the same effect, in a treatise upon any other biblical topic. The main question is, what new light has the author thrown upon the types of Scripture? It will not be easy in the space allotted us, to do justice to the doctrine here propounded and maintained. A brief description, and a simple statement of our own views with respect to it, is all that we can here attempt, and that with the view of exciting rather than of satisfying the reader's curiosity.

The first particular that we shall mention is the clear statement and successful refutation of extreme opinions on the subject of typology, with which the author prefaces his own inquiry. We have never seen a fairer or more accurate exhibition of the different theories and methods of typical interpretation, with their respective disadvantages and weaknesses. The arbitrary complication of the old schemes, and the sceptical barrenness of those which have succeeded them, are here exposed with equal faithfulness and skill. We are particularly pleased with the respect paid to the piety and learning of such men as Cocceius and Witsius, even in dissenting from them, and the total absence of that flippant sciolism which imagines, or pretends that biblical learning was unknown before the rise of the infidel theology among the Germans.

Having set aside these opposite extremes of error, the extreme which can see no types in the Word of God, and that which can see nothing else, the author lays down certain principles by which the investigation and interpretation of the types which are there should be governed. The characteristic feature of his own scheme is its preference of permanent pervading types to those of a more special and occasional description. While he boldly questions or denies a multitude of typical analogies long

cherished in religious literature and what may be called popular theology, he recognizes others of gigantic magnitude, pervading the whole history of Israel and determining its structure and complexion. The grand peculiarities of this Typology, to English readers, will be found to consist in the typical character thus given to the history as such, and in the relation assumed or established between this and the prophecies, by means of which the author undertakes to solve the *quaestio vexata* of a double sense, without foregoing any of the benefits supposed by its advocates to flow from it, and at the same time, without forfeiting the confidence of its opponents.

This view of the matter, although new and perhaps startling to the majority of mere English readers, is by no means an invention or discovery of our author, nor is it so represented by himself. It is the fruit of a long series of investigations by the believing school of modern German critics, since the reaction from the extreme form of rationalistic infidelity. Of this new school the acknowledged founder, and still living head, is Hengstenberg, whose efforts have been powerfully seconded by the congenial although independent labours of such men as Hävernicks, Kurtz, Delitzsch, Drechsler, Hofmann, and Caspari. Each of these writers has views peculiar to himself, but they all agree in their rejection of the old typology and in their adherence to the typical theory or principle of interpretation. One of the happiest efforts and strongest recommendations of their common doctrine, is the new charm which it gives to the Old Testament by bringing all its parts into organic unity, and substituting a generic exegesis for the specific whimsies and caprices of the old typologists.

Of this new method of interpretation, wholly German in its origin and earlier developments, the book before us is the first complete and systematic exhibition in the English language. This is in fact its greatest merit, and the one to which it specially lays claim. The author, far from making any secret of the source from which he draws, has multiplied his citations and quotations from the class of German writers just referred to, perhaps excessively. We have been much struck with the difference between the passages directly quoted, and the author's statement of the same ideas in his own words. Besides the

awkwardness and feebleness which almost always mar translations, there is a nationality about the mode of thought and of expression, which must greatly weaken their effect upon the English reader. What we most want in Great Britain and America, in reference to this field of inquiry, is the raw material of foreign learning and discovery wrought by native industry and skill into a thoroughly domestic manufacture. Mr. Fairbairn has contributed his share of both these kinds of labour; first as one of the translators of Hengstenberg's work upon the Psalms, and now as the author of the works before us. We are heartily glad that instead of simply dressing up his German favourites in English clothes, he has given them, so to speak, an English education; they are not merely imported but naturalized. In justice to him we must go still further, and bear witness to the fact, that although they have retained their identity in passing through his hands, they have received a very visible improvement. To all their native and exotic merits he has added the authentic stamp of Anglo-Saxon common sense. Even Hengstenberg is here stripped of the few German fopperies which hang about him in his native dress, such as his odd notions about numbers and some other pardonable whimsies. In this direction Mr. Fairbairn goes occasionally further than we are disposed to follow him, while on the other hand he has adhered to his authorities in some points which we think might better have been spared. But these are matters as to which diversity of taste and judgment is to be expected, and which do not in the least affect the general statement, that the Germans have lost nothing of originality and strength at Mr. Fairbairn's hands, and gained not a little in sound judgment and discretion.

But over and above all this, these learned and ingenious strangers have been not only introduced to the reading public of Britain and America, but brought as we have seen, into connection with a truly rational yet scriptural theology, both in its doctrinal or theoretical, and in its practical or moral aspects. On this account especially, besides the reasons before given, we regard this "*Typology of Scripture*" as a valuable addition to our biblical literature, opening even to the general reader but especially to ministers and students of theology, an easy access to the best results of German exegetical investigation, without

relaxing in the least the claims of an enlightened Calvinism on the understanding and the conscience. Though not entirely free from all obscurity of method and expression, the treatise is essentially a scientific one, and on that account the better suited as a text-book to the wants of students. To such we strongly recommend it, as a work which cannot be attentively perused without an intellectual effort or without a corresponding intellectual improvement, while its strong theological and practical tendencies can scarcely fail to make it still more useful in a higher sense.

It was altogether natural that Mr. Fairbairn, having satisfied himself as to the principles of typical interpretation, should desire to apply them to some definite portion both of history and prophecy. This he has attempted in the other works before us, but, we feel constrained to say, with less success than in the exhibition of his general theory. The failure, if it may be so described, has arisen in a great degree from the peculiar character and habits of the author's mind, and more especially from that predilection, which has been already mentioned, for large and comprehensive views, in preference to more detailed investigation. The very power of generalization which he obviously possesses seems to render him impatient of the slow and toilsome processes of exegesis. Although certainly a man of more than ordinary learning, he has given no convincing proof in these books of superior philological accomplishments, and still less of a taste for that kind of interpretation which includes among its direct objects the detection and exposure of the nicer shades of meaning, in addition to the faithful exhibition of what may be regarded as essential. It is obvious enough from the samples now before us, that his mind unwillingly submits to the trammels of continued exposition, and is constantly disposed to view things on a larger scale, to compare Scripture with Scripture, rather than to master and exhaust a single context. Of these two kinds of exegetical ability the one which we have represented Mr. Fairbairn as possessing will by most men be regarded as intrinsically higher than the one in which we represent him as deficient.

The little book on Jonah labours under the peculiar disadvantage which accompanies all continuous attempts at the solution

of enigmas. After all that Mr. Fairbairn has accomplished, the history of Jonah is, to a great extent, a riddle still. It will yet retain its place, with the Song of Solomon and a few other portions of the sacred canon, among the *δυσνόητά τινα* (2 Peter iii. 16), by which the faith and ingenuity of readers and interpreters in every age have been severely tried, without materially adding to the knowledge and the clear conviction, which the Church has all along possessed, as to the canonical authority and use of these perplexing Scriptures. To have shrunk from a new effort in the same direction, if it lay in his way, would have belied the characteristic intrepidity with which our author encounters every puzzling question, and expresses an opinion upon every doubtful point, so that there is scarcely in the course of these four volumes an instance of vacillating or suspended judgment. This is far better than the opposite extreme and gives a healthful tone to his writings, which may therefore serve as a corrective of the vagueness and uncertainty too common in contemporary exegesis. His error, we think, lies in having undertaken an extended exposition of what ought to have been only treated incidentally. We find accordingly that scarcely anything of real value has been added here to what was said upon the same subject in the *Typology*. As a further proof that the author labours under some peculiar disadvantage in this effort, we may mention that he sometimes does what we praised him for avoiding in his earlier work, extenuates the difficulties or denies them, and complains of previous interpreters for having missed what seems to him so obvious. The chief peculiarity or novelty of his interpretation lies in the assumption that Jonah's mission to Nineveh had reference throughout to the kingdom of Israel; and more especially, that his displeasure at the escape of the devoted city arose, not from peevishness of temper or official pride, but from a dread of the injurious effect of God's forbearance on his own deluded countrymen. We doubt whether all the author's ingenuity and learning will give currency to this opinion. We are sure, however, that the book, notwithstanding the defects which we have mentioned, will afford a great deal of instruction both to professional and general readers.

Much more ambitious in its aims, and (we may add without

offence) in its pretensions, is the work upon Ezekiel, an elegant octavo, the superior typography of which may be understood, we trust, as indicating the success of the Typology, and a wide demand for something more from the same pen. The intrepidity, for which we give the author credit, is strikingly exemplified in his readiness to grapple with the most enigmatical of all the prophets. The tone of the preface excites expectations which are scarcely realized, at least by a perfunctory perusal. Such a perusal is indeed rendered difficult by the external form of the author's exegetical method, which appears to be a favourite with Scotch interpreters, but which appears to us far less adapted to the popular utility of such works than the old fashioned practice of making the conventional divisions of the text more prominent, and indeed the frame work of the composition. Here, on the contrary, as in Dr. Brown's learned work upon First Peter, the text is broken up into masses varying in form and size, according to the sense indeed but so that the form of the original is merged in the stream or ocean of the exposition, and can only be seen rising to the surface here and there at irregular intervals. Now the two great uses of expository works are to be read continuously, and referred to occasionally; and both these ends are in our opinion much more effectually answered by well constructed annotations on the chapters and verses of the Hebrew or the English Bible, than by the most ingenious disguises or substitutes for these universally familiar forms.

Here too, as in the "Jonah," we observe a disposition to extenuate the difficulties, or to charge them on the errors of interpreters or the stupidity of readers, and an occasional impatience of minute investigation, in the very places where it seems most unavoidable, leading the author to adopt the conclusions of his favourite authorities, sometimes without sufficient reason, or to represent the questions which he cannot solve as wholly unimportant and unworthy of attention. This superiority to little things, however useful it may be in other cases, as a safeguard against trifling and belittling treatment of the greatest matters, can scarcely be regarded as a special qualification in an expounder of Ezekiel, who should either let the task alone or come to it prepared for the handling of the sharpest and

minutest points. This is so far from being inconsistent with the massive grandeur which is justly predicated of this prophet, that the combination of the two apparently incongruous attributes is just what constitutes the individuality of his prophetic style and character.

The foregoing strictures are not to be understood as denying to the work before us the praise of laborious and detailed interpretation, but only as imputing to it greater crudeness, less originality, and less convincing power, than to the author's work upon *Typology*. Except so far as the reasonings and conclusions of that treatise are repeated here, the author appears less at home and less at ease, less conscious of his strength, though not by any means less eager to exert it. We do not find the same appearance of slowly acquired, thoroughly digested knowledge, but rather that of hasty acquisition and imperfect meditation. This may be only an appearance; but even in that case it sufficiently evinces that the author's strength lies not so much in formal and continuous interpretation as in comprehensive and connected views of general truths and fundamental principles. To use a technical distinction, he shines less in exegesis than in hermeneutics. He is more successful in laying down the laws of exposition than in applying them to specific cases. We need scarcely add that the defects which we have pointed out, are such as arise not from any intellectual inferiority to what has been attempted, but rather from a cast of mind and mode of thought adapted to a task still higher.

Our impressions of these interesting works may now be easily summed up. The "*Jonah*" and "*Ezekiel*" are highly worthy of perusal, were it only as embodying the choicest fruits of the latest and best German studies, in a form adapted to the wants of English readers, by a writer of good scholarship, sound principles, strong mind, and Christian spirit. We cannot, however, conscientiously describe them as making any sensible advance upon the ground already occupied by eminent interpreters, or as affording any new key to the difficulties of the books which they interpret. The "*Typology of Scripture*," on the other hand, we look upon as really supplying a desideratum, and to a great extent filling a chasm which has long been felt to exist in our biblical literature.

If we might venture to suggest a task for the useful employment of our author's powers, it would be a systematic work on the antiquities of Scripture, in which the religious and the typical element should have its due predominance, instead of being superseded by the civil and the secular. This idea has been acted on already by Ewald in the archæological supplement to his History of Israel, but not in such a way as to satisfy the minds of evangelical Christians. Such a work would afford the opportunity of bringing out the substance of the "Typology" in new forms, or at least in still more striking applications than can be expected in compositions purely exegetical. If this should not be practicable or expedient we would recommend a new edition of the Typology, as soon as circumstances warrant it, with some improvement in the distribution and arrangement, and a great deal in the style, which is now disfigured by verbosity and Scottish idioms. Of this we should not venture, as Americans, to judge by any standard of our own; but we are not accustomed, even in contemporary English writers, to such frequent use of "timeous," "open up," and above all of the adverb "just," which may be reckoned as a kind of Scottish Shibboleth. There are other literary faults in these performances which would almost seem to indicate their having been prepared for oral delivery, but which sensibly detract from their effect as books designed to be deliberately read. Among these are the frequent repetitions and the long and involved sentences, which seem to be considered indispensable in public speech by many of our Scottish brethren. By pruning this luxuriance and in other ways condensing the expression without lessening the substance, this important work might be made accessible to many who are now unable or unwilling to make use of it. Its literary merit and its logical effect would also gain instead of losing by the change. But even as it is, we should rejoice to see it placed within the reach of American readers, and have no doubt that it would be permanently useful to the religious public generally, and in an eminent degree to ministers and students of theology, as an unpretending but invaluable aid in the exegetical study of the Scriptures, and in the regular expository labours of the desk and pulpit.

ART. VI.—*The General Assembly.*

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States met at St. Louis on Thursday May 15th and was opened with a sermon by the Rev. A. W. Leland, D.D., Moderator of the last Assembly. The Rev. E. P. Humphrey, D.D., of Louisville, Kentucky, was chosen Moderator, and the Rev. W. D. Howard, Clerk.

CASE OF THE REV. DR. DUNCAN MCAULEY.

The Rev. Mr. Twitchell submitted the following case: The Rev. Dr. Duncan McAuley asked to be restored to the gospel ministry by the Presbytery of Louisiana. He was suspended from the ministry by the Presbytery of Toronto, Canada. The Presbytery of Louisiana wished to lay the papers in this case before the General Assembly, and to ask for advice. The Presbytery had this case long under their consideration, and referred it to a committee. The majority of the committee reported favourably with reference to Mr. McAuley's application. The minority against it.

On motion, the papers were referred to the Committee on Bills and Overtures. When this committee reported, the case was disposed of by adopting the following resolution:

Resolved, That the report of the Committee of Bills and Overtures, in the case of Duncan McAuley, LL.D., be substituted by the following resolution, that if the Presbytery of Louisiana shall think it desirable that Dr. McAuley be restored to the functions of the ministry, they be directed to procure all the information accessible on the subject, especially the record of the Presbytery in Canada relating to the case, and to prepare all the papers in the case, and send them up to the General Assembly, that that body may take definitive action in the premises."

THE WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

The Directors and Trustees of the Western Theological Seminary, submitted their reports, which were committed to a special committee.

It was made the order of the day for Wednesday afternoon, at four o'clock, to proceed to the election of a Professor of Oriental Literature in the Western Theological Seminary.

The Assembly, agreeably to a standing rule, having implored the Divine guidance, proceeded to nominations, when the Rev. M. W. Jacobus was nominated to fill the vacant professorship, and it was stated that this nomination was in accordance with the wishes of the Board of Directors. Mr. Jacobus was elected on the day appointed, by an almost unanimous vote.

The Committee on the Reports of the Directors and of the Trustees of the Western Theological Seminary made a report, which was accepted, and is as follows, viz:

They recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That these reports be printed in the Appendix to the Minutes.

2. *Resolved*, That the Assembly learns with great satisfaction the progress which has been made by the friends of the Seminary towards its complete endowment.

The Committee further report that they have found in the minutes of the Board of Directors, which were put into their hands, a record at page — of the proceedings on April 3, 1851, from which it appears that the Rev. Dr. McGill, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, &c., had sent into the Board, to be transmitted to this Assembly, his resignation; and that the Board, for reasons recorded, assumed the responsibility of withholding the same from the Assembly. The Committee do not find in the records any intimation that Dr. McGill, although the Board voted to inform him of their action in the case, has retracted his resignation; which therefore now comes before the Assembly for its consideration.

Whereupon, on motion of Mr. Howard, the following minute was adopted, viz:

Whereas, The Rev. Dr. McGill, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, &c. in the Western Theological Seminary, did, for

reasons satisfactory to himself, tender to this General Assembly, through the Board of Directors of that Seminary, the resignation of his Professorship. And whereas, in the progress of this affair, the cause which led to this act, on the part of Dr. McGill, is supposed to be effectually removed, so that although he could not see his way clear to withdraw his resignation, yet he is now willing to remain in his present post. And whereas, the interests of that important and increasingly useful institution most urgently demand the continuation of his services, therefore

Resolved, That in the judgment of this Assembly, Dr. McGill will most effectually serve the Church and promote the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom by remaining in his present office.

This minute was adopted, after a protracted discussion, by a vote unanimous with the exception of the two votes from the Cincinnati delegates. Dr. McGill having conditionally accepted a call to a church in Cincinnati, accounts for the delegates from that place wishing that his resignation might be accepted. In the course of the debate on this subject, the Rev. Mr. Howard read the following letter from Dr. McGill, which it is due to that gentleman to make a part of the history of this case.

LETTER FROM DR. MCGILL.

I hope the General Assembly will pardon the trouble, and not deem it wholly irrelevant, for me to submit a concise statement of facts, connected with my resignation of the place which I have held for nine years. Much misrepresentation has been made, undesignedly, no doubt, for the most part, yet calculated to *perplex my mind* in the course of duty; if not also to diminish my usefulness. I had laboured four years, in two departments of the Seminary; and had become finally discouraged, with the impression that our defective organization of the Faculty would be continued an indefinite period longer; notwithstanding the injunction of the last General Assembly to increase the finances of the Institution, for the support of a third Professor.

A communication was received, last summer, from the Seventh Church of Cincinnati, submitting to me, that they would elect me to be their pastor, if I would favour their application; I answered, with expressions of fondness for the pastoral relation,

but of strong fear, that my health would not warrant a return to that manner of life. They continued the urgency however, and at length I proposed to visit them, at a convenient season; being unwilling that any people should call me to such a relation, without some experience of my ministration among them.

Before the time for that visit arrived, I received information wholly unexpected, that the Synod of Georgia had elected me to the vacant chair of their Seminary at Columbia. This invitation I was very much inclined to accept, and awaited the action of the Synod of South Carolina, in their vote of confirmation. While awaiting in this way, the time arrived for my visit to Cincinnati, during a short vacation in our Seminary, about the beginning of the year. But the visit was providentially hindered at the set time: and I did not deem it a duty to go, after my arrangement in the Seminary had been resumed.

The Synod of South Carolina confirmed the election in Georgia by a divided vote, and before I received a satisfactory explanation of it, I received another communication from Cincinnati, proposing to go on with a call, without my visit, if I would accept. This letter I answered by repeating the difficulties which lay before me; and which, I supposed, would discourage them from proceeding—yet intimating, that, if after all, they should deem it their duty to throw upon me the responsibility of deciding, I would accept, providing I could be satisfied that my health would allow it, and that my resignation at Allegheny would be accepted. I soon after received information, that they had fixed the time for proceeding to a formal call. I consulted some three or four intelligent and eminent medical friends, who strongly discouraged me from returning to pastoral labour. I sent a telegraphic dispatch, on the day appointed, stating the fact; which was read at the congregational meeting. They proceeded however to make out a unanimous call; and sent it by the hands of two commissioners. This singular urgency, under all the circumstances, seemed to be the hand of God shutting me up to that course of duty; and I accepted, precisely in the terms I had promised, and with the additional stipulation that, if possible, no publication of the call should be made, until the time came for my entering on its duties.

The question of health was one of deep and painful anxiety, on which every one around me expressed an opinion adverse to my decision. For this reason, and because the opposition in South Carolina had been satisfactorily explained, I reserved in my hands a declination of the offer from the South, some two weeks after this interview with the Commissioners from Cincinnati; when publications appeared, announcing in the most unqualified manner, my acceptance of that call. I instantly declined the offer from Columbia, lest my conduct might be misunderstood; and from that time, the 11th of March last, to this day, there has been no other issue before me, but that of Allegheny and Cincinnati. It is true that many noble hearted friends at the South have urged me to reconsider my declination; but the course pursued by some newspapers, and a multitude of talkers, has rendered this impossible.

Nor has there been any compromise, or retraction of my word to the people of Cincinnati. The strong resistance at Allegheny is certainly none of my procuring or expecting. But, on every account, it is one which I am bound to respect; and I do so far respect it, as to say that, if the Assembly sustain the action of our Board of Directors, and decline to take my resignation, I shall acquiesce, and cheerfully return to my post. But I cannot recall my resignation, inasmuch as the only satisfaction I received, that my difficulties there would be removed, came too late to govern my conduct in the premises. It is due the Directors to say, that they are worthy in every way of the trust committed to their hands, and have always treated your Professors there with kindness and paternal regard. *I could spend a life-time among them with comfort.* And had there been a prompter exertion, on the part of the churches and people, to make that Seminary what it ought to be, I would not have thought of leaving it for any other situation in the Church.

I regret, inexpressibly, that any personal matter of mine should be made to occupy, for a moment, the attention of the General Assembly; but I have been constrained to detail them thus far, that the reason may be apparent for casting myself *implicitly* on the will of the Assembly; and that the unfounded surmises of some, that there has been vacillation on my part, may be removed, not only for my own sake, but for the honour

of the Assembly itself, whose servant I am, in more than one relation. Very respectfully,

ALEX. T. MCGILL.

In explanation of the action of the Assembly in this case, it was resolved that the Assembly intended in the resolutions already adopted, to decline accepting the resignation of Dr. McGill.

CHEAP PAPER.

The General Assembly took up the consideration of a report from a committee appointed by the last General Assembly on the subject of a cheap religious weekly newspaper, for general circulation, throughout the Church. The report, after a full exposition of the advantages of such a paper, proposed the following resolutions for adoption, viz:

1. *Resolved*, That instead of the "*Home and Foreign Record*," as now published, the Board of Publication be directed to issue and circulate, as early and extensively as possible, a religious weekly paper of the common size and form, on good material, of fair execution, and of the very best character, and at the rate of \$1 a year, to be uniformly pre-paid.

2. That it be urged upon all our church courts, officers, and members, to aid the Board in the sustenance of the paper, and in its circulation, so that it may reach every family willing to receive it.

3. That in the opinion of the Assembly this paper should be the medium of communication from our Boards to the churches; and that, for a time, the several Boards should pay a reasonable compensation for the amount of room they shall occupy, this compensation to continue only so long as the circumstances of the paper shall require it.

4. That it shall be the duty of the Board to appoint an editor for the paper, who shall devote himself exclusively to its interests; also to keep an exact account with the paper, and to report annually to the Assembly.

5. That in view of the additional duty here laid upon the Board of Publication, it be recommended to the increased liberality of the churches.

The following letter from the Rev. Dr. James W. Alexander, a member of the above Committee, was read, dissenting from the majority report.

To the Chairman of the Committee on a Cheap Paper.

PRINCETON, April 5th, 1851.

My Dear Sir:—I have acknowledged the reception of your letter of the 27th, in regard to the cheap paper. I was ill, when the Committee met in Philadelphia, and have never heard what they did. At the time of your letter's arrival, Dr. Breckenridge had already sailed for Europe; so that a part of what you purpose is no longer possible. I am therefore reduced to the necessity of addressing my sole opinion, which I am able to do in a few words. As I do not expect to be at the Assembly, I should be glad if my humble judgment in the matter might be represented.

While I have no zeal whatever in the affair, and regret that I have been put on the Committee, I have, from the beginning, had a clear and determinate conviction against any attempt of the Church, as such, to issue a newspaper. My reasons are briefly these:

1. The hope of such cheapness as is promised, is in my view chimerical. And this judgment is founded on the concurrent testimony of practical printers and publishers.

2. Still more am I opposed to any such centralization of our journalism. It may do in records of facts and items of bare intelligence. But in a newspaper, according to our common notion of such a publication, a church organ must be one of two things, either a milk and water, trimming, lukewarm affair, which would die for want of patronage—or worse yet, a powerful party engine. In my humble judgment, it comports far better with the character of independence which belongs to Scottish Presbyterianism, to have a number of journals, each freely and courageously representing some set of opinions. Such generous warfare is good and healthful; and vastly more to my mind, than a religious *Moniteur*, or *Pekin Gazette*, issued by the central power.

3. In practice, it would be found impossible to satisfy the whole Church with a place of publication. New York? Philadelphia? Pittsburgh? Cincinnati? St. Louis? Columbia?—Is it

believed that our Philadelphia friends would go to New Orleans for reading?

4. Our existing Church papers, which are excellent, somewhat exhausted the appetite of the public for "government rations," *e. g.* the *Home and Foreign Record*, the *Foreign Missionary*, and the *Sunday School Visitor*; I might add, Dr. Van Rensselaer's two periodicals, though not under proper Church auspices.

In a word I do not see the crying necessity for such a work. Were it set a going to-morrow, I should feel no wish to subscribe for it, at a shilling. In the proportion of its success, it would injure and supplant many excellent journals, which do great good in their respective quarters, and merit the patronage which they receive. A vast corporation might indeed *undersell* them; but I cannot perceive the necessity for so violent a proceeding. The article of *news* must be somewhat old, before it could go from Cincinnati to New York. All the existing warmth of local attachments would be absent. I observed while in New York, how next to impossible it was, to make a New Yorker take *The Presbyterian*. He wanted his church news fresh from the oven. The stamp of the Church might lead some to subscribe, but would not lead them to enjoy what was either counter to their views, or so trimmed down as to suit all parties.

After all, I think persons remote from the actual operations of journalism will like the cheap proposal, and perhaps gather in sufficient strength to start it. If so, I would not desire to throw a straw in their way. J. W. ALEXANDER.

After a discussion of the general project, the whole subject was on motion of Dr. Plumer, laid on the table, by a vote of 113 yeas to 63 nays.

On the last day of the session this subject was called up and referred to a select committee to report to the next General Assembly.

DIVISION OF THE SYNOD OF NEW JERSEY.

Overture No. 2. A Memorial from the Presbytery of Newton, requesting that the Delaware river be the boundary between the Synods of New Jersey and Philadelphia.

An opposing Memorial was presented from the Presbytery of Raritan.

A Memorial from the Presbyteries of Philadelphia and Philadelphia Second, in favour of the Delaware river being the boundary. The Committee recommend that the request be granted, and that the Delaware river be the boundary.

This minute was so altered as to read thus:

“*Resolved*, That the boundary line be so changed as to make the Delaware river, up to the mouth of Martin’s Creek, above Easton, the dividing line, and that the Presbyteries and churches on the Pennsylvania side of the river be transferred to the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia.”

MISSIONS TO PAPAL COUNTRIES.

Overture No. 6. A Memorial from the Synod of New Jersey, proposing to the General Assembly the organization of a Bureau in connexion with the Board of Foreign Missions, for spreading the truth in Papal lands; which, on motion, was referred to a select committee of five, viz.: Messrs. Magie, Swift, Smith, Lowrie, and Littell.

This committee subsequently recommended the adoption of the following resolutions, viz.:

1. *Resolved*, That the Assembly would impress upon the Board of Foreign Missions a sense of the great importance of the work brought to view in this overture, though we are not prepared, at present, to recommend any new distinct agency for this specific result.

2. That the Board be especially instructed, as soon as suitable men can be obtained, to extend their operations to the valley of the Rio Grande, to Chagres, and Panama, and other places now open, or which in the Providence of God may be opened in South America and Mexico.

3. That the Assembly would recommend to the Board to take measures to have a separate collection made in the churches, for the diffusion of the light of evangelical truth in Papal countries, unless the same object can be as well reached in some other way.

4. That the Assembly would recommend to the Board to

appoint a sufficient number of agents, assigning to each a definite field of labour, whose duty it shall be to advance the work in every proper way, and especially, by bringing it before the church judicatories in their respective districts.

5. That in order to increase and enlarge our operations among the Indian tribes, the Board be authorized and encouraged to employ such additional assistance as the exigencies of this branch of the Missionary work may require.

The report was accepted, and, on motion of Dr. Plumer, the following resolution was added to the report of the committee, and, as so amended, it was adopted:

6. That all our people and churches be solemnly reminded of the duty of making prayer, without ceasing, to God, for the success of missionary efforts, not only among Pagans and Mahomedans, but also in Papal countries.

The subject of this overture was brought before the Synod of New Jersey last fall, in consequence of an address from the Rev. Dr. Baird, the representative of the American Protestant Union. That gentleman in a kind and liberal spirit urged with much zeal, that in view of the great importance of missions to Papal countries, of the rapidly increasing facilities for prosecuting the work, and of the little now done by our body in this interesting field, that the Presbyterian Church would either engage in this enterprise in a definite and organized manner, or give it up entirely, throwing open their congregations to the American Society, having this work as their special object. The Synod felt that the latter course was out of the question. It was opposed to the settled policy of the Church, to the fixed opinions and preferences of a large portion of our members, and to the frequently repeated decisions of our General Assembly. The thing, therefore, could not be done. The question then arose—Shall things continue in the state in which they now are?—this great work being left as a mere subordinate department of our Foreign Missionary operations, without any special appeal and separate collections, and all our churches left open to the visits and solicitations of the agents of another society. There was a general conviction that this, of all methods, was the most inexpedient. It was not to be expected that our

churches would enter into this work with proper zeal and liberality, if it was not separately and distinctly presented to them, and urged on their attention. Nor could we expect that, considering its great importance, and the interest so generally felt in the remarkable success with which God has blessed the efforts to promote evangelical religion in Papal countries, that our churches would shut their ears and hearts against the men who came to plead this cause before them. Nor, finally, could it be reasonably expected that the money raised by the appeals of agents of the American Society should be, as a general thing, sent to the treasury of our own Board. The fact stared the Synod in the face, that our Church was doing comparatively little through the Board of Foreign Missions, for this work; that a growing interest was felt on the subject by our churches, and that a large part of their contributions for this object was diverted to another channel. It was also plain that this double agency was embarrassing and inefficient. The great majority of the Synod, therefore, entertained the strong conviction that something more should be done by our Church than had heretofore been attempted. Two plans were proposed. First, to organize a separate Board, with all its array of officers and agents, for this special purpose. To this it was objected, that it would involve a great increase of expense, and that the object might be accomplished by another and less cumbrous method. A second plan was, therefore, suggested, viz., to do in this case what had been already in part done in the Board of Missions, in regard to Church Extension. That matter was made a separate department; a separate collection was to be made for that object, and it was understood the Board had determined to appoint a separate secretary to devote himself to that particular department. In like manner, what the Synod determined to urge on the Assembly was the appointment, not of a new Board, but simply of a Bureau in connexion with the Board of Foreign Missions, for spreading the truth in Papal lands. What the Synod had at heart was to secure separate collections in all our churches for this great object. This the Assembly has sanctioned and recommended. To secure this object it was thought a separate officer of some kind, secretary or agent, would be absolutely necessary. This, too, the Assembly has virtually

sanctioned in the fourth of the resolutions above mentioned. We presume, therefore, that this disposition of the subject will be generally acceptable to the members of the Synod.

FOREIGN MISSIONS.

The order of the day was then taken up, viz: the Annual Report from the Board of Foreign Missions; when Dr. Swift, from the special Committee on this subject, presented the following report, which was adopted, viz:

The Committee to whom was referred the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions would recommend that this report be approved, and in connection with this recommendation they would offer for the consideration of the Assembly the following minute, viz:

1. *Resolved*, That the Assembly continues to regard with lively interest the foreign missionary work of our Church, and would acknowledge with devout gratitude to God his continued favour to, and his blessing upon it.

2. *Resolved*, That the early removal of valued labourers from important fields; the critical condition of the mission to Siam; the limited measure in which the effusions of the Holy Spirit appear to have been imparted to the members of most of the stations, and the want of a deep and cordial interest in this cause, on the part of some members of the Church, arising from the want of faith in God's word and love to Christ, and compassion for those who are sitting in darkness and the region and shadow of death, in some cases for the want of information as to the nature, importance, and condition of the Foreign Missions of our Church, the Assembly feel to be recognized as reasons for humiliation and sorrow, of repentance and prayer for pardon, and endeavours after new fidelity, by all those who have been heretofore negligent of this cause and work of God.

3. *Resolved*, That the Assembly can, notwithstanding these and other discouragements, view the work of spreading the everlasting gospel among unevangelized tribes and nations, as fraught with increased and substantial encouragement; the fields occupied by our Church, as those of great extent and promise; the varied and faithful labours of our missionaries as highly gratifying and auspicious in their character; and the increased

attention, especially by the aborigines of our country to the missionary education of the young—and they recognize, with special thanksgiving to God, the hopeful conversion of some who were totally Pagans, Romanists, and Jews, and the peaceful departure of others to the heavenly rest, as indications of the presence and blessing of God in this important department of our work.

4. *Resolved*, That the Assembly observe with much satisfaction the steady increase of the pecuniary offerings which are made by the churches to this cause, the manifest energy of the officers and agents of the Board, the wise and efficient supervision of the Executive Committee, and the growing interest of our body in this holy enterprise, and they would take the present occasion to call up all the friends of Christ among us, and all the churches, with a deeper feeling of dependence, a warmer zeal, a stronger faith and prayerfulness, a more expanded liberality, to go forward in the sacred work of evangelizing the nations, and establishing the cause and kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ in every land.

Hon. Walter Lowrie, Secretary of the Board, made detailed and interesting statements explanatory of the condition of the various missions, their success, and their wants. The Board have among the North American Indians, 10 ministers, 12 male, and 23 female assistants, 408 pupils, 6 churches, with 80 communicants; in Africa, 2 ministers, and 1 on the way, 3 churches, with 97 communicants, 2 candidates for the ministry, and 3 primary schools with 103 pupils; in India, 26 ministers, 23 Native Assistants, 22 schools—4 of them high schools—1 a Mission College with 150 students—5 are boarding schools with 115 female pupils, 3 only of the churches reported 157 communicants, and 4 printing presses. In China there are 11 ministers, 1 physician, 4 boarding schools with 120 pupils. Siam is the only discouraging Mission. The Board has 4 missionaries among the Jews, and there have been cheering cases of conversion. \$2050 have been appropriated for operations in Papal Europe.

The receipts of the Board for the year have been \$140,000,—\$2400 over those of last year. The operations at the various missions develope many interesting facts. A native member of

one of our own mission churches has nearly completed the translation of Hodge's *Way of Life*, and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. The native converts have heretofore been compelled to make a profession of Christianity at the expense of all their earthly goods, and still they are willing to get and give something to the cause of Christ. The little church at Jelunda has gone ahead in this respect of more than 150 of our churches at home. The entire valley of the Ganges is now almost entirely in the hands of Presbyterians. More than \$5000 have been contributed in aid of the Missions by Europeans in India. Most of these Europeans are Episcopalians, but still they lend their aid because they believe the work to be the Lord's. The Board has been advancing during the year, but was never more in need of funds. Mr. Lowrie narrated a number of facts of thrilling interest, and then the resolutions offered by the Committee were adopted.

BOARD OF MISSIONS.

We have heard from various sources, that the exposition made by Rev. Dr. C. C. Jones of the operations and plans of this Board, was one of the most impressive and instructive addresses of the kind ever delivered before the Assembly. For two hours he commanded the attention of the house, while he surveyed the whole field of our Domestic Missions, exhibiting with singular clearness and effect the peculiarities and necessities of the several portions of our immense country. The strongest impression was produced both of the importance of the work, and of the high qualifications of the Secretary for the important post which he has been called upon to fill.

During the year the Board have employed 591 missionaries; supplied 1,043 churches and missionary stations; 2,047 persons have been received on profession of their faith; 1,631 have been received on certificate; there are 24,354 communicants in connection with these missionary churches; 592 Sabbath schools; 3,623 teachers; 22,470 Sabbath school scholars. As one hundred and seventy missionaries did not report, this summary falls short very considerably of the actual results. The total receipts of the year have been \$88,654 84;—the expenditures, \$85,271 51. The balance, \$3,374 33, has been absorbed

by drafts already drawn. The amount received for Church Extension during the year has been \$6,492 17—the whole of which has been expended in finishing thirty-nine churches. During the seven years of the existence of this scheme, 297 churches, making an average of 42 annually, have been aided to completion. The affairs of the Board are in a condition of rapidly increasing prosperity.

On motion, the Report of the Committee on the Board of Missions was taken up, and the following resolutions were adopted:

1. *Resolved*, That the Report be adopted, and published under the direction of the Board.

2. *Resolved*, That in view of the vast field for Domestic Missions now opened in our country, and exhibited in detail in the Report, that it be earnestly recommended to all of the churches to make increased efforts to enlarge their contributions to that Board; and that it be recommended to our pastors and stated supplies to bring the facts presented in the Report of the Board fully before the people of their charge, and, if possible, introduce among them some systematic form of maturing their contributions.

3. *Resolved*, That the direction of the Assembly in 1844 (Minutes, pp. 374 and 375) be renewed; that a special collection be taken up in all the churches in aid of Church Extension, and that the Assembly rejoices in the success which has thus far attended this scheme, although the contributions have fallen far short of the importance and necessity of the scheme, and our own obligations to sustain it.

4. *Resolved*, That the results of the domestic missionary work of the General Assembly for the last twenty-one years, viz: the increase of our missionaries from 101 to 590; the increase of our funds from \$12,000 to \$79,000; the organization of 943 new churches; the erection of 1484 houses of worship; the addition of over 40,000 souls to the missionary churches, on profession of their faith; the constitution of a number of new Presbyteries and Synods, and a great enlargement of our territorial boundaries, and also the results of the past year, by the report, being most favourable—all furnish to the Assembly an occasion for profound gratitude to the God of

missions, and of encouragement to us to proceed vigorously with the work.

5. *Resolved*, That the Board of Missions be requested to keep in view the increasing number and religious wants of the German population in our country, and to do whatever may be practicable, to furnish them with the ministry and means of grace.

6. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly rejoices in the special interest which is manifested by so large a number of their Presbyteries in the work of Domestic Missions, and looks forward with an assured hope that this interest will become universal, and that it must result, under God, in incalculable blessings to our Church and country.

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

The Committee to whom was referred the Report of the Directors of Princeton Theological Seminary, presented a report in part, and recommended the adoption of the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That the Assembly unite with the Board in expressions of kindness and confidence towards the Rev. J. W. Alexander, D.D., who has for two years faithfully filled the office of Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government, and that believing the providence of God has called him to another field of service, his resignation of his professorship be and is hereby accepted.

2. *Resolved*, That the Rev. J. Addison Alexander, D.D., be, and he hereby is transferred from his present Professorship to that of Ecclesiastical History, and that his salary be the same as that of previous incumbents in the same office.

3. *Resolved*, That the Professorship of Biblical and Oriental Literature, made vacant by the above transfer of the Rev. J. Addison Alexander, be filled by this Assembly.

4. *Resolved*, That this Assembly, upon the adoption of the foregoing resolutions, will receive nominations, and fix a time for the election of a Professor of Biblical and Oriental Literature.

5. *Resolved*, That the salary of the Professor of Biblical and Oriental Literature be the same as that of the other Professors.

6. *Resolved*, That in the judgment of this Assembly, it is desirable for each of the Professors to give instruction in some portion of the sacred Scriptures, and the Board of Directors are hereby authorized to make such arrangements as shall effect this object, if the way be clear, and are requested to report their action on the subject to the next Assembly.

7. *Resolved*, That the following branches of instruction, viz. the Composition and Delivery of Sermons, and Church Government, which have hitherto belonged to the Professor of Church History, be transferred to the Professor of Pastoral Theology.

Dr. Plumer submitted the following as the eighth resolution on this business, which was adopted, viz.

Resolved, That henceforth the title of the Professorship of Church History be that of Biblical and Ecclesiastical History.

The Committee recommended the following additional resolutions, which were adopted, viz.:

1. *Resolved*, That the thanks of this Assembly are due, and they are hereby tendered to the Rev. Dr. Van Rensselaer, for his disinterested, faithful, and successful labours in increasing the funds of the Seminary.

2. *Resolved*, That the Assembly recommend to the Directors and Trustees of the Seminary to adopt speedy and energetic measures to complete the endowment of the Seminary.

3. *Resolved*, That the Assembly direct the Treasurer to restore to the permanent funds of the Seminary such sums collected by Dr. Van Rensselaer, as have been employed in defraying the current expenses, and invest and secure them by bond and mortgage, or in other permanent and unquestioned securities of the United States, or of some other state or city corporation.

The above resolutions were all adopted, though not with the same degree of unanimity. That by which the Assembly transferred Dr. J. Addison Alexander from the Biblical chair to that of Ecclesiastical History was adopted by a vote of 130 to 38. The other features of the report did not elicit much discussion. When nominations were made for a successor to Dr. Addison Alexander in the Biblical Department, the Rev. Dr. Magie nominated the Rev. William Henry Green, of Philadelphia; Dr. Krebs nominated the Rev. James Clark, D.D., President

of Washington College, Pennsylvania; Judge Hepburn nominated Dr. Thornwell, of South Carolina. Other nominations were made, but withdrawn at the request of the gentlemen mentioned. Neither Dr. Clark nor Dr. Thornwell was present. When the election took place, it appeared that Mr. Green had received 112 votes, Dr. Clark 31, Dr. Thornwell 23. Mr. Green was thereupon declared duly elected, and Drs. Plumer and Leyburn were appointed a committee to inform him of the fact.

The friends of the Seminary cannot fail to feel gratitude to God for the degree of unanimity by which these important measures were carried, and to their brethren of the Assembly for the kind spirit with which the discussion of questions, about which diversity of opinion could not fail to exist, was conducted. The seventh resolution, by which the subjects Composition and Delivery of Sermons, and Church Government, were transferred to the Professor of Pastoral Theology, was not designed for any temporary purpose, but to secure a more just and philosophical distribution of the topics of instruction. The proper arrangement of the departments in a theological faculty, has been the subject of much consideration in every country where such faculties exist. Bishop Marsh, in his lectures, states that the distribution which has received the sanction of long experience on the continent of Europe, and which he himself recommends, is into four departments. First, the biblical; second, the dogmatic; thirdly, the historical; fourthly, the practical. Under the fourth is included everything which belongs to the actual duties of the ministry; the composition and delivery of sermons; pastoral care; the government of the church, and administration of its discipline. This is the arrangement which has for years been contemplated, and towards which there has been a gradual approximation in the organization of the Seminary at Princeton, and in that of other similar institutions. When Drs. Alexander and Miller were appointed professors, the one of theology, the other of history, they divided between them the other departments which fell appropriately under neither of those heads. Dr. Alexander took Hebrew, biblical criticism, and pastoral care; Dr. Miller took the composition and delivery of sermons, which clearly has no special connexion with ecclesiastical history, and church government.

This was a temporary arrangement. When a third professor was appointed, Dr. Alexander gave up the biblical department, but retained that of pastoral care. Afterwards, with the consent of the Assembly, he gave up didactic theology, and retained the subjects relating more immediately to the pastoral work. The resignation of Dr. James W. Alexander, whose taste and talents gave him peculiar facilities for the conduct of instruction in the department of sacred rhetoric, seemed to the directors to present a favourable opportunity to make another step towards carrying into effect the arrangement which had been so long acted on in other institutions, and so long contemplated here. They therefore recommended to the Assembly that the departments of composition and delivery of sermons, and of church government, instead of being connected, as heretofore, with that of ecclesiastical history, should be referred to the professor of pastoral theology.

There are two other remarks which it may not be amiss here to make. The one is that the different departments cannot be kept entirely distinct, for the simple reason that they are not distinct. They overlap each other, or in other words, the same subject is of necessity to be viewed under different aspects and from different positions, and therefore comes up under different departments. The biblical professor, if he interprets Scripture, for example, must teach theology, and that in the most effectual way. How can he expound the word of God without bringing out the great doctrines which it teaches? The sacred historian must trespass on the same field. In giving the history of the Church, he must give the history of doctrines; he must unfold the various systems of error which have come in conflict with the truth; he must show the philosophical and historical origin of those errors, and in so doing, he is teaching theology in a most effective manner. The professor of didactic theology on his part, cannot keep clear of the field of history. In presenting the true system he must exhibit it in its relations to the antagonistic systems of error; he must trace in a measure the origin of those errors, and give his didactic instructions to a certain extent an historical form. So also, as the interpreter necessarily becomes a teacher of theology, so the theologian becomes an exegete. He must establish his doc-

trines by Scripture, and to do this he must interpret it. There is not, therefore, in practice such an entire separation between the several departments in a theological curriculum, as these separate designations might lead us to expect. In this connection, we may remark that one of the objections urged against the transfer of Dr. Addison Alexander to the historical department, was founded on the natural misapprehension to which we have just alluded. It was said that it was undesirable to take him away from the direct study and explanation of the Bible. Those who made that objection must for the moment have forgotten that the history of the Church is divided into three periods, the Old Testament period, the New Testament period, and the period from the death of John to the present time. The two former are entirely biblical. The first includes the exposition of the whole book of Genesis ; then of all those books of Scripture which relate to the history, the laws, and institutions of the Hebrews ; and of the manifold relations between the old and new dispensations. The second requires the vindication and exposition of the four evangelists, and of the Acts of the Apostles. There is not in the present state of theological knowledge and the present condition of the anti-Christian spirit and controversies a field comparable either in difficulty or importance to this. Every one knows that the attacks of the modern infidels of Germany have been mainly directed against the Old Testament history, and the history of Christ. What modern work has had the currency or produced the evils of Strauss's *Life of Jesus* ? No mistake could, therefore, be greater than that the department of biblical and ecclesiastical history is likely to call off the attention of its incumbent from the direct study, vindication, and exposition of the word of God. So far from it, we look upon this arrangement as the very method to secure, with God's blessing, the preparation of precisely that class of works for which there is at present the most pressing need.

It necessarily follows from this intimate relation between the different departments of theology that it is difficult to decide to which of them some subjects ought to be referred. This is specially the case with regard to Church government. It has a very close connection with dogmatics. The nature, attributes, prerogatives, and organization of the Church are one of the

principal heads in every system of theology. They are all embraced in Calvin's Institutes. Turretin's *Locus "De Ecclesia"* comprehends them all. Indeed, the almost universally received classification of the subjects belonging to dogmatics is, Theology, Anthropology, Soterology and Ecclesiology, the last being by no means the least in extent or importance. On the other hand, this subject has close affinity with the historical department, because, in one view it is so much a question of fact. How was the Church organized by the apostles, and what changes did that primitive organization subsequently undergo? Then again there is obvious reason for referring it to the practical department, because it embraces so intimately the duties of the minister, as pastor, and ruler in the Church. Perhaps the extent and importance of this subject, embracing as it does the great principles involved in the Romish and prelatical controversies is a sufficient reason why it should be made a prominent topic in the wide field of Pastoral Theology.

As the Rev. W. H. Green, elected by the Assembly as the successor of Dr. Addison Alexander in the chair of Biblical Literature, is still a young man, and of necessity not extensively known in the Church, we may perhaps be excused for stating the following facts in his history. He graduated at a very early age with distinction at La Fayette College, Pennsylvania, and was appointed tutor of Greek and Latin in that Institution when he was only fifteen years old. When eighteen he was made Assistant Professor of Mathematics, though in fact the whole mathematical instruction of the institution was for a season committed to him. When he became a member of the Theological Seminary in this place, he distinguished himself as a scholar and student in every department, especially in that of languages. Besides attending punctually to his seminary duties he devoted much attention to the study of Arabic and read through the Koran in that language before he completed his course. As soon as he graduated he was appointed assistant teacher of Hebrew, in which capacity he acted for three years, gaining the confidence of the students, of his colleagues, and of the Directors, as an able and successful teacher. While thus engaged in the Seminary he acted for six months (in connection with the Rev. Mr. Gosman,) as stated supply of the first Presby-

terian church in this village ; and subsequently he sustained the same relation for eighteen months to the second church in this place. For the last two years he has been the pastor of one of the most important congregations in Philadelphia, a station which he has successfully and honorably filled. Mr. Green is in the estimation of all who have known him eminently a safe man ; a man to be relied upon not only for diligence and devotion to study, but for moderation and wisdom. That he has not intermitted his attention to biblical pursuits since his settlement in Philadelphia, is evident enough to those who recognize his pen in various contributions to the pages of this Journal, and especially in the summary of recent biblical intelligence contained in our last number.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Dr. Van Rensselaer, Secretary of the Board, presented the report. He stated that God had blessed the Board of Education with the usual prosperity during the year. There was reason for encouragement. Forty-nine candidates had entered the ministry. The increase of candidates during the past year has been small, although the increase of our population has been one million and the increase of our church members ten thousand.

Our beloved youth shrink from the sacred office ; some because of its fearful greatness ; some because of inducements of gain and worldly distinction, &c. The fact exists—we have not enough of workmen. Fathers should be instructed that it is their duty to give up their sons to the Lord. Youth must be impressed with the claims God has upon them. Church members must be instructed in their duty to furnish the means, and ministers are called upon to press this subject upon all these, and to urge their immediate action.

The Board is convinced that it is the duty of the Church to train her youth for the great work of the ministry. There is not a sufficient number of candidates. It is the duty of the Presbytery to search out pious youth, to supervise and induct men into this office.

Primary Schools.—The education of the lambs of the flock in church schools is a matter of great importance. There is,

however, a prejudice against the establishment of denominational schools. The number is greater this year than it was last—some have failed, others have had remarkable success.

Dr. Van Rensselaer mentioned one in Illinois, concerning which, an extract of a letter was read, containing sources of great encouragement. Many of the largest churches are contemplating the establishment of schools on Christian principles. The want of funds is an obstacle which retards the success of the experiment. This obstacle can be removed. Two large legacies have been received for educational purposes during the year.

Thirty-five academies are in successful operation. One calamity is to be recorded—the winding up of the Caldwell Institute in North Carolina. This was brought about, by suffering the debts of the Institute to accumulate. Our Academies should be self-sustaining. In some regions of country the churches have been on the decline, because of the lack of this agency in the training of our youth. Other denominations are awake to the importance of this subject and are progressing. Laudable efforts are made in Arkansas, and in the neighbouring Presbytery in Missouri, to establish Presbyterial Academies.

Colleges.—The reformation was carried on by great scholars as well as by good men. What would have been Geneva and Scotland without their Universities? The Pilgrim Fathers planted their college sixteen years after reaching these shores. Dr. Van Rensselaer enumerated different colleges throughout the Union into whose internal arrangements the feature of religious instruction enters, all of which are flourishing.

The connection of the Board with Theological Seminaries has now ceased.

The Board has issued a tract on Education, written by James W. Alexander, D. D., which they wish to distribute extensively.

Home, the School, and the Church, each was commented on at large as to its importance.

The changes contemplated were explained in the Report. They will not be pressed on the attention of the Assembly. The Board simply wish them to be taken into consideration.

The Report was received and referred to a special committee, on whose report the following resolutions were adopted viz:

1. *Resolved*, That in the judgment of this Assembly, the

wants of the Church, and the general improvement of the age demand increasing attention to the qualifications of candidates for the ministry; and that with the view, partly, of keeping more prominent the idea of the necessity of literary attainments in our candidates, and partly with the view of other advantages, the Board of Education are allowed to give their appropriations the title of scholarships; and the Presbyteries are enjoined to use their best endeavours to raise the standard of qualification for the ministry.

2. *Resolved*, That the practice of requiring a pledge from young men to enter the ministry, especially in the early stages of their preparatory studies, is not deemed conducive to the best interests, either of the candidates, or of the Church; and the Board of Education are hereby authorized to modify their rules accordingly.

3. *Resolved*, That this Assembly prefer that young men within their bounds, who are looking forward to the work of the ministry, should be officially recognized as candidates under the care of Presbyteries, only when they are prepared to enter upon their theological studies, and until that time they be regarded simply as students on probation, under the general watch and patronage of the Presbyteries.

4. *Resolved*, That whilst home nurture is according to the word of God and the covenant of his grace, a main reliance of the Church for the salvation of her children, Providence also testifies to the importance of public education, on Christian principles, in schools, academies, and colleges, and particularly to the intimate relation between Christian education and the power of the gospel as proclaimed in the sanctuary, and therefore the Home, the School, and the Church should all be imbued with the spirit of consecration to the Lord Jesus Christ.

5. *Resolved*, That this General Assembly, entertaining a lively interest in colleges in view of the past history of the Presbyterian Church, its present prosperity, and its future hopes, learn with great satisfaction the general progress attending the department of Christian education, and also the addition of Westminster College at Buffalo, to the list of those institutions; and it is recommended to our churches and members to assist, as far as possible, in the endowment of our colleges, and to co-

operate with the Board of Education in sustaining them during the interval for which they may need aid.

6. *Resolved*, That this General Assembly has a deep sense of the importance of giving to its youth a Christian education in academies and colleges on a more extensive scale than has yet been practiced within our bounds, and that for the purpose of contributing to some extent in bringing forward promising young men of suitable character, other than candidates for the ministry, the Board of Education are hereby authorized to apply to this subject whatever funds may be thus specifically appropriated by the donors.

7. *Resolved*, That in collecting funds for the purposes of education, the Board shall, in all cases, keep the specific contributions for candidates, for schools, academies, and colleges, distinct from each other; but, if no special direction is indicated, then the funds shall be appropriated to the education of candidates for the ministry.

8. *Resolved*, That the Board of Education, on account of its responsible work and the increased pecuniary liabilities attending it, be commended to the liberality of all our churches, and that the Presbyteries are invited to secure collections for the cause of education, either general or ministerial, as may be preferred by the churches.

9. *Resolved*, That the last Thursday of February be observed as a day of special prayer for the outpouring of the Spirit of God upon the youth of our land, who are pursuing their studies in the ministry, and especially that many of them may be called and qualified by Divine grace for the work of the ministry.

These resolutions are of special interest, as they give the sanction of the Assembly to several principles of great importance. One of these is, that it is unwise to exact a pledge of youth in the early stages of their education that they will enter into the ministry. This has been found to be a hurtful snare. There should be no bias on the candidate's mind leading him to decide in favour of the ministry, other than the influence of the Spirit and providence of God.

Another important principle which we rejoice to see sanctioned is, that the benefactions of the Board are not hereafter

to be confined to professed candidates for the ministry or even to those who make a profession of personal religion. The Board are to be allowed to appropriate *sums specially contributed for that purpose* to the education "of promising young men of moral character." This is an enlargement of the sphere of operation of the Board, and will remove an objection which has often been urged against its plans. The seventh resolution wisely provides that the money contributed for candidates, schools, colleges, &c., should be kept distinct from each other, and that where no special direction is indicated, the funds are to be appropriated to the education of candidates for the ministry.

It is thought by many that giving the appropriations of the Board the title of scholarships will serve to remove an impression, which, to a certain extent, in some places at least, is said to rest on the minds of candidates and their friends, that there is something derogatory in the present form and mode of assistance. We do not ourselves see any ground for this impression, and we do not think that it exists to any great extent. But we rejoice in any change which may tend to remove a painful impression. The conviction, however, is gradually extending itself among the churches and their candidates, that there is nothing more derogatory to a young man being educated by the Church for the ministry, than there is in his being educated by the State for the army.

BOARD OF PUBLICATION.

The Rev. Dr. Leyburn presented the annual report of the Board of Publication, whose increasing popularity and usefulness is giving it a strong hold on the interests and affections of the Church. From nearly the entire Calvinistic family, and from Christians of almost every name, the publications have received the strongest approbation. The mechanical execution of the books and tracts has been greatly improved. The receipts for the support of colportage and gratuitous distribution exceed by fifty per cent. those of last year; the sales have increased in an almost equal ratio. For the fiscal year ending April 1st, 1849, they were \$29,000; the year ending April 1st,

1850, they were \$42,000; and the year just closed, they have been \$60,000. Nineteen new books, and seventeen new tracts have been added to the catalogue. Total number of books and tracts published during the year 430,000. Total receipts for the year, \$80,987 52. There have been granted to needy ministers, 1136 volumes; feeble churches, 734 volumes; Sabbath schools, 1301 volumes; hospitals and other humane institutions, 171 volumes; literary and theological institutions, 243 volumes; ships-of-war and military stations, 222 volumes; individuals for gratuitous distribution, 717 volumes, in addition to 250,000 pages of tracts. Donations have also been made through the Board of Foreign Missions of books and tracts to the amount of \$500, and by colporteurs of 5,525 volumes, and 528,154 pages of tracts.

One hundred and twenty-five colporteurs have been employed in twenty-four different States, the aggregate of whose labours are as follows:—Time spent, thirty years, four months and sixteen days; families visited, 50,890; conversed or prayed with, 22,151; families found destitute of the Bible, 1,898; Presbyterian families visited without the Confession of Faith, 2,237; volumes sold by colporteurs, 58,492; volumes granted by colporteurs, 5,525; pages of tracts granted by colporteurs, 528,154.

The Sabbath School Visitor has had an almost unprecedented success, having secured 25,000 subscribers during the four months of its existence, and averaging one hundred new subscribers a day. The Assembly passed resolutions strongly approving the operations of the Board, and commending it to the increased favour and liberality of the churches.

After which Dr. Brown, from the Special Committee, to whom had been referred the printed report, presented the following resolutions, which were adopted, viz:

1. *Resolved*, That the Assembly find much cause for gratitude to God, in the success with which he has crowned the wise and zealous efforts of the Board during the past year.

2. *Resolved*, That inasmuch as the design of the Assembly in reference to this Board is to call forth the resources of the Presbyterian Church in supplying the Church and the world, as far as possible, with a sound religious literature; and its operations have met thus far the Assembly's expectations to a gratifying

extent; the Board deserves the liberal and zealous support of the Synods, Presbyteries, and churches of the Presbyterian Church, and should receive at their hands a preference over other institutions which profess to have kindred objects in view.

3. *Resolved*, That this Assembly learn with pleasure the success which has attended the publication of the *Presbyterian Sabbath School Visitor*, and recommend it to the hearty support of all the churches, under its care.

4. *Resolved*, That in order to bring the publications of this Board more fully to the notice of the public generally, and the churches under the care of the General Assembly, and to furnish increased facilities for obtaining them, and thereby extending encouragement to colportage, it is recommended to the Board, by such arrangements as may seem best to them, to place a full supply of their publications at such points of general access as they may select.

The progress made by this Board within the last three years is in the highest degree encouraging, and reflects great honour on the Secretary and his associates. Indeed we do not know that for a long time so favourable an exhibition of the benevolent operations of our Church has been made to the General Assembly. The Church is evidently increasing in zeal for the objects represented by our several Boards, and in confidence in the wisdom and ability of those by whom their operations are conducted.

COMPLAINT OF MR. PERKINS.

Ambrose Stone, a member of the Irish Grove church in the Presbytery of Sangamon, having stated to session that he had reason to believe he had been mistaken in making a profession of religion, and that he wished to be released from his connection with the church, the session dismissed him to the world without tabling any charges or going through the regular forms of trial. The records of the session coming under the review of Presbytery, the decision of the session in the case of Mr. Stone was reversed by the Presbytery. Mr. Perkins then appealed to the Synod, who confirmed the decision of the Presbytery, and against this action of Synod Mr. Perkins now complains to the Assembly.

The case was fully argued by the parties in the case, and the roll was called for the opinions of members previous to taking the vote. An immense amount of time was taken up by this process, the same ground having been travelled over and over again. The opinions of the members were somewhat thus divided: 1st, that the action of the church session was unconstitutional, on the ground that no specific charge had been officially preferred against Mr. Stone, no hearing or trial was had officially before that body, and therefore the action of the Synod in reversing the action of the session was right and proper, and that the appeal of Mr. Perkins should not be sustained. 2d, that Mr. Stone having openly declared to the session that he did not possess the proper qualifications for a member of the Church; that he would not commune with the Church; and that he had neglected family worship—were sufficient causes for dismissal, and that if the action of the session was not strictly according to the letter of the Constitution, it was in the spirit, and that therefore the appeal from the decision of the Synod should be sustained. 3d, that while the Session did right in dismissing Mr. Stone under the circumstances, its action was not strictly constitutional, according to the letter, and that therefore the appeal should be sustained in part.

The vote being then taken stood as follows:—to sustain the appeal 38, sustain in part 43, not to sustain 79. The subject was then referred to a Committee to bring in a minute expressive of the sense of the Assembly in this case.

The Committee appointed to bring in a minute in the judicial case of Ambrose Stone, according to the vote previously taken, reported the following resolutions:

Resolved, That no church session has the authority to dissolve a connection with a member except by excommunication, and that the session is then bound to proceed according to the Book of Discipline; and this Assembly does condemn the action of the church, in dissolving its connection with Ambrose Stone, as irregular and unconstitutional.

Resolved, That the Presbytery and Synod of Illinois acted correctly in not allowing the members of Irish Grove church to vote on approving their own record, and that they did right in refusing to correct said record.

Resolved, That the Synod require the Presbytery to review the record in this case, according to the Book of Discipline.

After discussion, in which Messrs. Plumer, Twitchell, Van Rensselaer, Cheeseman, Fillmore, Leyburn, McCullough, Clark, Burch, and others, participated, and several ineffectual efforts to amend, the report of the committee was adopted.

The principle involved in the above decision was re-affirmed in the answer given to an overture from the Presbytery of Baltimore.

On Overture No. 23, from the Presbytery of Baltimore, asking whether a member could be dismissed upon application by letter upon a statement that he did not consider himself a converted man, &c. The Committee reported a resolution, that, in the opinion of the Assembly, there is no constitutional or scriptural mode of suspending members from church communion, except by death, dismission to join another church, or excommunication upon trial, according to the provisions of the discipline. Report agreed to.

DISMISSION OF MEMBERS TO OTHER CHURCHES.

Dr. Leland, from the Committee on Bills and Overtures, reported upon Overture No. 10, from the Presbytery of Baltimore, and submitting the following question: "Shall members of our churches, who may wish to join churches not in correspondence with the General Assembly, receive certificates in the same form as if they wished to join another church in our communion, or in correspondence with the Assembly; or has the church session done all that it ought to do, when in such cases the good and regular standing of the persons so applying is duly certified?"

On motion, the answer recommended by the committee was laid on the table, and the following, after amendment, was adopted, viz.: "This whole subject is one that ought to be left to the sound discretion of the various church sessions, according to the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church."

The subject involved in this overture is one of the greatest practical importance. There is nothing on which our ministers and members are more sensitive, than on the question of

Christian communion. There is no point on which the great body of them regard the teachings of the word of God more explicit, and therefore as to no point are they more tenacious of their Christian liberty. We may here remark that it is a great infelicity that overtures on such subjects should be so numerous. It is a common infirmity with many men to wish their opinions turned into laws. They think certain things right and expedient, and instead of being content to act on their own judgment, and allow others to act on theirs, they desire their view of the matter to be made obligatory on all their brethren. One good brother, because he thinks the use of organs in churches unauthorized and injurious, becomes very desirous that their use should be absolutely prohibited by authority. Another thinks that a regular dismission of a church member should be given only in certain cases, and he wishes his private judgment to be turned into a public law. In an extended Church like ours, there are few evils which ought to be more sedulously avoided than excessive legislation. Leave as much liberty to all concerned as possible, if you wish to preserve peace or union.

As to this question of communion, it is well known that there are two very different views arising out of different theories of the nature and design of the Church. The one view is that of the great body of the Christian world, and is the clear doctrine of our standards. It assumes that the terms of Christian communion are unalterably fixed in the word of God, and can be neither increased nor diminished by any human authority. This is one great principle. Another is, that nothing can justly be required as a term of Christian communion, which Christ has not made necessary to admission to heaven. In other words, that we are bound to receive and treat as Christian brethren all whom Christ receives as disciples. We are not to make ourselves stricter or holier than he. Our standards, therefore, lay down the evidences of piety as the only scriptural conditions of church communion. Competent knowledge, faith, and holy living are all the Church has any right to demand, because nothing else is demanded by Christ as necessary to communion with himself. As this is the only scriptural principle, so it is the only one that can be carried out. Can the poor African be required to decide the questions between Prelatists and Presby-

terians, or between Burghers and Anti-Burghers, before he is admitted to the Lord's table? It is out of the question. Every Church must receive, in fact, all whom she regards as the true followers of Christ. Therefore, the lowest terms of salvation are the highest admissible terms of communion. If these principles are correct, it follows that however restrictive are the conditions a Church may see fit to establish as the terms of ministerial fellowship, it must recognize as a sister Church every body which holds and teaches the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, however erroneous it may be in other respects; and, therefore, it cannot with any consistency refuse either to receive members from such Church, or to dismiss them to it. That is, so far as general principles are concerned. For there may be particular cases in which, for special reasons, it is proper to refuse to receive a member from another Presbyterian church, belonging to our own body. All we mean to say is, that any body which we recognize as a Christian Church, we are bound to treat as such, in receiving *worthy* members from them, and in dismissing to them such as desire their fellowship.

The other radically different view of Christian communion is that which is characteristic of our Scotch brethren, and especially of the secession portion of them. They regard the Church so much as a witness for the truth, that they overlook its wider aspect as a "congregation of faithful men" or "the communion of saints." They consider themselves, therefore, as joining in the testimony of any Church with which they commune; and they require all who wish to commune with them to join in their peculiar testimony whatever it may be. Of course they cannot consistently commune themselves nor allow their members to commune with any other than their own churches. Even some of the leaders of the Free Church of Scotland seemed, at first, in danger of falling into this false theory. They were in their zeal for cutting off all communion with the Established Church, lest, as they said, they should vitiate their testimony. Happily for them and the cause of Christ this was a passing cloud. That Church has adhered to the scriptural doctrine, which has ever been held sacred by the great body of Protestants. Christian communion is communion of men as Christians, not as Presbyterians, Methodists, or Episcopalians. We recog-

nize those with whom we commune, or to whom we dismiss our members, as Christians, and as nothing more. We give no sanction to their peculiarities, whatever they may be. We have so often heard the strongest feelings expressed by our pastors on this subject, that we are persuaded that any attempt of the General Assembly to prevent their enjoying on this subject the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free, would be followed by the most unhappy consequences. We rejoice, therefore, in the wise disposition of this matter recorded above.

CLOSE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

The Assembly having completed their business, it was

Resolved, That this General Assembly be dissolved, and that another General Assembly, chosen in like manner, be required to meet in the Glebe Street Church in the city of Charleston, on the third Thursday of May, A. D., 1852, at 11 o'clock A. M.

Accordingly the Moderator pronounced the Assembly dissolved, according to the prescribed form, with singing, prayer, and the apostolic benediction.

Thus ended what, from all accounts, appears to have been a singularly pleasant and edifying meeting of the Assembly. All parties unite in commendation of the "Great West" and of the hospitality of its large-hearted Christian people. We have seldom heard such strong and unanimous praise of the temper and skill of a Moderator, as has reached us from all quarters with regard to Dr. Humphrey. All these things are sources of gratitude and tend to bind our churches together in the bonds of mutual confidence and love.

SHORT NOTICES.

First Impressions of England and its People. By Hugh Miller, Author of the Foot-prints of the Creator, the Old Red Sandstone, &c. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 59 Washington street, 1851. 12mo. pp. 430.

The intellectual characteristics of the author, displayed in this volume, are acuteness, comprehensiveness, versatility, and power. He touches with equal facility, and handles with equal ability, topics the most varied and distinct. We find him, for example, in the compass of a few consecutive pages, in amusing personal adventure, "trying the metaphysics of Scotch Calvinism" on English Socinians and Methodists, silencing the conceited sciolism of ignorant errorists, vindicating against the cavils of English traders the dignity and utility of theological discussion in which his countrymen are such adepts; interpreting first the geology, and then the history and antiquities, even back to the time of the Romans, of the eventful Border Line between England and Scotland, from the collections in the Newcastle Museum; contrasting in eloquent phrase, amid dashing rain storms, the monumental fidelity of nature in the countless fossils embalmed in the marble tombstones of the great cathedral at York, with the perishing records of human vanity engraved upon their crumbling tablets, describing in terms as graphic and lucid as they are lofty, the magnificent architecture of York Minster; reciting the antiquarian history of York, like one who had made it the study of his life, quoting incidents *a propos* from the novels of Sir Walter Scott, De Foe and Bulwer, picking up at a book-stall a rare old copy of the original Trial of Eugene Aram, and looking for Knaresborough from the battlements of the Minster, with as much interest as if he were a sentimental novel-reader, or a bibliographic monomaniac of the Dibdin school; discussing with equal skill the cause of the potato-rot, and pointing out with the ken of a political seer the changes it was destined to enact in British history; then, sliding into a disquisition on the anti-corn-law league and the Scottish law of entail; apparently equally at home in science, in literature, in theology, in antiquities, in the technics of art, in political jurisprudence, and in the principles and practice of rhetoric and criticism, the whole pervaded by the pure and lofty spirit of evangelical piety. There is no author, whom we

recall at this moment, from whose pages we would undertake to select so much fine writing, in the true and best sense of the word, on such a variety of topics.

The range of literary scholarship soon began to excite our wonder, especially in view of the early industrial and subsequent laborious professional avocations of the author. When we had finished the first half of the volume, we undertook to count up the number of authors quoted in it; and without pretending to entire accuracy, we found the list swelling to *fifty* at the least; and reaching across the entire tract of English literature, from the Bruce of Archdeacon Barbour, or rather, in fact, from the Chronicles of William of Malmesbury, to the Bow street Reports of Charles Dickens, and embracing a fair proportion of authors, not lying within the ordinary range even of respectable literary scholarship. Nor are the references of a slight and passing kind. In the great majority of cases, they indicate familiar acquaintance, either by the length and aptness of the quotations, or the elaborate and critical discussions to which they lead on.

Nor is it only literature that has claimed his attention. The reader will find no less than twenty pages devoted to The Leasowes, made famous by the inimitable skill of Shenstone, the best landscape-gardener in the history of English art, and made by him the subject of a poem of no great merit, which, if we remember right, the author tells us he had read twice a year, from the age of sixteen to that of twenty years.

As for the geology of the book, we presume its readers will by this time know what to expect; though we trust those who have been stumbled by the boldness of Mr. Miller's former works, will pardon what they find in the present, for the sake of the graphic character which it enables him to give to the landscapes and the leading geographical districts of England. Indeed we cannot but hope, that even those who see in modern geology only a dark and portentous conspiracy against the religion and the hopes of the human race, may at least enjoy some compensation, in the beautiful, ingenious, and profound readings, into which science in the hands of such a man has rendered the curious, impressive, and solemn symbols, inscribed by the hand of Omnipotence on the exhumed tombstones of dead and buried ages.

We are not, as our readers know, professional geologists at all. All we have ever attempted, was to give a general and popular view of the progress of geological research, and to state the generalizations which it has reached, solely for the benefit of lay readers. We have never sought to make our

journal a repository of science, or an arena of scientific discussion. It has a totally different sphere; and could not if it would, and would not if it could, enter largely upon this. We believe it to be in the last degree injudicious for the friends of religion to commit themselves hastily against scientific generalization on theological grounds; first, because objections from this quarter are powerless against science, and mischievous to religion: and secondly, because we are perfectly sure of ultimate agreement between the inductions of true science, and the truths of revelation; and we are content to allow the devotees of the former, to prosecute their researches and correct their deductions till this agreement is reached. If science is hasty and erroneous, it will soon be set right, not by theologians and literateurs, but by its own disciples; and instead of throwing the ban of the Church over its free prosecution, it were wiser to encourage her gifted sons, especially if they should happen to be such men as Hugh Miller, to enter upon the task, as the surest and shortest way of reaching truth, and forestalling mischief. Christianity has sufficient prejudice to encounter already, without arraying it in unauthorized hostility against the free researches of science, so long as they are confined within scientific limits. It is only when it transcends those limits, and sets its crude and hasty generalizations against the formal, deliberate, and fundamental facts of the Scriptures, on points which fall within their proper domain, when the deductions of a remote and often fanciful scientific analogy are applied to questions which do not belong to science at all, when, e. g., it undertakes to put forth a contradictory history or a contradictory morality, to that which we know on incontrovertible and undisputed evidence, to be the clear utterance of God, that the friends of religion may wisely rebuke its intrusion on the grounds of revelation, for precisely the same reasons that scientific men protest against the encroachments of theologians on the domains of science. We should remember that the theories of geology are questions of opinion, about which professional testimony is demanded, just like questions in medicine or engineering; and about which, so long as they remain so, none other is worth a rush, except to the person that gives it. We had rather not encounter the smile with which Mr. Miller, the warm friend and admirer of Cowper, "bethought him of the modest poet's philippic on the earlier geologists," as he picked up a well-marked *Plagiostoma* and a characteristic fragment of a *Pecten*, from a heap of stones lying under the windows of Cowper's mansion. "Genius" adds the author in his characteristic style, "when in earnest, can do a great deal; but it

cannot put down scientific truth, save now and then for a very little time, and would do well never to try."

The Week: comprising The Last Day of the Week; The First Day of the Week: The Week Completed. By the author of *The Commandment with Promise*. Illustrated. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, No. 285 Broadway 1851, pp. 363. 16mo.

Many of our readers are familiar with the contents of this neat volume, as they appeared originally in separate treatises. It is pervaded by those stringent views of the Sabbath, which belonged to the noble type of the Puritan religion, to which the world owes its civil liberty as well as its religion; and to which, in our judgment, more than to any other single cause, may be traced the characteristic differences between the religious history of English Dissenters and Scotch Presbyterians on the one hand, and that of the Reformed Churches of the continent on the other. If the views of the Sabbath, as held by our Presbyterian and Congregational forefathers, retained, as we think they did, a tinge of the Jewish institution, we should remember that the latitudinarian tendencies of the modern religious spirit have so often engendered loose and radical notions on the subject, these have so constantly run into immorality and anti-Christian license, that we are disposed to regard with great leniency the fault to which we advert. We fully believe it is to be cured by a loftier, instead of a lower tone of genuine spiritual religion. We, of course, regard the law of the Jewish Sabbath not as abolished, but as taken up and merged in the higher spiritual law of the Christian Sabbath. Its obligation and binding force are not in the least degree abated, but the spirit, as well as the character of the Institution, has of course changed under the gospel.

A Memoir of the Rev. Henry Watson Fox, B. A. of Wadham College, Oxford; Missionary to the Telooogo People, South India. By the Rev. George Townshend Fox, B. A. of Durham. With an Introductory Essay by the Rev. C. P. McIlvaine, D.D., Bishop of Ohio. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, No. 285, Broadway, 1851. pp. 429, 12mo.

The lovers of religious biography will be obliged to us for introducing to their notice another work belonging to the same class with the memoirs of Brainerd, Martyn, Carey, and Boardman. For Christian missionary zeal the subject of this volume may be placed on the same level with Brainerd or Martyn, though for native strength and breadth of intellect greatly inferior to the latter. The predominant characteristic of the book to which it will owe both its interest and its usefulness, lies in the extraordinary depth and beautiful consistency of the piety which it

breathes, throughout the varied trials of a short but checkered life.

Moriah, or Sketches of the Sacred Rites of Ancient Israel. By the Rev. Robert W. Fraser, M. A. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, No. 265 Chesnut street.

This volume consists of a series of sketches in which minute detail is avoided, and an endeavor is made to present a view of the Jewish religious ritual, which may prove interesting and instructive to those who have not hitherto carefully studied it; and may lead them to a more diligent inquiry into the history of those sacred antiquities, which, as they illustrate in a very striking manner the oracles of divine truth, it is alike their duty and their interest fully to understand.

The plan of these sketches embraces a view of the temple on Mount Moriah, the great scene of Israel's worship; an account of the priesthood; a description of the daily worship, and of the rights peculiar to the Passover, to the feasts of Pentecost and Tabernacles, the yearly atonement, and the festivals of the New Moons and New Years; and an account of the Sabbath-day, Sabbath-year, and Jubilee. These descriptions are accompanied by scenes, either supposed to have occurred or taken from authentic records, and calculated to illustrate the proceedings of the Israelites on the solemn occasions referred to. The hearts of God's people must warm towards the author and his task. It is a book not for scholars, but for the people.

Bible Dictionary, for the use of Bible Classes, Schools, and Families. Prepared for the Presbyterian Board of Publication. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, No. 265 Chesnut street.

We do not doubt the existence of a general demand for this work. It is chiefly recommended by two considerations. In the first place, it presents in a very convenient and acceptable form, a condensed summary of information, and opinion, gleaned from the varied researches of the learned on the subjects discussed under the several articles. And in the second place, it is distinctively and thoroughly Presbyterian in its doctrines and polity. This circumstance of course defines its range of circulation; and constitutes, in our judgment, the most important feature of the work. We have always believed, in common, with most Presbyterians, that the religious faith of children is neither innate nor intuitive, nor yet the result of an independent and unbiassed exegetical study of the Scriptures; but that it is and ought to be inculcated and received, in the first place, on the authority of the Church to which they belong, illustrated and confirmed by constant appeal to the word of God, the true

ultimate and normal authority on all questions whether of faith or practice.

We desire especially to commend the pronouncing index, as a most valuable feature of the book, though we think the end would be better attained by annexing the pronunciation to the word as it occurs in the text. As the reader is not likely to turn to the appendix, except when he is conscious of ignorance or error, the wretched pronunciation we so often hear in the reading of the Scriptures, is likely to be perpetuated in a large number of cases where it might otherwise be corrected.

This, we are well aware, is a matter of great difficulty; and there will always be difference of opinion, both as to the principles and the practice of orthöepy. We notice accordingly several cases which we should be glad to submit to the editor for re-examination; such, for example, as Cabul (Ka'bul), psaltery (sawl-ter'e), Publius (pub-li'us), Rhægium (re-gi'um).

The Infant's Progress from the Valley of Destruction to Everlasting Glory.

By the author of Little Henry and his Bearer. Illustrated. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, No. 285 Broadway. 1851.

Mrs. Sherwood is not John Bunyan, nor is it necessary for her present purpose that she should be. Though the gifted intellects of the world will never hang upon the personified virtues and vices of juvenile humanity which constitute the *dramatis personæ* of this simple story, as they have done upon the fascinating progress of Bunyan's pilgrims; yet they possess quite sufficient interest, as we know by experience, to rouse and fasten the attention of the class of readers for whom the book was composed. We do not hesitate to pronounce *The Infant's Progress* a highly valuable addition to the apparatus for juvenile religious instruction; and the edition before us can be recommended as possessing every desirable quality for a book of the sort.

The World's Religion, as contrasted with Genuine Christianity. By Lady

Colquhoun, Daughter of the Hon. Sir John Sinclair. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 258 Broadway. 1851. pp. 207. 16mo.

The fragrance of this little volume is that of a field which the Lord hath blessed. It is delightful to see a spirit so purely evangelical, and so beautifully clad in the graces of genuine piety, extricating itself by the help of God's Spirit from the perils of a social position so ensnaring to the soul; and lifting up a testimony for Christ, so honouring to his grace, and so impressive in its earnestness and truth. May the grace of Christ make this volume to her sex and condition in life, what that of Wilberforce was to his.

The Tusculan Disputations. Book First: The Dream of Scipio; and Extracts from the Dialogues on Old Age and Friendship. With English Notes; by Thomas Chase, Tutor in Harvard College. Cambridge: Published by John Bartlett, Bookseller to the University, 1851. pp. 208, 16mo.

This convenient and beautifully printed little volume comprises all the passages in the works of Cicero, in which the question of the Immortality of the Soul is discussed. In the preparation of the text, the editor has shown commendable care and good judgment. The text of the *Tusculan Disputations* has been founded chiefly on the well-known editions of Moser and Kühner; that of the *Somnium Scipionis* seems to be a simple reprint of the edition of Moser, and the *Cato Major* and *Lælius* of that of Orelli.

The Annotations, which fill the last half of the volume, are drawn chiefly from German sources. Orelli, Wolf, Moser, Tischer, and Kühner have furnished large contributions. The editor has proved his scholarship by a wide and familiar acquaintance with the labours of his fellow editors and critics; while the scrupulous integrity with which he gives credit for his obligations, is in refreshing contrast with the notorious charlatanism which has thrown discredit upon some well-known recent editors, on both sides of the Atlantic, who were abundantly capable of doing better things. We hail the multiplication of highly creditable critical editions of the classic authors, both as an indication and a pledge of advancement in classical scholarship in our country.

The Life and Times of John Calvin, the Great Reformer. Translated from the German of Paul Henry, D.D., Minister and Seminary Inspector in Berlin, by Henry Stebbing, D.D. In Two Volumes, Vol. I. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 285 Broadway. 1851. pp. 519, 8vo.

We have already on three separate occasions noticed* at length the biographical labours of Dr. Henry, as the volumes of this great work, and subsequently an abridgment of the same by the author himself, issued from the German press. We are most happy to apprise our readers that this elaborate, able, and candid work, in which for the first time we are furnished with anything approaching to a complete and reliable history of the life and times of the great theologian and legislator of the Reformation, is now issuing, in beautiful form, from the press of the Messrs. Carter in New York. Having spoken so often and so fully of the merits of the work in its original form, it cannot be necessary for us to do more than announce its publication, in

* See *Biblical Repertory* and *Princeton Review* for January 1837, July 1839, and April 1848.

an English dress. We are too happy to see the work accessible to English readers to criticise the translator, further than to say that his version does not in all cases give the precise meaning, and in a few cases which we happened to notice, not the meaning at all of the German original. No enlightened Protestant, however, and above all no Presbyterian worthy of the name, can afford to be ignorant of this precious contribution to the history of genuine Christianity.

The Works of Nathaniel Emmons, D. D., with a Memoir of his Life. Edited by Jacob Ide, D. D. Vol. VII. New York: M. W. Dodd, Brick Church Chapel. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. North Wrentham, Massachusetts: Charles Simmons, pp. 550.

The Works of Dr. Emmons, in six volumes, edited by Dr. Ide, have been for some time before the public. This additional volume containing forty-two sermons, is published in a style uniform with that of the volumes which preceded it, at the price of one dollar and fifty cents. Those who have the other volumes of this edition can now complete their sets at a trifling cost. There are several sermons in this collection of peculiar interest, as exhibiting Dr. Emmons under other aspects than that of a lucid and acute reasoner. His powers as a descriptive and pathetic writer, are exhibited in some of these discourses to great advantage.

The Philosophy of the Active Powers of Man. By Dugald Stewart, F.R.S. Lond. and Ed. Revised, with omissions and additions. By James Walker, D. D., Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy in Harvard College. Second Edition. Cambridge: Published by John Bartlett, Bookseller to the University. 1851, pp. 460.

Nearly one third of the original work allotted to the evidence and doctrines of natural religion is omitted in this edition, as being out of place in a discussion of the active powers of man. The additional notes and illustrations consist almost exclusively of extracts from living or late writers on the subjects treated of. The volume before us is very neatly printed, and will prove a very convenient text book for our higher schools and colleges.

A Translation and Exposition of the First Epistle of the Apostle Peter. By John S. Demarest, Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church at Montague, N. J. New York: John Moffet, 311 Broadway, 1851. pp. 283.

The venerable Professors of the Theological Seminary, speak in commendatory letters prefixed to this volume in high terms of its merits. The author says in his preface, "our design has been especially to find out what the Apostle means; the state-

ments of doctrinal truth and practical remarks being given, simply to help the unlearned reader as to meditation and prayer after the meaning has been carefully drawn out." This design the writer has carried out with a good degree of success. His work exhibits the results of diligent study, and is pervaded by an evangelical spirit.

Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man. By Thomas Reid, D.D., F.R.S.E. Abridged, with notes and illustrations from Sir William Hamilton and others. Edited by James Walker, D.D., Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy in Harvard College. Cambridge: John Bartlett, Bookseller to the University. 1850, pp. 462.

This is a companion volume to the work by the same editor noticed above. This is a very convenient edition of a very valuable work.

The Principles of Chemistry Illustrated by simple Experiments. By Dr. Julius Adolph Stöckhardt, Professor of the Royal Academy of Agriculture at Tharand, and Inspector of Medicine in Saxony. Translated by C. H. Peirce, M.D. Fourth American, from the fifth German edition. Cambridge: John Bartlett. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co. 1851, pp. 679.

This work is designed to teach chemistry by experiments within the means of elementary schools and even private families. No expensive apparatus is required. Professor Horsford of Harvard, says of this work, that its qualifications as a text-book for schools, leave little, if any thing, to be desired. The number of editions which it has passed through, both in Germany and in this country, is a sufficient evidence of the estimation in which it is held.

Popery fulfilling Prophecy. A Sermon preached before the Synod of Virginia, October 18th, 1850. By B. M. Smith, Pastor of the Stanton Presbyterian Church. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 265 Chestnut street.

This discourse is founded on 2 Thess. ii. 3—9, and is a very able and instructive exposition of that important passage.

Have the Churches the Presence of Christ? A Sermon addressed to the Presbytery of Londonderry at their semi-annual meeting, April 30, 1851. By Daniel Dana, D.D. Published by the Request of the Presbytery. Newburyport: Moses H. Sargent, 1851.

The venerable author of this sermon lays down the principle "that the presence of Christ with his churches will ordinarily manifest itself in frequent and powerful revivals of religion." It is from the decrease of these merciful visitations he infers that there is great reason to lament that Christ is, in so great a degree,

absent from the Church at the present time. He points out the evidences of the low state of religion, dwelling especially on departures from the pure doctrines of the gospel. The whole discourse is a solemn and earnest admonition from a source entitled to be heard with the greatest deference and respect.

Two Discourses on the Moral State of Man. Delivered in the Central Church, Charleston. By the Rev. W. C. Dana, pastor of said church. Charleston: 1851.

The doctrine forcibly illustrated in these sermons is that total depravity when predicated of our race, does not mean the entire absence of such amiable and right feelings as generosity, sense of justice, filial affection, and the like; but "total absence of love, total opposition of the heart, to a holy God."

The Missionary Age. A Discourse by Rufus Anderson, one of the Secretaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Boston: 1851.

The design of this discourse is to set forth the last fifty years as the missionary age of the Church of modern times. The author shows that not until the present century had the providence of God opened the way for reaching all nations with the gospel; that before this period the churches were not really organized for the conversion of the world, and had not any commanding system of missions abroad designed expressly for that purpose. All these points are exhibited with the clearness and force which characterize all the productions of Dr. Anderson's pen.

A Sermon preached at the Dedication of the First Presbyterian church, Benicia, California, March 9, 1851. By the pastor, Sylvester Woodbridge, Jr., Benicia, California, 1851.

We send our civilization full-grown to our remotest borders. Educated men, municipal institutions, organized churches, the arts and improvements of industry, are there just as they exist in the old Atlantic States. Here is a sermon as well written and as well printed as though it came from Boston or Philadelphia. As such it is eminently suggestive.

The Baptist Catechism, commonly called Keach's Catechism, or a brief instruction in the principles of the Christian Religion.

The Primitive Rule of Giving. By J. R. Scott.

Positive Law: its distinction from Moral Law. By D. S. Parmelee.

The Primitive Churchman: or Reasons why I am not an Episcopalian.

The Power of the Cross. A discourse by Richard Fuller, D.D.

These are titles of a few of the issues of the American Baptist Publication Society, which we received just as our last sheet was going to press.

The Christian Retrospect and Register: a Summary of the Scientific, Moral, and Religious Progress of the first half of the nineteenth century, By Robert Baird. New York: Published by M. W. Dodd, Brick Church Chapel, City Hall Square. 1851, pp. 420.

This work was not received in time to do any thing more than announce its appearance. A more extended notice may be expected in the number for October.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* just published, develops still farther his æsthetic system. It is an account of the connection of Venitian Architecture with that of the rest of Europe. He traces the history of Venitian art in its relation to its history as a State. One of his most characteristic notions is, that all lovely architectural forms are taken directly from natural objects. He is one-sided, appreciating the Southern Gothic, but blind to the merits of the Northern. Also, looking at Greek art through the medium of the Renaissance or Revived classical style presented by Palladio, Sir C. Wren, and Inigo Jones, he depreciates it unduly. There is a high moral and religious tone about Mr. Ruskin's writings; his "*Modern Painter*" contains passages that enrich the heart as well as the imagination. It is a rare thing indeed, to have as we do in his books the utterance of an enthusiast who is learned.

Dodd has just published the letters and journals of Henry Martyn. It is a stout sizeable 12mo., and contains nothing that has heretofore been published. This book will be at least a psychological curiosity. It will doubtless be edifying, and if it destroys some of the romance that has hung around Martyn by putting us so unreservedly into possession of his most private thoughts and feelings, it cannot destroy our reverence for him as a Christian hero and martyr. The Rev. Charles Kingsley, of whose "*Alton Locke*" we spoke in the last number, has lately delivered at London, a long lecture on the application of Christian Socialism to the relations of landed property. It is to be immediately published.

Finney's *Theology*, and his *Lectures on Revivals* have lately been republished in England by Tegg. During his stay in the metropolis, numbers of his sermons were printed and scattered

by thousands. The immense multitudes that crowded every night to the Tabernacle to hear him, were attracted not only by his eloquence, but by the efforts of zealous young men, and by great placards which were carried about the streets.

Guizot, according to his promise made in the preface of his *History of the English Revolution*, is now while condemned to political inactivity engaged in completing that work. He has lately published a series of biographical monographs of which that on Ludlow is said to be the best. The great interest of Achilli's book on the Inquisition seems to be rather the personal narrative than any new information it imparts. He considers Naples as more under the dominion of the Papacy than Rome itself, and therefore worse off.

We notice that Wiseman's *Lectures on the Church* are continually republished. It is a most artful work, the fallacy of which hinges on a play upon the expression "Protestants" and "Right of private judgment."

A new edition is to come out of "*Protestantism and Catholicity compared in their effects upon the civilization of Europe*," by Balmez, an enthusiastic Spanish priest lately deceased, and whose posthumous works have lately been printed. It is a romantic rhapsody rather than a sober piece of history, yet it does not lack learning and vigour. At Madrid lately, a remarkable work has been published, "*The Persecution of the Spanish Protestants in the reign of Philip the Second*," by Don Adolpho De Castro. It shows great research, and though studiously moderate, it exhibits great moral if not physical courage, by the candour and fairness with which it chronicles the heroism of the Protestants, and the atrocities committed against them. It indicates a rising taste for historical studies, the most liberalizing of all studies, and in Spain it is of happy omen. He has had access to a great variety of new documents in manuscript and printed, and especially works of the Spanish reformers themselves, rare because of the pains taken by the Inquisition to destroy them. He thinks that he has been able to throw a new light on the history of Don Carlos.

There are three hitherto unpublished MSS. from the Venetian Archives, in a work on the "*Diplomats and Diplomacy of Italy*," translated into Italian from Von Raumer's *Pocket Book for 1841*, which show the espionage which the Republic maintained, by means of its ambassadors, over the whole of Christendom. *Italia*, a work published at Frankfort, is a complete historic and artistic manual for travellers in that peninsula.

Authors are said to be best rewarded in France; this is true in a social as well as a pecuniary sense. Authors of any note,

and popular journalists are courted in the highest circles. The French *Littérateurs* now in London complain of and wonder at the exclusiveness of English society. They cannot comprehend why they have not the *entrée* at Almack's. Stephens, translator of Tegners Frithiof's Saga, is now publishing at Copenhagen three Anglo Saxon poems of the Eleventh Century, translated in the metre and all the iteration of the originals. The price will be \$3. Orders may be sent through H. W. Ellsworth, late Swedish Chargé, now at New York, or through Dr. S. H. Smith.

M. De Coucha, a French bibliomaniac, has had published for himself alone one copy of the works of La Fontaine in the most exquisite typography, and illustrated by the first artists of the day.

It is remarkable how prolific the French authors are. Victor Hugo made five years ago a contract, binding himself not to print any thing new, so that certain magnificent editions of his work might be sold off. The term is just expiring, and he will immediately issue 3 volumes of poetry, and 12 of romances. The French Historian Miguet has nearly finished his life of Mary Stuart. Lamartine has just edited a history of the Restoration of 1814-30; it is by several hands. M. Miller, Librarian to the Assembly, has discovered at Paris some lost MSS. of Origen, making the last seven books of a heretofore incomplete work; it is a refutation of heresies by proving that the heretics took their opinions from the ancient philosophers. The MSS. are said to throw great light upon the opinions and practices of the New Platonists, and the manners and customs of antiquity. There is a report that there have been important discoveries of Greek MSS. in a cave at the foot of Mount Athos, and among them many valuable works long thought to be lost. The Westminster Review, though radical in opinion as well as politics, takes Mr. Atkinson and Miss Martineau sharply to task for the Atheistic sentiments of their book on "Man's Nature and Development." It is indignant in the rebuke of the sentiment that in the search for truth we should keep ourselves indifferent, and assert the necessity of prejudice in favour of truths before we have grasped them, and in order to enable us to attain them. Bigelow's work on Jamaica, published by Putnam, is called by the London Examiner the most searching analysis of the present state of Jamaica, and moreover the most sagacious prognostication of the future prospects of that Island, that have ever been published. D. H. Moir has published at Edinburgh "Sketches of the Poetical Literature of the past half century," in six lectures delivered before the

Edinburgh Philosophical Institution. The third volume of the Documentary History of New York, by Dr. O'Callaghan is out. It sustains the reputation of the predecessor. The history is we believe brought out at the expense of the State of New York.

Colonel Albert J. Pickett, of Montgomery, has in press at Charleston, "the history of Alabama, and incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi from the earliest period."

Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution improves with each successive number. It gives descriptions and sketches of the battle fields, which have the merit of being the result of personal observation. Persons as well as places fall within the scope of the work. The old veteran is visited, curious traits of the old time caught from his lips, and perishing anecdotes chronicled.

A new History of the American Colonies is announced by J. R. Tyson, from which much is expected.

"Episodes of Insect life by Acheta Domestica," is an exceedingly lively and readable book.

Cobbin's Domestic Bible has been republished by Hueston. The notes contain merely necessary explanations, no debateable matter.

G. H. Hickman is publishing at Baltimore, "The Life, Speeches, Orations, and Diplomatic Papers of Lewis Cass;" Little & Brown, of Boston, "The Speeches, Forensic Arguments, and Diplomatic Papers of Daniel Webster," (in six vols.) superintended by Edward Everett; R. K. Croller, "The Memoir and Speeches of the late John C. Calhoun;" and collections are projected of the speeches and public papers of Buchanan and Benton. The last named gentleman is now about proceeding to the task of sifting and arranging for publication, whatever among the mass of his papers may be of permanent interest.

Comte's Philosophy of Mathematics has been translated by Professor Gillespie, of Union College. A biographical account of the Hungarian Statesmen eminent before the Revolution, is about to appear at Pesth. A new version of the Eddas and the mythical narratives of the Skalda has appeared, by Simrock the German poet. Westermann Brothers, of New York, sell the Deutsches Museum, a periodical published at Leipsic, which contains the best account of current German literature.

A Dictionary of six of the dialects of Eastern Africa, viz. The Kishuaheli, the Kinika, the Kikamba, the Kipokomo, the Kihian, the Kigalla, has just been put forth at Tubingen, accompanied by Mark's Gospel translated into Kikamba, and by a grammar of the Kishuaheli. The author is Krass, a Pro-

testant minister, who resided fifteen years in Ethiopia, and has presented to the University of Tubingen several valuable Ethiopic MSS.

It is said that the Biographical Dictionary of illustrious women, an extensive work now publishing at Berlin, is to appear here soon. It has literary merit besides containing useful information. The German novelist Countess Ida Hahn Hahn has become a Roman Catholic, and has made a book giving an account of her conversion. Dr. Tobler, a Swiss, has recently published a work entitled Golgotha, its Churches and Cloisters, in which he discusses the probability of the traditionary localities of our Saviour's passion at Jerusalem, with as much learning as scepticism. There are at present at the German Universities 3973 students of Law, 2539 of Theology, 2357 of Philosophy and Philology, 2146 of Medicine, and 549 of Political Economy.

There is a curious Quarterly published at Boston, by the New England Historico-Genealogical Society, devoted to the Memoirs of notable men of New England, genealogical details respecting all the important families, curious anecdotes and accounts of obscure persons, and all kinds of out of the way knowledge respecting the history of New England people.

M. Lacroix, a French scholar, has discovered in that vast limbo the National Library at Paris a Comédie-Ballet by Moliere, not only unpublished before, but unknown. Its name is "Le Ballet des Incompatibles." It was written at the command of the Prince de Conti, and acted before him by Moliere and his company. The copy discovered was one of those that had been printed for distribution among the friends of the Prince. It is said to be worthy of Moliere.

A new candidate for the honours of Junius has been set up, the Rev. William Mason, author of the celebrated Monody. His claims seem to be based upon his position, his character, and some curious coincidences of style.

Stuart's Commentary on Ecclesiastes is beautifully printed by Putnam.

Mr. H. Dixon, who lately wrote a life of Howard, which was somewhat roughly handled, for its style especially, in Blackwood, has lately published a life of Penn, which is said to be able. He defends Penn from the charges of Macauley, and yet we have noticed, that for some reason or other, the work is not popular among the Society of Friends.

The Russian savant Jacobi, distinguished for his discoveries in galvanism and electro-magnetism died lately at Berlin.

Dr. Hitchcock of Amherst, has lately published "The Reli-

gion of Geology and its connected sciences." Judging from one chapter or lecture (that on the final cause of the brokenness of the earth's surface) we should think that the book was learned and eloquent, though perhaps sometimes diffuse.

Sir Emerson Tennant, Governor of St. Helena, formerly connected with the administration in Ceylon, has written a book "Christianity in Ceylon," in which he praises highly the labours of American missionaries. He states that 4000 are daily receiving instruction in the schools, and that since they were begun 90,000 have been taught, a number equal to half the present population.

A curious instance of generalization, peculiarly French, occurs in a book on England written lately by M. Francis Wey. He says that the cold, hard manners of the English are the work of Cromwell; and that the hatred of Cromwell is the cry of confined nature for emancipation.

Liberia seems at last to be in a fair way of being appreciated in England. The *London Examiner* reviews the colonization by the Dutch at the Cape, where the most respectable product is a Cape boor; by the English at Sierra Leone, and by the French in Algeria, where "every colonist has to have two soldiers to keep his throat from being cut;" and by the Americans at Liberia, which last, it concludes, "is worth more than all that has been effected by the European race in Africa for two and twenty centuries.

M. De Montbelliard has written an "opuscule" in refutation of the Ethics of Spinoza. He is sound on the subject of the creation and human personality, and admires while he contradicts Spinoza.

Quinet has lately been advocating the total separation of Church and State in France, in a work entitled "L'enseignement du peuple."

M. Dargard has published at Paris a history of Mary Queen of Scots, which is said to be complete, brilliant, clear, and impartial.

The title of a new work by Count Montalembert, the ultramontane is The higher and lower radicalism; in its Enmity, Religion, Right, Freedom, Justice, in France, Switzerland, and Italy.

French Literature, is, they say, tending towards monarchy. Guizot and Cousin openly attack republican institutions, and M. Romieu has lately written a book, whose character may be caught from the title, "Le Spectre Rouge of 1852." He infers that the only man who can save France is he who is able to say "L'état c'est moi!"

William Howitt is writing George Fox's life. M. Silvestre, a learned bibliographer, has discovered that the books which it was alleged M. Libri stole from the Mazanne Library, and for which offence he was condemned to ten years imprisonment, are still in that library and never have been away.

Lamartine is just now writing at once two romances in two different papers, besides occasionally tales for the others; is editing a complete edition of his works; is writing a history of the Restoration, and a history of Turkey, and has just begun a daily paper, and all this besides his monthlies, "Conseiller du Peuple" and "Les Foyers du Peuple;" of course he can but administer some of these, but still it is no wonder that his reputation is on the decline.

The *London Leader* says that Cousin did not translate Plato, but merely retouched the dialogues that were translated, and got some clever young men to do the rest.

GERMANY.

Prof. Const. Tischendorf, *Synopsis Evangelica*: the four gospels chronologically arranged, with a brief commentary and a critical apparatus. 8vo., pp. lxvi. and 202. Lipsiae.

Prof. F. Chr. Baur, *The Gospel of Mark*, as to its origin and character. With an Appendix on Marcion's Gospel. 8vo., pp. 226. Tübingen.

Bruno Bauer's *Criticism of the Gospels, and History of their Origin*. Vol. II. pp. 273-295, and Vol. III. pp. 1-128, 8vo. have been published the present year. Also the second division of his *Criticism of Paul's Epistles*, containing the origin of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, 8vo., pp. 76. Berlin. Bruno Bauer is among the most successful of that class of critics who are not troubled with such prejudices as faith in a divine revelation, and whose peculiar skill consists in disregarding all historical verity, and in inventing their facts for themselves. Germany has been fruitful in such, so that he has no lack of coadjutors in this particular direction, both in the Old Testament and in the New; but certainly the palm must be yielded to him both for impiety and for absurdity. It is a perfect curiosity to see with what assurance these brain-spun theories are propounded, the facts reasoned out of them, the most undoubted testimony of history set aside in their favour, clear and positive decisions given where there is no light or directly in the face of it, until all established opinions fall in ruins, and everything lies completely topsy-turvy. Then let him build who can; for these critics are more successful and ingenious in

their favourite work of destruction than in that more laborious of re-construction. Strauss had discovered that the events related of Jesus in the Gospels were mythical narrations, which arose from the application to him of Messianic ideas previously existing; for as his followers conceived him to be the Messiah, they concluded that these must have been realized in him. Bauer has advanced so far beyond Strauss as to convict him of superstition, and class him with Hengstenberg and other pietists for admitting such a chimera as this ante-Christian Messianic expectation, and retaining what remnants he does of traditional belief in parts of the gospel history. In the same spirit he has gone to the discussion of the Acts of the Apostles, and of Paul's Epistles. He claims the merit of being the first to have discovered that Paul did not write those epistles, of whose genuineness no doubt had ever before been entertained. The Romans and Corinthians originated in the earlier half of the second century. Galatians was the work of a compiler, with these previous epistles before him. These led on the Pauline revolution in the Church, with which consequently Paul had nothing to do. The Acts of the Apostles was the fruit of a counter revolution in the middle of the same century, by which the sharp points were taken from the Pauline system, and it was rendered more generally acceptable. The revolting extreme to which Bauer has gone is attended with at least one advantage, that of showing in all their naked deformity the tendencies and results of those skeptical principles upon which others have started but without being daring enough to follow them consistently through, and thus of provoking a speedier reaction and hastening the return of well-disposed minds to faith and reason.

Pastor J. E. F. Sander, *Commentary on the Epistles of John*. 8vo. pp. 328. Elberfeld.

The 1st Epistle of John practically explained by Dr. A. Neander. 8vo. pp. 258. Berlin.

Popular Lectures on the *1st Epistle of John*; with the additional title: Selection from the writings of John Ecolampadius, suited to the times. 8vo. pp. 220. Basle.

Commentary on the Revelation of John. By Prof. Lic. C. Stern. Part I.—Containing the Introduction to that book. 8vo. pp. 104. Breslau.

A *Commentary on the Revelation*, giving the results of Hengstenberg's learned Exposition in a more popular form, by K. W. A. Dressel. Berlin. Part I. pp. 112.

The publishers of Olshausen's *Commentary on the New Testament*, which the excellent and lamented author did not live to complete, have engaged Professor Ebrard to finish it. He

associated with himself Lic. Augustus Wiesinger, not known from any previous publication except a small tract, *De Consensu Locorum Gal. ii. and Acts xv.*, Erlangen, 1847, the son-in-law of Ranke, author of *Investigations on the Pentateuch*, and grandson-in-law of Prof. Von Schubert, of Munich, to whom jointly he has dedicated his present work. Ebrard and Wiesinger were both pupils of Olshausen, for whom they entertain a very high veneration, and whose piety and evangelical sentiments they share. The imperfect papers which he left, were placed in their hands, and have been consulted and used by them, but have not been allowed to govern their expositions contrary to their own judgment. They have addressed themselves to the task as independent interpreters, and their commentaries are properly their own. Wiesinger has published an Exposition of Paul's Epistles to the *Philippians*, *Titus*, *Timothy*, and *Philemon*. 8vo. pp. 720. Königsberg. Ebrard has written on the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 8vo. pp. 483, and will next proceed to the Revelation. He has also published *Christliche Dogmatik*, Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 552. Königsberg.

Christology of the Old Testament, or the Messianic Promises, Prophecies, and Types, with special reference to their organic connexion. Part II.—Containing the promises and prophecies in the Psalms, by John Bade (Roman Catholic.) 8vo. pp. 310. Münster.

Dr. G. Füllner, *Notionem Immortalitatis apud Hebræos Exposuit*. 8vo. pp. 37. Halae.

Ewald's *History of the People of Israel*, until the time of Christ. Second Edition. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 536. Göttingen.

Handbook of Church History, by Prof. J. I. Ritter. (Rom. Cath.) Two Vols. 8vo. pp. 950. Bonn. 4th edition enlarged and improved.

Church Lexicon, or *Encyclopædia of Catholic Theology*, and its Assistant Sciences, by Prof. H. J. Wetzer and Prof. B. Welte. No. 65-69. Vol. VI. pp. 337-736, 8vo. Freiburg. The latter is favourably known from his having completed and edited Herbst's *Introduction to the Old Testament*, and from his independent publications, *Nachmosaisches im Pentateuch*, 8vo. pp. 230, 1841, and *Introduction to the Deutero-Canonical (Apocryphal) Books of the Old Testament*. 8vo. pp. 276, 1844.

Bibliotheca Judaica, by Dr. Julius Fürst, Author of the Hebrew Concordance. A bibliographical handbook of the entire Jewish Literature, including the writings on Jews and Judaism, and a history of Jewish bibliography. In the alphabetic order of the authors. Part II. I.—M. 8vo. pp. 409. Leipzig.

Hermeneutica Biblica Generalis; by Prof. Jos. Kohlgruber. 8vo. pp. 405. Vienna.

By Privatdocent Dr. Joseph L. Saalschutz: Investigations in the province of *Hebrew-Egyptian Archæology*, Number II. and III., also with the title Critique on Manetho, with an Appendix respecting Hermapion's Obelisk-inscription, and the Hyksos of Manetho. 8vo. pp. 110. Königsberg. By the same: On the Deciphering of Hieroglyphics, Eine Habilitation-Vorlesung zu Königsberg gehalten. 8vo. pp. 28.

God in Nature, by Gymn. Prof. Otto Köstlin. The phenomena and laws of nature represented as the works of God in the sense of the Bridgewater Treatises. 8vo. Vol. I. pp. 193-288. Stuttgart.

The Teaching of Tertullian, developed from his writings, by Charles Hesselberg. Part I. 8vo. pp. 136. Dorpat.

The Theology and Ethics of Sophocles, by Dr. F. Lübker. Part I. 4to. pp. 68. Kiel.

CONTENTS OF No. III.

ART. I.—Lettre de Démission à la Faculté de l' École de Théologie de Genève. Par Ed. Schérer, Professeur de l'Exegèse, &c. Genève. 1849.....	367
ART. II.—Peter Collinson.—Memorials of John Bartram and Humphry Marshall. With notices of their Botanical Cotemporaries, by William Darlington, M. D., LL.D.; &c.; with Illustrations. Philadelphia, Lindsay and Blakiston: 1849.....	416
ART. III.—History of the Old Covenant. By J. H. Kurtz. Vol. I. Berlin, 1848, 8vo. pp. 301.....	451
ART. IV.—Panslavism and Germanism. By Count Valerian Kransinski. London, 1846. Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress and Decline of the Reformation in Poland, by do. London, 1840. 2vols. Lectures on the Religious History of the Slavonic Nations: by do. London, 1849.....	486
ART. V.—The Typology of Scripture; or, the Doctrine of Types investigated in its principles, and applied to the explanation of the earlier revelations of God, considered as preparatory exhibitions of the leading truths of the Gospel. By Rev. Patrick Fairbairn, Salton. Vol. I.—Investigation of Principles and Patriarchal Period. Vol. II.—Mosaic Dispensation. Edinburgh, 1847. 12mo. pp. 1115. Jonah: his Life, Character, and Mission, viewed in connexion with the Prophet's own times, and future manifestations of God's mind and will in prophecy. By the Rev. Patrick Fairbairn, Salton, Author of "Typology of Scripture." Edinburgh, 1849. 18mo. pp. 245. Ezekiel, and the Book of his Prophecy. An Exposition. By the Rev. Patrick Fairbairn, Salton, Author of "Typology of Scripture," "Jonah," &c. Edinburgh, 1851. 8vo. pp. 460.....	508
ART. VI.—The General Assembly.....	521
SHORT NOTICES.....	554
LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.....	564

THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1851.

No. IV.

ART. I.—*Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland*, which met in Edinburgh, May 22, 1851.
From the Home and Foreign Record.

THE opening sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Paterson, of Free St. Andrews, Glasgow, the Moderator of the last Assembly, from John viii. 32.

According to the Scottish custom, the moderator of the former Assembly nominated the Rev. Dr. Duff, and he was chosen by acclamation; and on taking the chair, delivered an animated and interesting discourse, in which he took a comprehensive but rapid survey of the fortunes of the Church of Scotland, and her struggles with Papacy and Prelacy; and then came down to the disruption in 1843, by which the greater part of the evangelical clergy of the Established Church voluntarily relinquished their livings and their resources, rather than yield to the Erastian principles adopted by the civil government. He concluded by earnestly recommending to the Assembly the sustentation of all their *schemes* connected with the prosperity of the Church, and especially urged the importance of prosecuting foreign missions with increasing ardour and liberality. The address occupied more than an hour in the delivery.

A greater part of the morning of the second day was spent in devotional exercises; after which, the Rev. Mr. Jaffray exhibited a general view of the collections of the churches for the several schemes prosecuted by the Free Church. From this it appeared, that for the seven schemes, the amount of the collections the last year was £42,010 8s. 3d., whereas for the current year it was £50,868 18s. 3d., being an increase of £8858 10s., which gave a very encouraging view of the finances of the Free Church. The Sustentation Fund, by which the parish ministry is in a great measure supported, is the most important and the most difficult of all the schemes of the Church, and the sum of the collections for this object was larger than in any former year; but on account of the increase of ministers, the dividend which each could receive was not greater than the last year, and fell short of that of several former years. The plan of the fund invented by Dr. Chalmers immediately after the disruption, was, by associations in every congregation to raise a general fund, from which every pastor should receive an equal dividend. And it was the object to raise such a fund in this way, and by donations, as would admit of every minister receiving at least £150 per annum. They have, however, not yet realized their expectation. The highest sum divided has not much exceeded £125, and for the two last years has been only £123. Although Dr. Chalmers at first adopted the principle of paying an equal sum to every settled minister of the Free Church, yet, before his death, he was convinced that this principle, though apparently just, did not operate equally; and one of the last things which he wrote was an earnest appeal to the Church to change this feature of the plan. It has not yet been done; but is now under consideration.

In the evening of this day, the Assembly took up an overture from the Presbytery of Kelso and Lauder, proposing the appointment of a day of humiliation and prayer during the sessions of the Assembly. The same subject was pressed by several of the members. After due deliberation, the Assembly resolved that they would observe the next Tuesday as a day of solemn humiliation before God; and appointed Dr. Samuel Miller of Glasgow to preach and conduct the devotional exercises; public worship to commence at 11 o'clock, A. M.; and

after the close of the public exercises, it was agreed to meet in private conference, and to direct their attention to ministerial duty, and to the condition of the young in their respective congregations; and after the public exercises in the evening, to direct their attention to the condition of students of theology; and particularly to bring to view the low state of missionary feeling in the churches.

The Assembly now heard the deputation, consisting of Messrs. Monod and Bost, from the Evangelical Reformed Church of France. Mr. Monod addressed the house, and thanked them for their recommendation of this Church to their congregations for contributions; the result of which was, that 95 congregations had taken up collections, which amounted, with contributions from individuals, to £464 11s. 9d. He remarked that they who watered others would be themselves watered. He said, that though they were a small body, they had, with gratitude, to record circumstances of much encouragement. They now numbered thirty-two ministers and elders, which was an increase of four during the year; and these represented fourteen churches; that at their last synodical meeting, they were honoured and cheered with no less than eight deputations from sister churches; from Scotland two, from Ireland one, from England one, from the Canton de Vaud one, and from France three. "But," said he, "we have something to say better than all this; he trusted there were real aspirations after the glory of God, and a sincere desire to do his will, his whole will, and nothing but his will. There was a spirit of prayer, singing praises to God with the heart, and preaching the truth with earnestness and fervour. There was also, he might say, the prevalence of brotherly love and brotherly forbearance." Mr. Monod mentioned that his church had distributed fourteen millions of tracts, all testifying of Christ as the Saviour; and two millions of Bibles and Testaments. He then adverted to the importance of the evangelization of France; to the need his church stood in of help, and to her resolution to go forward in the work.

Mr. Bost also addressed the Assembly in an interesting manner. Upon which, the Assembly expressed the deep interest which they felt in the Evangelical Reformed Church of

France, and their earnest prayer that they might have grace given them to be steadfast. The Moderator, in the name of the Assembly, returned thanks to the deputies.

On Saturday the 24th of May, Mr. Jaffray read the report of the Committee on the Irish Mission, in the place of the Rev. A. Moody Stuart, the convener, who was absent. This report gives a favourable account of the prospect of success in this field of missionary labour, and concludes in the following words: "The Roman Catholics of Ireland have recently been as a ripe field, into which the sickle of Divine judgment has been thrust. They are now also, through Divine mercy, like a field whitening for the sickle of the gospel. May the great Lord of the harvest send forth labourers into his own harvest: and may he that 'reapeth receive wages, and gather fruit unto life eternal!'"

This morning also, the Assembly was addressed in very animated discourses by the members of the deputation of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, the Rev. Mr. Kirkpatrick of Dublin, and the Rev. Mr. Hamilton of Belfast. And in accordance with the common custom, these deputies received the thanks of the Assembly conveyed to them in a speech of the Moderator.

The only other business transacted this day, was the discussion and decision of the translation of Mr. George Philip from Stonehaven to Union church, Glasgow. The Assembly were unanimous for the translation, though contrary to the wishes of Mr. Philip. And also in a case of discipline in which a minister was deposed for drunkenness.

On Monday, the 26th, Mr. Davidson gave in a long report respecting the observance of the Sabbath. This report furnished no encouraging information respecting any considerable progress in this important concern. For a short season, the Christian public was greatly rejoiced at a change made in the arrangements of the post-office in London, in regard to the delivery of letters on the Sabbath; but their joy was of short duration, for in a few days things reverted to their former state, and the new arrangement was changed. The Assembly approved the conduct of the committee and they were continued.

Another case of translation came this day before the Assembly, respecting which the decision was, that it should not take place. These cases always come before the Assembly by an appeal from the decision of some Synod.

Doctor Buchanan of Glasgow, now spread before the Assembly a detailed account of the Sustentation Fund. The result has already been given in the general view of the finances by Mr. Jaffray. It will therefore be sufficient at present, to give the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on this subject.

Resolved, 1. The General Assembly approve of the Report, and while they observe with satisfaction, that the income of this fund has somewhat increased, and would desire to record their thankfulness for the same to Almighty God, they regret that the provision for the ministry is still so inadequate.

2. The General Assembly continuing to cherish a deep conviction that it is the duty of the church, and necessary to its stability and prosperity, that a minimum stipend of £150 per annum, should be provided for the ministers of the church, renew their earnest recommendation, that this great object may be prosecuted with unabated energy and zeal, and never abandoned, till, through the Divine blessing, it be fully realized.

3. With a view to promote this object, the Presbyteries of the Church are enjoined, at their first meeting, to take all competent means to secure the efficient working of the Associations within their bounds, and to further generally the interests of the fund, in the several congregations under their charge.

4. The General Assembly recommend the Committee to continue the system of periodical visitation, by deputations appointed for that purpose, of the several Synods, Presbyteries, and congregations of the church, &c.

5. The last resolution relates to the filling of vacancies, and the course to be pursued in the case of vacant congregations.

A memorial from certain ministers and elders, requesting certain changes in the plan of the Sustentation Fund having been laid before the Assembly, a number of resolutions respecting this matter were adopted, not necessary to be here inserted.

The only other business transacted this day, was the case of a call, where the people were much divided; and another case

of the translation of a minister, which it was resolved should take place.

Tuesday, May 27, being the day appointed for prayer and humiliation, no other business was transacted.

Doctor Miller, of Glasgow, preached, and took for his subject, the 126th Psalm. The Assembly was afterwards addressed by Dr. Paterson, on the subject of ministerial duty; and by Mr. Nixon on the state of the young in the congregations of the Church.

In the afternoon, the Assembly were addressed by Mr. David Brown of Glasgow, who directed the attention of the house to the spiritual state of the students of the Church; and particularly, to the necessity of a converted ministry. After remarks from several others, Mr. Andrew Gray of Perth, addressed the Assembly on the low state of missionary feeling, and the power of mammon. The addresses delivered on this occasion were interesting and impressive; but we have not room even to give the substance of them.

On Wednesday morning the Assembly were for some time engaged in conference respecting the Sustentation Fund. The point particularly brought under consideration related to the manner of distribution; whether any change such as that which had been suggested by Dr. Chalmers was expedient. After the Assembly met in open court, a request was made, that the sermon preached the preceding day by Dr. Miller, and the address of Mr. Nixon on the subject of training the youth of the Church, should be published.

The Committee appointed to prepare an address to the Queen, read a draft to the Assembly which was approved, and directed to be sent, after being signed by the moderator, to the Home Department, to be presented to her Majesty.

Dr. Cunningham now presented an interesting report respecting the New College, from which some extracts will be made.

“In accordance with the resolution of the *Commission*, the new College was opened on the 6th of November, last; the moderator of the last Assembly presiding, conducting public worship, and delivering an address to the professors and students. The proceedings connected with the opening of the College, and the introductory lectures of all the professors have been pub-

lished; and the Committee have nothing to add on this subject, except to express their deep sense of obligation to the Church acting through its Commission for its kind interposition in this matter; and to Dr. Paterson, the moderator, for his very valuable and excellent services on that occasion.

The number of theological students enrolled in the New College, for last session, was two hundred and fifty-eight, being a considerably larger number than had been enrolled since the disruption. Of these, about thirty speak the Gaelic language; eighty-eight commenced their theological studies; being twenty-five more than entered the hall the preceding year. The number of theological students who attended at Aberdeen the last session, was thirty-nine, being two more than in the preceding year; but the number who entered for the first time, was eight less than the preceding session. Of the students at Aberdeen, only one could speak the Gaelic. The whole number of theological students enrolled at both places, was two hundred and ninety-two. Of these, however, seventeen were from Ireland. The class of natural science was attended by a much larger number of students than in the preceding session, amounting to one hundred and twenty-eight, who appeared to take a lively interest in the business of the class. The attendance of amateur students was sixteen, and would have been greater had not the accommodations for them been defective, in consequence of the attendance of so large a number of theological students.

The College Committee anticipating that the knowledge of the Hebrew language would be required before admission to the hall, employed, during last session, the Rev. Theodore Meyer, a licentiate of the Free Church, to give instruction to the students in philosophy, and in the elements of Hebrew. And they have much pleasure in stating, that Mr. Meyer amply fulfilled the expectations the Committee entertained of him, and proved himself to be a skilful, efficient, and successful teacher.

The debt due by the College Committee at the time of the last Assembly, was £2200; it is this year reduced to £1800.

The Committee, during last session, carried into operation the proposal which they have more than once brought under the notice of the Assembly, viz. exacting from the theological

classes, a common fee for the sessions, in place of a separate fee to each professor. The common fee was fixed at £4. 10s. a sum which, on the whole curriculum, produces exactly the same amount as the aggregate of the separate fees exigible for the different classes on which attendance has been compulsory; while the students have, in addition to the classes for which a fee was previously exigible, the benefit of attending the classes of Dr. Black and Dr. Fleming. One great advantage of this change is, that the students have no motive to postpone unduly their attendance on any of the classes, and may, therefore, be expected to take them at the proper time.

“One munificent donation has been received during the past year for scholarships, amounting to the sum of £4000. The generous donor is HENRY MILLER, Esq., a retired London merchant. The money is to be vested in land, and to be under the control of the *Senatus Academicus* and the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, for the time being. The annual revenue is to be laid out in providing for scholarships of £40 annually, to be enjoyed for two years. They are to be gained by competition on subjects of general education, and are to be enjoyed by young men who are engaged in their philosophical and literary studies, and have not yet commenced their properly professional education. The first two of these Miller scholarships are to be competed for on Monday next. The Committee entertain a confident hope that this munificent donation will exert a powerful influence in promoting sound academical education.” [Oh, that we had such donors!]

“There are several important subjects which, for the last three years, the Committee have adverted to in their reports, as deserving the consideration of the Assembly and the Church. The necessity of some special provision for the education of Gaelic students for the supply of Highland congregations; and the provision generally that ought to be made for assisting young men in the prosecution of their studies—the length of the session,—and especially the means that ought to be employed in promoting and testing the personal piety of students. They continue to be impressed as much as ever with the importance of these subjects, and would fain hope that some of them may engage the attention of this meeting of the Assembly.”

The next report brought before the Assembly was, "On the SCHEME FOR SCHOLARSHIPS, submitted by Professor McDougall. This scheme, he remarks, has been in operation for six successive years. During that time £2800 have been applied directly to the support of young men of ability, coming forward for the ministry in the Free Church. Out of this fund 139 scholarships had been awarded to such students as, after a fair competition, appeared to be most deserving of the reward. Most of these scholarships have been enjoyed for the period of two years each; and in by far the greater number of instances, it cannot be doubted that the very deserving and accomplished young men by whom they have been so honourably gained, would either have been lost altogether to the Church, from inability to carry on a course of study for the ministry; or would have been placed in circumstances much less favourable for prosecuting these studies with freedom and advantage. It is surely a matter of satisfaction, that by means of this contribution so much has been done for the encouragement of so large a body of young men, all of them very creditable scholars, and some of them yet destined, it is hoped, to rank among the Church's distinguished ornaments. The fund for these purposes was originally contributed for a limited period, and by way of experiment, by a few friends to the cause of high ministerial education in the Free Church of Scotland. The sub-committee, to whom the administration of their liberality has been entrusted, now feel themselves fully warranted in declaring that the scheme has answered largely the very best expectations that could reasonably be formed of it. Those selected by public competition for preferment under it, have often been very eminently distinguished among their fellow students, and have always as a body, maintained in their classes a position of high respectability and credit. The very ordeal by which they have been chosen, is one which, instead of in any way humiliating or degrading, must have tended eminently to elevate and stimulate. The indirect effects of such a practice steadily persisted in, upon the entire body of the students, cannot have been insignificant. The standard of acquirement has been defined, extended, and gradually raised. A higher measure of attainment than usual, and that according to a well considered and

digested plan has been secured. The number of competitors from year to year, instead of decreasing has augmented, notwithstanding the known severity of the trial; and on the last occasion, being the sixth, it was nearly double what it had been on the occasion immediately preceding, although the rewards at the disposal of the Committee were unfortunately not more than half as great as they used to be. In short, the Committee have repeatedly had the explicit testimony of professors and examiners, as well as the strongest evidence from outward fact, for asserting that it would be most deeply to be regretted, if a scheme so signally beneficial in its bearing and effects, remote as well as immediate, should be allowed to languish or become crippled for want of resources, at the very time its efficiency for good had been placed by actual experiment beyond question, and its difficulties of every other kind had been surmounted; just when its operation might be expected to tell most powerfully, and when the wisdom and necessity are becoming every day more apparent, of every possible exertion being made by all the evangelical churches for the securing a highly trained, as well as a godly ministry in the land. They will not now allow it to drop when on the point of being able to stand alone; nor by withdrawing prematurely that support, which, if continued for a short time, would place it on a footing of security and independence. Will they suffer the past to so large an extent to go for nothing, and the ultimate establishment and even existence of the scheme, to be so very seriously endangered?"

Dr. Cunningham said, the Committee were thoroughly satisfied of the great good which these scholarships had already effected, and hoped that the report which had just been read, would have the effect of awakening attention, for the high object was well worth the liberality of some of the generous friends of the Church.

The reports were unanimously approved, and the matter of scholarships earnestly recommended to the liberality of the members of the Church.

The next subject taken up was an examination of the returns of the Presbyteries on the overtures sent down the last year. On the subject of requiring a knowledge of the Hebrew pre-

vious to being enrolled as a student of theology, it was found that the overture had been approved by a majority of the Presbyteries, wherefore the Assembly established it as a standing law of the Church.

Two other overtures, the one relating to attendance on the class of Natural Science, and the other to the examination of students before their being received into college, had not received the sanction of a majority of the Presbyteries; and it was resolved, with some modifications, to send these overtures down again to the Presbyteries.

The next report to the Assembly was made by the Committee on Sabbath Schools. As there is nothing in this which would be especially interesting to our Church, we will pass it over, simply with the observation, that in the Free Church of Scotland, this whole concern is kept strictly under ecclesiastical supervision. The aggregate of schools is 1671—of teachers, 8506, and of scholars, 99,090.

The JEWISH MISSION report was next presented by the convener, Mr. Moody Stuart. The regular missionaries of the committee are seven; the number being the same as at the last report. Of these, one is a Jew by birth and education, one a German, and five natives of Scotland. The principal stations are Pesth, Lemberg, Amsterdam, and Constantinople. Throughout these stations generally, and in some of them very remarkably, the progress of the mission has been of the most cheering character. In Pesth, in Hungary, the interest in the mission has never before been so great, nor the field of labour so accessible; nor the thirst for the word of God so general, nor Jewish prejudice and superstition so thoroughly shaken. The number of actual inquirers has been considerable, and among them one who is described as the most distinguished literary character among the Jews of Eastern Europe: who has not, however, publicly embraced Christianity, though he has privately confessed his conviction of its truth; and to preserve his liberty of conscience, has refused the highest literary posts which his nation could offer. Several interesting Christian families have been added to the Church in this place, whose connexion with it has occasioned them very important personal sacrifices. By the late disturbances and wars in the country,

of which Pesth had its full share, the members of the church were dispersed, and some had died; yet, notwithstanding this, on the first Sabbath of the year, twenty-one communicants sat down together at the Lord's Supper.

The mission school, which commenced in weakness in Philip Saphir's sick-room, and which has always been most successful as a school for teaching Christianity, has made most rapid progress during the year. Last year, the number of pupils exceeded one hundred, and the expectation was that it would rise to a hundred and seventy; but such was the effect of the public examination, that the number rose at once to two hundred and thirty; and since that, to two hundred and fifty. The rush into the school was remarkable—parents for their children, and children for themselves, entreating to be enrolled.

All these are Israelites with the exception of three or four. "They are taught the Old Testament and New Testament Scriptures, and Shorter Catechism, and every Lord's day meet with their pious teachers for prayer, reading the Bible and Christian exhortation. On the week days they assemble of their own accord, and sing Christian hymns in the large courts of the house, which has created a considerable sensation in the Jewish part of the city. So great, indeed, is the conviction of the Jewish mind of the *moral* worth of the undertaking, that the missionaries are persuaded, that with sufficient means and agency, they might now have five hundred Jewish children committed to their care. And among their inquirers are some who have been moved to read the New Testament, by the effect produced on their children at school."

"The labours of the colporteurs, converted Jews, who traverse the vast country of Hungary in summer, and return to Pesth in winter for theological and Christian training, have been crowned with increased and amazing success. The supply of books which was formerly greatly beyond the demand, fell far short of it last summer, so that the missionaries were sold out of almost every kind of Bibles; and orders were received for a thousand Hungarian Bibles, when they had none to give. During the year the sale of the Holy Scriptures has exceeded four thousand copies, chiefly to persons paying for them at the time, and many of the buyers holding interesting conversations

with the distributors. The purchasers have been of all grades of society: officers, lawyers, doctors, soldiers, policemen, peasants, and Jews. Tracts and books also in considerable quantities have been sold; and the intercourse with the Jewish community has been unprecedentedly great."

The secondary effects of the Mission have, as formerly, been seen in Jews becoming more moral in their conduct, and more pains-taking in their own religion; and in nominal Christians becoming living disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ.

The conclusion of this report is in the language of the missionaries themselves, and is full of confidence and encouragement. After speaking of the discouragement experienced on entering on the missionary work here, they go on to say that, "surrounded by a little band of devoted followers of Jesus, exerting a powerful, though private influence on the Protestant Church of Hungary; instrumental in circulating the Scriptures; watching over the training of 250 Jewish children; and with the aid of the members of the Church in visiting every province, town, and village, of a country far larger than Great Britain and Ireland, containing 13,000,000 of souls; and from 200,000 to 300,000 Jews. We may indeed rejoice at the day, when the first messenger of peace from the Church of Scotland reached this city as 'a day known unto the Lord.' The dawn of the glorious light of the gospel of righteousness has already brightened into morning light; and shall we not in faith and hope, trust that it will advance from brightness to brightness, till Christ be glorified in causing the conversion of Israel, to be life from the dead to the Gentile church on a far more extensive scale than has yet taken place?"

The Free Church have also a mission at Lemberg in Austrian Poland, in which city there are supposed to be 20,000 Jews. The report of Mr. Edwards is of a highly interesting nature. There is in the appearance of the field much that is highly encouraging; but by the municipal authorities he was warned to leave the place, or to promise to cease from his missionary labours. With this order he refused to comply, and was brought before the civil tribunal, where he boldly and clearly pointed out the awful responsibility of withholding the gospel from this people. His audiences had become very numerous, and many

copies of the Holy Scriptures had been distributed; but whether the missionary would be permitted to remain at his post, was uncertain.

Amsterdam is another missionary station of the Free Church of Scotland for the Jews. Here they exist in a more compact and unbroken state of society than elsewhere, and there is no opposition from the government. Many of these are wealthy, and are permitted to manage their own concerns in their own way; but it is almost impossible for the missionary to visit them in their own houses, for the poorer classes are completely under the control of the rich, and their surveillance of the members of their body is very strict. They take every effectual means to exclude from them the light of the gospel, and not only so, but have covered over the light of their own prophets by a mass of rabbinical traditions. Their number in this city also is reckoned to be about 20,000. Public preaching is almost the only means which can be employed for the conversion of the Jews here, and the utmost exertions are made to prevent their attendance on the preaching of the gospel. Rich bankers have been known to stand for hours in the hot sun near to the entrance into the place of preaching, to prevent the poor Jews from attending.

In Constantinople the Free Church have a missionary and a very interesting school of seventy Jewish children, above half of which are girls. A great loss has been sustained here by the departure of Mr. Allan, late missionary, on account of his wife's ill health. The children in the school have, for the most part, been picked up out of the streets; but their progress has been remarkable. At a late public examination, not only the American missionaries were present, but Mrs. Canning and her daughter, descended from the English palace, and made their way to the school-room through dirty and narrow streets. Mr. Schauffer, the missionary of the American Board to the Jews of Constantinople and vicinity, gives a strong testimony in favour of this school. He says, "The teachers of this school are doing a great and good work; may God prosper and bless them in it!" It appears also, that Mr. Thomson, another excellent missionary to the Jews of Pera, by his various exertions, and especially by schools, is in the way of accomplishing

much good. But our limits do not admit of entering into details in regard to this interesting mission. We shall only add, that the contributions of the Free Church to sustain this mission, amounted for the year to £5671 12s. 9d.

On this day also, the deputation from the Presbyterian Church of England, Professor Lorimer, Mr. Weir of London, and Robert Barbour, Esq., of Manchester, were heard, and the thanks of the General Assembly conveyed through the Moderator to the deputation.

On Thursday, May 29, the Assembly met in private conference, on Foreign Missions, and the best means of providing funds for their support.

The Assembly now took up the subject of College Extension. Representations or memorials from four Synods and seven Presbyteries urged the consideration on the Assembly. After some discussion the whole matter was referred to a committee to report on the forenoon of next day. The point at issue is, whether the branch at Aberdeen shall be enlarged and rendered permanent.

The next business was the Report of Mr. McDougall, on the Widows' Fund. In regard to this institution, it is not necessary to enter into particulars. Our only remark is, that the Presbyterian Church in this country greatly needs some effective plan for the relief of the indigent widows of ministers; and also for the relief of worn out and superannuated ministers. There is, indeed, a fund provided for both these wants, but for some reason, not easily assigned, our ministers have very generally neglected to avail themselves of the privilege offered.

The Report on Foreign Missions was presented by Mr. Tweedie, the convener of the committee. The report commences by observing that at no time had the Free Church received a report in more interesting circumstances.

The Committee presented their report, under three heads. (1) The state of the funds for the support of Foreign Missions. (2) A brief view of the missionary operations. (3) And the means which have been employed to increase the interest of the Missions in this matter.

In regard to the funds contributed by the Free Church for the support of Foreign Missions, it will be sufficient to state

the aggregate sum, which for the last year was £15,471 4s. 8d. The report then gives a succinct view of the several missionary stations occupied by the Free Church, beginning with Calcutta, which is the oldest station. Here, the High School contained, when the last information was received, no less than 1328 pupils. Besides the School in Calcutta, there are three others; one at Chinsurah containing 740 pupils; another at Bansberia, containing 204 pupils; and the third at Culna, containing 200, making in the whole 2472. In addition to these schools for males, several female schools have been established. Mrs. Ewart's for Armenians and Jewesses, contained 104 girls; Miss Laing's school 60; and another 20; and Behari Lal's day-school, 154; so that the whole number of scholars in all the schools is 2810. It thus appears that the Free Church of Scotland have in Bengal nearly 3000 youth under daily, earnest Christian training. What the result under the blessing of God will be, is incalculable.

Mr. Mackay states that the number of pupils could be indefinitely increased, if the Church would furnish the means, and pupils by thousands could be obtained. During the last year there have been several interesting cases of admission into the church by baptism. One case only will be mentioned, of a Mohammedan, baptized by Rev. David Ewart. His name is Mahommed Beker. We refer to this case, especially because conversions from the Mohammedans have hitherto been very rare. And what renders this case more interesting, Mahommed Beker is a learned man, and already well versed in the Scriptures, and manifests great talents for discussion; so that there is reason to hope, that he may be eminently useful among his own people. Three natives have been licensed to preach the gospel; and eight or nine as catechists.

The next missionary station of the Free Church is at Madras. Mr. Anderson, who had visited Scotland to recruit his health, and also to collect funds for the erection of buildings at Madras, returned to his station accompanied by his son in the gospel, the Rev. P. Rajahgopaul. The arrival of Mr. Anderson was most opportune, for Mr. Johnstone was reduced very low by untiring labours, and by ill health. Mr. Anderson brought out with him Miss Locher, the sister of his wife,

who had remained at Madras, while he went to Scotland; but alas! in a few weeks this young lady was taken off by cholera, as also was Mrs. Miller, of Chinsurah. But the Committee seem to have strong faith, for they say, "The Lord's work is not hindered, but rather promoted by such trying bereavements."

The number of pupils in the Madras Institution is about 900; and in the female school about 150: but there are connected with this mission several flourishing schools at some distance from Madras. It was an encouragement to the missionaries, that at a late public examination, several high officials gave their attendance. "For the first time, the Governor, Sir Henry Pottinger, was present, and remained an hour and a half, and Sir William Burton, one of the judges, whose name will long stand connected with liberty of conscience in that land, was also present. At the close, the Governor came forward and expressed his satisfaction at what he had witnessed, and intimated his purpose to be present the next year." Mention is also made of an admirable address at the opening of one of the examinations, by W. H. Bayley, Esq., who explained the principles on which these missions are conducted.

The third station of the Free Church in India is at Bombay. The missionaries here are Rev. Dr. Wilson, Rev. J. M. Mitchell, Rev. D. Nauroji, Rev. H. Pestonji, and Rev. J. Aitken, and coadjutors. Mr. Nesbit, absent on account of impaired health, has now returned to the station. The total of the pupils connected with this station is 1224. At Puna, where Mr. Mitchell labours, there are 509 pupils in the schools. At Nagpur, another out station, the number of pupils in the schools is 310. Mr. Hislop and Mr. Hunter have the charge of this station; and the latter, who was left alone while his colleague supplied Dr. Wilson's place at Bombay, says, "Our prospects are far from discouraging."

The Free Church have for some time had a missionary station in Caffraria, South Africa. The disasters which have befallen this station in consequence of the Kaffir war, were presented to the Assembly in a report, by Dr. Macfarlane, of Renfrew. We have not room to give the details of ruin and desolation to the missionary stations from the invasion of this

savage foe. But while the loss of buildings, and the breaking up of the mission schools must be deplored, it is a matter of gratitude, that the missionaries with their families, foreseeing the danger, escaped to places of safety; and, indeed, the Kaffirs appeared, in most cases, disposed to respect the missionaries; but the sufferings of these devoted men and of their families call for the sympathies of all Christian people. "No one," says the report, "can describe the sufferings and inconvenience to which they have been exposed."

The Assembly was now addressed by Dr. Hetherington, and also by Mr. Hawkins, of Calcutta. The latter quoted these striking words of a missionary in India:—"Remember that in India there are 150 millions of your fellow men—one sixth of the whole human family—the subjects of your own queen."

On account of the disasters of the Caffrarian war, it was judged expedient to wind up the affairs of the mission at the Cape, and to transfer the missionaries to other fields.

Dr. Duff having been requested by the Assembly of last year, to make a visitation of the churches, as far as possible, to excite among them more of the spirit of missions, and to perfect the organization of the associations, it now appeared that his Mission, as far as he had gone, was attended with the most gratifying success, in increasing the amount of the contributions of the churches. His labours were chiefly confined to the Synod of Perth; and it was very satisfactory to find, that the contributions to the other schemes were not diminished in this Synod, in consequence of the increased collections for Foreign Missions. The state of Dr. Duff's health did not admit of his continuing his agency in the other Synods.

It is mentioned with pleasure, that an arrangement had been made between the American Board of Missions and the Committee, for an exchange of missionary publications, that they might provoke each other to love and good works. This interesting report is concluded by an earnest exhortation to Christians to increase their zeal, activity, and liberality in promoting this great cause; and the example of the Moravians as a missionary church is held up as an example to the Free Church of Scotland: and an urgent demand is made for an increase of the spirit of prayer for the conversion of the world.

On Friday morning, May 30, the report of the building committee was presented, which we shall pass without further notice. Then came the report on the subject of Home Missions, which is very interesting, and from which we should be glad to make extracts; but this our narrow limits do not permit.

There was also a report this day, on the subject of Psalmody, which we are also under the necessity of passing without remark.

A very interesting discussion took place this day, respecting the destitution in large towns. In this, Dr. Buchanan of Glasgow, took the lead, and in his speech brought forward many startling facts in relation to the destitution in the city of Glasgow, where with its 360,000 inhabitants there should be church accommodations for 200,000 persons; whereas the fact was, that they had in all the churches, of every denomination, sittings for no more than 105,000 persons: it was evident, therefore, that there were in Glasgow 95,000 who did not attend any church. [This statement will apply with increased force to our large cities. We are concerned about the destitution in our new settlements, but if we would look at home, we should find greater in all our large towns. City missionaries are as necessary as missionaries for the Indian tribes.]

We pass over several items of business, rather of a local nature, and proceed to give some analysis of Dr. Candlish's Report on Education, which was presented to the General Assembly June 2d. The summary of schools and teachers is as follows, viz:—422 Congregational schools, 174 District schools, 13 Missionary schools, and 5 Grammar schools, to which must be added the two normal schools of Edinburgh and Glasgow. In connexion with the Congregational schools, are 33 Industrial schools, in which females were employed to teach needle work, and other branches of female industry. For this establishment of schools there are 687 salaried teachers. In the normal schools there were 2 rectors, 18 male teachers, and 7 female teachers. The number of scholars attending these schools is reported to be 53,962, besides 1450 attending the model classes of the normal schools, and 141 normal students. And making allowance for those not returned, there should be added 2894, making the whole number 58,387, to which may be added 15,000 belonging to the Free Church, but not attend-

ing any of the schools above mentioned, which will raise the number of children receiving education in the Free Church to 73,387.

The fund for the support of schools had hitherto been raised by an annual collection at the church doors; but at this meeting it was resolved to relinquish this collection, and raise the funds in some other way. Dr. Candlish, the convener of the Education Committee, in his speech before the Assembly, said, "That he might be allowed to enter his protest against the extreme sensitiveness, as it seemed to him, that was creeping into the Church in regard to the opportunities afforded to the people for contributing to philanthropic and Christian objects. He had," he said, "the utmost possible aversion to any thing like coercing the people to contribute; but he must take the liberty of saying, that he had no sympathy whatever with a certain feeling of sensitiveness which seemed to him to be creeping in among them, as if they were giving their people too many opportunities for contributing to the cause of Christ." * * * He said: "If he could secure the carrying out of the acts of the Assembly in regard to their giving their people, once a month, an opportunity of contributing to this fund, he would ask no more; but the miserable thing was, they were troubled with a set of people in their deacon's courts, who, in this matter assumed to themselves the position of being the guardians of the people's consciences and purses, in regard to what they ought to give. They imagined that because they were invested with the character and authority of office-bearers in the Church, they were set up for the defence of the people's purses and pockets against such appeals as might be made to them in behalf of the cause of Christ. Take away this obstacle, let them have free access to the minds, hearts, and consciences of the people, and he had no fear of the result," &c.

For want of room we omit any remarks on an interesting report on the Highlands, and also on another on Popery, and conclude with some account of the Report on the Colonies, presented by Mr. Bonar, the convener. The Free Church of Scotland have paid particular attention to the destitution in Canada, Nova Scotia, and other possessions in North America. Ever since the disruption, a succession of able ministers have

visited the Scotch settlements in Upper Canada; and several ministers of eminence have resigned their places in Scotland and emigrated to Canada, either as professors in colleges and seminaries, or as pastors in some of the churches in important stations.

In Toronto, a literary and theological Institution has been commenced under favourable auspices. The Rev. Dr. Burns gave up his charge at Paisley, and though past middle life, encountered all the privations and difficulties of a new country to promote the interests of evangelical religion in connexion with sound learning. At first, his time was principally devoted to the college; but since the arrival of the Rev. Dr. Willis, from Glasgow, Dr. Burns, though he still delivers lectures to the students, has given his labours principally to the congregation in that place.

From the colonial report, we learn that during the last year, the college has been in a prosperous condition. In a letter from the Rev. Mr. Gale to the committee, it is said, "In the condition of the college, above almost anything else, the Divine favour has been manifested. We have in all, upon our lists this session, fifty-three students, thirteen in Dr. Willis's senior theological class, and twelve in his junior class, making twenty-four divinity students, properly so called, of whom five or six will be certified to Presbyteries at the close, as having completed their curriculum. Of the remaining twenty-eight, eight are completing their literary and philosophical course, this year, under Professor Esson. These will enter the theological class next session." The others are represented to be in different stages of progress in the regular studies of the college; except one, who has entered the University of Toronto—an institution under the patronage of government. In this letter a favourable account is given of the piety of the students in this seminary. There is therefore a fair prospect, that by means of this seminary, the destitutions of Canada, so far as the Free Church is concerned, will, after a while be supplied, without further dependence on the mother church.

There is also a college commenced at Halifax. This institution, however, it was stated, had suffered a severe bereavement, in the death of Professor McKenzie, in the midst of his

days and usefulness. "He had," it is said, "fixed himself deeply in the hearts of the students, and of the members and ministers of the church in the lower provinces, and died universally regretted. In consequence of the vacancy thus created, it was, after much consideration, deemed expedient that Professor Lyall should leave Toronto, where his services were not so much needed, and succeed Mr. McKenzie at Halifax.

The prospects of this college, especially since the arrival of Professor Lyall, are good. His class through the session has consisted of twenty students. There is a great want of suitable buildings, and of a library, as well as funds for the support of indigent students. Professor King has hitherto been the principal teacher in this Institution, and he and his colleague were both occupied in attempting to collect funds in Europe and in the United States, to enable them to erect suitable buildings for the college.

The Free Church have also extended their care to the vast region of Australia, Van Diemen's Island, and to the West Indies.

The report on the colonies, was the last presented to the Assembly.

When the business was finished, Dr. Duff, the Moderator, delivered his closing address, which occupied nearly two hours. "Never, perhaps," said he, "for any former Assembly, were the prayers of God's people more fervently or extensively offered. And have we not all, in some measure, been made to feel as if these prayers, perfumed by the incense of the merits and sacrifice of the Great Intercessor, had returned in refreshing showers on our souls? From the first day, did it not appear as if a calm, and earnest, yet subdued and tender feeling of expectancy prevailed among us? Was not this feeling greatly strengthened by the varied and seasonable exercises of the first Sabbath? And was not the feeling heightened to a degree of high intensity, and realized in manifest spiritual fruitfulness, by the remarkably solemn and impressive exercises of Tuesday last? And did not this sanctified feeling, with an overawing solemnity, seem to pervade all the subsequent discussions and proceedings of this house? restraining all the naturally iras-

cible affections when approaching the verge of being slightly ruffled—filling the soul with an awe-inspiring sense of Jehovah's presence, and of sole responsibility to him as the heart-searching God;—subduing, or mitigating local or personal prejudices, prepossessions, or adventitious partialities—infusing a spirit of brotherly kindness, mutual forbearance, and generous conciliation; in short, inspiring all very largely with the light and warmth of that love which suffereth long and is kind; which envieth not, which vaunteth not itself, and is not puffed up; which doth not behave itself unseemly; seeketh not her own; is not easily provoked; thinketh no evil; which rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; which beareth all things, believeth all things, endureth all things. And was not the indwelling presence and power of this heavenly grace beautifully manifested by the entire absence of personal asperity or invective which characterized the debates of the Assembly; and that too, when the freest expression was given to the most decided and conscientious differences of judgment? And has not the triumph of its power been gloriously exhibited in the all but perfect unanimity with which every measure, even on previously contested subjects, has been eventually adopted? And shall we not rehearse it to the praise of Jehovah's goodness, that though we had to deal with different subjects, involving apparently conflicting interests, and matters of a very complicated character, and very difficult of equitable adjustment—subjects too, which in former years, threatened to convulse our Assembly, and endanger the peace and stability of our Church—shall we not rehearse it to the praise of Jehovah's goodness, that this year these have all been disposed of in ways that appear safe—ways that are fitted to inspire general confidence, and diffuse very general satisfaction throughout the bounds of the Church? 'O, then, that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men.' And let them sacrifice the sacrifices of thanksgiving, and declare his works with rejoicing."

From these remarks of Dr. Duff, it appears that this was a very highly favoured Assembly, blessed with the governing and controlling influence of the Holy Spirit.

ART. II.—*The Method of the Divine Government, Physical and Moral.* By the Rev. James McCosh. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

SAYS Lord Bacon, "the declinations from religion, besides the primitive, which is atheism, and the branches thereof, are three; heresies, idolatry and witchcraft: heresies, when we serve the true God with a false worship: idolatry, when we worship false gods, supposing them to be true; and witchcraft when we adore false gods, knowing them to be wicked and false." Wherever the influence of the Bible has been felt, it has exorcised the two latter forms of false religion. Idolatry and witchcraft sooner or later vanish before the faintest rays of scriptural light. It is true that Mariolatry and the worship of saints and images, defile some apostate Christian churches. But in these communions the Bible is a sealed book; its light is extinguished by the edicts, and its authority supplanted by the spiritual despotism of the hierarchies that have usurped its office.

Aside from this, through Christendom, the true religion is confronted by atheism or heresy, and is compelled to contend, not against those who worship false gods, but against those who ignore or deny the very being of a God, or those, who, confessing his existence, worship him falsely. Atheism, however, unless in times of tumultuous popular excitement, is too cowardly to avow or display itself. It usually preserves a prudent silence, or masks itself under some disguise, which it labels "liberal and improved Christianity." The same is true also of most of the infidelity in Christian countries. It shrouds itself in like plausible disguises. Denying everything that constitutes Christianity, it still comes forth in the guise of a reformed Christianity. So of all attempts now made to undermine the Christian faith. They claim to be attempts to reform that faith, and relieve it of the crust of errors with which human dogmatism has gradually overlaid it. Hence, the great conflict of the Church in our day, is with heretics, who assuming the Christian name, make war against the fundamental articles of the Christian faith, on the plausible pretext of improving that faith. Many of these conceal their infidelity from the view of shallow

and unsuspecting minds, by the extreme liberality and vast comprehension of faith which they profess. Is he an atheist who believes that everything is God? Is he a heretic who can accept every creed, not even excepting the orthodox? But to say that everything is God, is to deny the living and true God—to say that everything is true, is to obliterate all distinctions between truth and falsehood. The next step often and easily taken, is to say that everything is good and right, and that the very idea of sin and guilt is a mere freak of a distempered fancy.

We are sorry to see so many indications that this poison infects much of the reading which is moulding the rising race. It has insinuated itself, more or less, into much of the journalism, many of the novels, the poetical and imaginative works, which go to make up the light literature of the day. And it too often defiles grave, elaborate, and formal treatises on ethics and theology. It would be surprising if sentiments so congenial to the depraved heart, did not worm their way into the minds of the young upon whom they are so assiduously inculcated, and undermine their religion and their morals. We believe that this process is going forward to an extent most disastrous and deplorable.

Even those who so far preserve their proper humanity, as to withstand the contagion of these desperate and abominable errors, are not therefore free from all peril. Pantheistic Transcendentalism, indeed, is an exotic among us. It is not native to the British or American mind. This has, generally, too solid a stratum of good sense, to lose itself in these gorgeous mists. Still it cannot be denied that multitudes among us, including many of those gifted ones who are read and heard with the highest admiration, show a fondness for these sceptical German theories. Many others neither have, nor give, any conception of any moral attribute in God, except benevolence. Our most fashionable preachers of a miscalled liberal Christianity, many brilliant discourses and essayists, and not a few teachers of natural, and even of revealed theology, set forth God as merely a benevolent Being, and utterly ignore his holiness and punitive justice. This error, though less extravagant and licentious than the former, ultimately tends to dissipate the

sense of sin and guilt, to confound moral distinctions, and to relax the bonds of moral obligation. Yet this is not only the favourite view of the various classes of writers of whom we have spoken, but forms the very warp of some systems of theology, which retain in strange mixture with it some of the fundamental principles of Calvinism. All the symptoms of the case show that this unnatural alliance is not destined long to endure. The dogma that mere benevolence is the only moral attribute of God, cannot long retain in its company the doctrines of vicarious atonement and eternal punishment. They are mutually contradictory. They cannot stand, and never have stood, side by side for any length of time. The opinion that mere benevolence comprehends the whole of God's moral excellence, has usually sooner or later sunk the whole scheme of doctrine into which it has been incorporated through the successive stages of Arminian and Pelagian heresy, down to blank Socinianism or Universalism, and at last to unmitigated infidelity. On the other hand, those classes who, having imbibed this one-sided theory, still cling to the great doctrines of atonement and future punishment, have at length found themselves compelled to renounce it, and to lay the foundations of evangelical theology broad and deep, not only in the benevolence, but in the holiness and retributive justice of God. Lax theologians understand the bearings of this question full well. Owen quotes Socinus as having said, "If we could but get rid of this justice, even if we had no other proof, that human fiction of Christ's satisfaction would be thoroughly exposed, and would vanish." There cannot be a doubt what God signifies to us on these subjects in his word. That surely attributes to him infinite love and benevolence. It as surely attributes to him immaculate holiness and an immutable disposition to punish sin, either in the person of the sinner himself, or of an accepted substitute. It no less plainly and manifoldly declares the correlate doctrines of eternal punishment, and of salvation only by the vicarious sacrifice of Christ. All this is so palpable and conspicuous in the Bible, that he who runs may read it, and few are bold to dispute it. Yet among those who do not conform to God's terms of salvation, and submit to his righteousness as declared by him, there is a constant and unrelenting war against these and kindred

fundamentals of evangelical and scriptural theology. These men do not relish the doctrines of human corruption and spiritual regeneration at all better than those of divine redemption and eternal retribution. They assail them all by that plausible declamation which appeals to our instinctive horror of pain, to that sentimental and poetic, and genteel benevolence, which shudders at such austere views of God and man. They ply those captivating sophisms which, if valid for this purpose, are valid for a great deal more. They show that under the government of God there ought to be no sin, no pain, no evil whatever, as much as they show that they ought not to exist in the degree asserted by the orthodox scheme. If, then, these reasonings are just, they go the length of proving that the evil and pain which burden the earth, are inconsistent with, and so impossible under, the government of a perfect God. This kind of sentimental sophistry of course ends where it begins, in the denial of the plainest facts which surround us, in the denial of all sin, and the abolition of all punishment, in infidelity and atheism.

Many who nauseate the fancy-stock declamation of which we have spoken, which for a large class is their whole stock in trade, and who deal in more substantial wares, nevertheless lose sight of, or purposely and steadily keep out of view the holiness and punitive justice of God. Many treatises on science, philosophy, ethics, natural and apologetic theology, reason as if there were no moral attribute in God but benevolence. When they touch the evidences of the existence and attributes of God, furnished by science, or by nature, and providence generally, they array in eloquent and glowing style the proofs of God's benevolence with which all creation is resplendent. They ingeniously explain away the seemingly conflicting evidence furnished by the wide-spread sin and suffering that infest the world. But they are blind to, they wholly ignore, the demonstration thus afforded of the creature's sin, and of God's holiness and justice, without which these stubborn facts admit of no satisfactory explanation; in the recognition of which, not only is God vindicated, but nature harmonized both with itself, and with revelation and evangelical theology. Indeed, on any other scheme of divinity, nature is a perfect chaos of contradictions. Even some

eminent defenders of Christianity, have conducted their defence on the supposition that God is merely benevolent, and although they have done good service in their way, yet they have left some of the cardinal principles of religion in inextricable confusion; till we are almost prepared to justify Coleridge's project of a treatise entitled, "Christianity defended from its defenders."

It would be strange if an error propagated in so many ways, defended with consummate skill, glossed over by the charms of poetry, eloquence, and all the fascination of elegant letters, in itself attractive to the depraved heart of man, had not spread itself to a deplorable extent, through society. The evidence is cumulative and appalling that such is the fact. The loose schemes of religion which run into mere philanthropy, and uplift man, while they dethrone God; the growing disposition of many calling themselves evangelical, to impugn the doctrine of vicarious atonement, while they observe a respectful silence in regard to eternal punishment; the increasing fondness for that pantheistic theology which obliterates all moral distinctions, and makes sin a necessary incident in the development of humanity; the multitudinous schemes of social reform and reconstruction spawned forth by those who are looking for the abolition of all punishment, human and divine; to say nothing of the mawkish tenderness towards atrocious crime which taints the novels read so freely by a majority of the young—all these are so many painful proofs of the wide diffusion and baleful influence of this leaven. Our author justly observes, "the spirit of the present age is much opposed to everything *punitive*." If this be so, it is as surely "much opposed" to the living and true God, and to some of the most fundamental principles both of natural and revealed religion: for both alike teach us that they who commit sin are worthy of death, and that where there is no *sacrifice* for sin, there remaineth a fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation!

The volume of Mr. McCosh is an attempt to provide an antidote to this contagious distemper of the times, and in our judgment, as a whole, it is a happy and successful effort. We have never heard of his name in any connection, except as the author of this book. But if this should prove (as we hope it

will not) his last as well as his first book, he has won for himself an enviable celebrity. It is rare indeed that any author, by one production alone, has achieved for himself a fame so wide and enduring. He has already left his impress upon many of the educated and reflective minds of Britain and America, and dissipated powerful prejudices against evangelical religion among those who read and think. We trust that this is only an earnest of the good yet to be done by this important work.

The scope and plan of the volume are briefly as follows: His great object is to show what we may learn from the light of nature, *i. e.* from all sources except revelation, concerning the moral character of God and man respectively, their consequent mutual relations to each other, and especially the manner in which God regards and treats sin. As the conclusion of the whole, he shows how all the lines of evidence furnished by nature and providence, converge towards and confirm the distinctive principles of evangelical religion. In pursuance of this end, he notes four principal sources aside from revelation, whence men derive their idea of God. 1. The design exhibited in the separate material works of God. 2. The relations which the physical world bears to man, which he calls the providential arrangements of the Divine government. 3. The human soul with its consciousness, its intelligence, and its benign feelings. 4. The moral qualities of man, or the facts presented by conscience and its workings. The first of these shows us an intelligent First Cause, an uncreated Creator, a Supreme God. By the third, we are led to believe that he who endowed us with self-consciousness and personality, is himself a self-conscious and personal God. These two sources of evidence, one without and the other within us, have been thoroughly and successfully explored by the great teachers of natural theology. The other two, however, which display the moral qualities of God and man, and the characteristics of God as the moral governor of his creatures, have been but casually and slightly investigated, and for the most part wholly passed over by previous writers. Dr. Chalmers, in his admirable discourses on natural and apologetic theology, has taken the lead in giving due prominence to these departments of inquiry, and setting

forth their important bearings upon evangelical religion. He sunk a shaft into this rich mine, and beckoned others, who could give themselves wholly to it, to enter after him, and bring forth in lucid and beautiful order the fulness of its treasures. Mr. McCosh was his disciple, and acknowledges that it was owing to the suggestions made in the lectures of his great teacher, that he was led to project and undertake this volume. If it is true that previous writers on these topics have in the main overlooked the method in which God administers the physical world in reference to man—the course of providence without us, and likewise the operations of the conscience within us; then it is doubtless true that they have overlooked the most momentous parts of the whole subject—the moral character and relations of both God and man as developed by the lights of nature.

Mr. McCosh undertakes to fill this chasm. Giving little attention to the fields of natural theology already sufficiently explored, he prosecutes the inquiry, What light is thrown upon the Divine perfections, upon man's moral state, and his relations to God by the phenomena of God's providence towards him, and of his own moral nature? He distributes his treatise into four books. The first gives a general survey of the phenomena presented by the providence of God and the conscience of man, though generally overlooked. The second contains a minute inquiry into the method of the Divine government in the physical world, especially as it shows the relations of providence to the character of man. The third enters minutely into man's moral nature, the will and conscience, and his actual moral state, and shows him to be both depraved and condemned. The fourth presents the symptoms of the intended restoration of man from his ruin, and inquires what is necessary to such restoration. Here he shows that man needs for his recovery just the salvation which the Scriptures reveal to him. At this point, finding himself already carried beyond the sphere of natural, into the precincts of revealed religion, he drops the investigation, leaving what remains to the regular teachers of Christian theology, for whom he has thus prepared the way. He brings to the subject a familiarity with all the literature and science pertaining to it, a

metaphysical acumen, and logical grasp, a confidence tempered with caution, a richness, vivacity and vigour of style, which give his work an unusual power over all thoughtful readers, whether learned or unlearned.

In the general preliminary survey, he says that on the most cursory view the providence of God displays to us, 1. Extensive suffering, bodily and mental. 2. Restraints and penalties laid on man. 3. God at a distance from man. The soul of man in its relation to God shows us likewise, 1. God at a distance from man. 2. Man at a distance from God. 3. A schism in the human soul. All these things surely are conspicuous and undeniable on the most superficial inspection of the race. Suffering not only exists; it not only infests the bodies of men; it lodges its sharpest pangs in the soul. It is not slight, or transient, or limited. It is severe, enduring, wide-spread. Vanity, the negation of substantial and positive happiness, is the highest boon of unrenewed human nature, in the few exceptional intervals in which it is freed from positive "vexation of spirit." Now, how are we to account for all this? Does the mere fact that God is a benevolent being account for it? Does benevolence prompt the infliction of pain and anguish? Not, assuredly, unless it be the necessary means of preventing still greater suffering. Hence the favourite solution of this problem given by many, has been, that this suffering is inflicted for the purpose of preventing still greater woes, either in the sufferer himself, or in the world or universe of which he forms a part. But has not God power to avert pain without inflicting pain? And can we say that dreadful suffering exists, and that God at the same time has no quality inclining him to inflict suffering for any purpose except to avert suffering, without setting limits to his power, and denying his omnipotence? Is it said that this pain is necessary as a moral discipline, to improve the character of those who suffer it? But how innumerable are the cases in which men, when smitten, receive no correction, revolt more and more, sinking into the most desperate obduracy and reckless wickedness! How often are men hardened by the mere terrors of the Lord, and melted only by his love! Moreover, if the moral improvement of men be not only one object sought in the infliction of pain, (which is not questioned), but the exclusive object of it,

then this proves that in the eye of God there is a greater good than mere happiness; a greater evil than mere pain;—that moral good and evil surpass all other good and evil, and that, under the Divine administration, suffering is allotted to support the moral law, and to remedy and offset the violation of it. The vast extent then of this suffering as surely shows the fearful prevalence of the disease to be remedied by it, as the abundance of prisons marks the abundance of crime in a country. Not only so, but the existence of mental anguish attendant upon the indulgence of certain lusts, cannot be accounted for by the supposition that it is designed to prevent greater misery. Why is there any misery at all in this case? And why does it increase in proportion as the offence increases? Does not this show beyond a doubt the Divine abhorrence of sin, the indissoluble connection which exists between it and misery; that his wrath is revealed from heaven against it, and that in all this “he is not warning us against the misery, but against the sin, and by means of the misery”? The prevalence of suffering thus proves the prevalence of sin, and of a property in God which hates it, and manifests that hatred by visiting pain upon evil-doers.

Looking next at “the restraints and penalties of Divine providence,” can we avoid believing, that in a sinless world, moral agents are governed by an inward sense of duty, and a love of good, which incline them freely to do right, and so bind them to God with all the strength and certainty of the law of gravitation?

Far different, however, are the means by which man is governed, says our author. “Man is placed under an economy in which there are numberless restraints, correctives, medications, and penalties, all originating in the very constitution of the world, and falling out in the order of Providence, and ready to meet him at every turn—now with their bristling points to stop his career, and anon with their whips to punish—and forthwith with their counter moves to destroy all his labour, and throw him far back, when he seemed to be making the most eager progress.” As in the best constructed and regulated insane retreats we may admire the architecture, the regimen, the perfect adaptation of every arrangement to its end, while yet all would be clumsy and senseless, except on the supposition

of the evil they are planned to remedy, so we see singular wisdom in the government of our world, but wisdom applied to the prevention, correction and punishment of evil. We see everywhere a strange "apparatus of means proceeding upon and implying its existence." Always allowed a certain liberty, man seems nevertheless like a prisoner confined within narrow limits, and awaiting his final trial. "Why such bridles to curb, such chains to bind, and such walls to confine, if the inhabitants of this world are reckoned pure by Him who rules them?"—pp. 44, 5.

Had one, previously ignorant of the whole case, seen Napoleon at St. Helena, treated now as if a felon, and now as if a monarch, he could scarcely have solved the anomaly, until the idea of his former greatness and subsequent degradation had been in some way suggested, which would at once explain these seemingly incongruous phenomena. So the inquirer into the present state of man, who sees him to be in some respects lord of creation, and in others, guarded, watched, punished as a felon, will be baffled, until alighting upon the idea of man's original perfection and subsequent fall, he finds himself relieved—master of a "truth which gives consistency and coherence to every other truth."

Then, while God is near man in his power, works, and invisible presence, how distant is he from us as to any medium of knowing or conversing with him! Aside from revelation and grace, how dark and enigmatical are all the intimations he gives us of his designs and purposes, and of the destiny before us! And how completely has he barred all approach to, and communion with himself on our part! How silent is he to all the moans, and complaints, and entreaties of men, at least of those beyond the power of his redemption work! Yet God does not let man alone. He has lodged within every breast a witness for himself, to declare his will, to sting the soul with self-reproach, and with threatenings of future woe for all violations of that will.

"Now, combine these two classes of facts, the apparent distance of God, and yet his nearness intimated in various ways, his seeming indifference, and yet constant watchfulness, and we see only one consistent conclusion which can be evolved, that

God regards man as a criminal, from whom he must withdraw himself, but whom he must not allow to escape." p. 51.

If God withdraws himself from man, no less surely does man shrink away from God. Although a transient feeling of gratitude, the apprehension of danger, the sense of sin, and dread of punishment, may sometimes incline him to seek God, yet there is a more powerful principle of repulsion, which inclines him to forget, and hide himself from his Maker. Says Mr. McCosh,

"The fact that there is such an alienation proceeding from a consciousness of sin cannot be disputed, for history and experience furnish too abundant proof of its existence. Every man feels that, while it is natural, for instance, to the father to love his child, it is not natural to love God as he ought to love him. But while man is thus driven from God by one principle, there is something within, which at the very time is testifying in behalf of God. 'Man,' says Vinet, 'cannot renounce either his sins or his God.' There is, in short, a conscience, but a conscience unpacified, a conscience telling him of God, but urging him to flee from that very God to whom it directs him." p. 54.

Thus our author finds another proof of the sinfulness of man, and of God's displeasure against it, in that shrinking away from God which is so characteristic of our race, and proceeds from the operation of conscience announcing both of these facts. "Hence," says he, "the strange contradictions of the human soul." "Hence the vibrating movements of the world's religious history." Men have that within them which draws them toward, and draws them away from God, which makes them now Sadducees and now Pharisees; now sceptics and now devotees; here atheists and there idolaters, while most are oscillating between the two extremes. Madame De Sevigné speaks for vast numbers when she says, "I belong at present neither to God nor the devil, and I find this condition very uncomfortable, though between you and me, the most natural in the world."

Thus we see that man is not only at war with God, but that there is a schism in the human soul itself. Man, by the very constitution of his mind, approves of moral good, and disapproves of moral evil; on the other hand, he neglects the good, and commits the evil. No facts are more clearly evinced by human consciousness, the best of all witnesses on the subject.

Conscience affirms "the indelible distinction between good and evil, and points to a power upholding this distinction in the government of the universe."

"But, on the other hand, these fundamental and indestructible principles in the human soul can be made to condemn the possessor." * * * "Man cannot rid himself of his conscience on the one hand, nor of his sins on the other. The judge is seated for ever upon his throne, and the prisoner is for ever at his bar; and there is no end of the assize, for the prisoner is ever committing new offences to call forth new sentences from the judge." pp. 66, 7.

The summation of this preliminary survey he puts in the following terse and vivid passages from Pascal. "Had man never fallen, he would have enjoyed eternal truth and happiness; and had man never been otherwise than corrupt, he would have attained no idea either of truth or happiness." "So manifest is it, that we were once in a state of perfection, from which we have now unhappily fallen." "It is astonishing that the mystery which is farthest removed from our knowledge, (I mean the transmission of original sin,) should be that without which we can have no knowledge of ourselves. It is in this abyss that the clue to our condition takes its turns and windings, insomuch that man is more incomprehensible without this mystery, than this mystery is incomprehensible to man."

Such is the lesson derived from the most cursory view of nature rightly interpreted. It shows not only benevolence, but holiness and justice in God, whereby he is displeased with sin, and disposed to punish it. It shows in man sin and guilt, a consciousness of having incurred the displeasure of a holy God, and a dread of his avenging wrath. "God indicates his displeasure against man, and men universally take guilt to themselves. God hideth himself from man, and man hideth himself from God." Thus the doctrines of human corruption and divine holiness are deeply laid in every source of evidence afforded by nature and providence.

Withal, those writers who overlook or disregard these elements in their reasonings, find themselves entangled in the most formidable perplexities. They have yielded the vantage-ground to the sceptic. For how manifold and stubborn are the

facts which admit of no explanation, if benevolence is the only attribute of God, which can be accounted for on no conceivable hypothesis, except that of sin on the part of man, and holiness and retributive justice on the part of God! If the believer dwells, as well he may, on the endless bounties and favours lavished on man, in proof of the goodness of God, will not, and does not the sceptic confront him with the endless troubles and woes which infest the earth, as proving no less decisively, a malevolent principle in him who rules the world? Hume, arguing on the supposition that all moral goodness consists in benevolence, contended that the miseries of the world cannot consist with the reign of perfect goodness—that such a cause as infinite benevolence is not proportioned to the effects we witness. But let us suppose that sin exists, and that it is as much a part of God's perfection to abhor and punish it, as it is to communicate happiness to his creatures, and we have a cause adequate to produce all the effects in question. Thus the true view of this subject, which takes in all the facts pertaining to it, affords the strongest support to faith, and the best antidote to scepticism, because it accords with all the conditions to be met.

Finally, our author shows that while the world abounds with things good and lovely, it also exhibits them marred and defaced. It is full of wrecks and ruins, yet they are glorious ruins of a magnificent fallen edifice. Nor are they mere ruins. They are not left like the ruins of man's works to ever increasing decay and desolation, in wild dismemberment and chaotic confusion. The earth is not neglected or abandoned. All its parts are carefully preserved, and adapted and turned to use. As there is nothing in the single works of God, not a nerve, or a fibre, or an atom that is useless, so we must believe that the world and man are thus cared for and preserved, for some important purpose. Many blessings, liberties, and privileges, are yet vouchsafed to man. He is not abandoned, though disciplined, chastised, warned, rebuked. This world is not hell. It is full of tokens that God has not forgotten to be gracious. Does not nature, then, give the pleasing intimation that God has designs of restoration and reconstruction—that we may hope for new heavens and a new earth wherein dwelleth

righteousness? Here the light of nature has conducted us to its own horizon, and brought us to the confines of revelation.

Such is the result of a general survey of nature—gathering its scattered rays into one focus. We have given but a meagre and feeble outline of what the author sets forth at length, clearly and impressively, vivifying the whole with frequent passages of great beauty and power. We shall have gained our object, if our readers are induced to examine it for themselves.

In the remaining books, Mr. McCosh follows out these views in detail, vindicating them against objections, and thoroughly discussing the questions which are interlinked with them, so far as they affect his main argument. In his second book, he considers the manner in which God governs the material universe. After disentangling the subject of cause and effect from various abstract theories, he comes to the conclusion that an effect always “implies a change, something new.” A cause involves the idea of a “substance acting according to a definite rule,” in the production of such changes. One advantage of this definition is, that according to it the Supreme Being is not necessarily an effect requiring us to look for any cause beyond himself. In regard to material objects, we discover in them a property of producing certain changes uniformly, when they are placed in certain relations to each other. The mutual interaction of both bodies is requisite for the development of the causative agency and the consequent effect. Hence, in order to the production of any single effect, or series of effects, and especially of the vast variety of effects in the material universe, a most exquisite adjustment of these bodies to each other is indispensable. Mere uniform laws of nature, separated from a living, intelligent Disposer of all things, will not account for the multitude, complexity and harmony of events ever occurring in the material universe. A living, personal, all-wise and omnipotent God, is required to arrange things so that causes will operate to produce the grand effects we witness. This brings us to that topic first made beautifully prominent in natural theology, by Dr. Chalmers, viz: the collocations and dispositions of matter. These adjustments are made with reference to their properties, their quantity, to time and to space.

It will be seen at once that all the changes or effects which occur with respect to material bodies, depend upon disposing them aright in each of these particulars. We should be glad if we had space, to present some of the striking and beautiful examples which our author has presented in illustration of this great fact. We can only, however, quote the result of his inductions. "So far from general laws being able, as superficial thinkers imagine, to produce the beautiful adaptations which are so numerous in nature, they are themselves the results of nicely balanced and skilful adjustments." p. 119.

Thus he discards as both unphilosophical and irreligious the view of many votaries of physical science, who regard God as having launched the universe into being at some epoch in the remote past, and then, after committing it to the guidance of the general laws which he established over it, as leaving it to its own course, withdrawing himself from the active government and disposal of it. These general laws themselves are but the uniform rules or methods of his own benignant action. They require the constant exquisite adjustments of all parts of the physical universe, in order to their continued operation. God maintains a constant connection with all his works. Nay, he is ever working in them. He plans and makes, sustains and renews them, by his ever present energy—over all, in all, and through all. According to the beautiful figure of Edwards, he sustains all by a ceaseless replenishment from his own infinitude, as the image in a mirror is upheld by ever successive rays of light like those which first produced it. Yet, although God is in all works, he operates by general laws, without which there could be no confidence in any thing future, no motive to human exertion, no inducement to human virtue, no possibility of human improvement.

The infinite wisdom required to govern such a world is obvious, and is happily and forcibly illustrated by our author. Let the slightest derangement take place in the collocations of matter, let the smallest planet be jostled out of its orbit, with no power to restore it, and for aught we can see, there must follow the wreck of worlds. And what finite mind, even if we could suppose it armed with infinite power, and furnished with all supposable general laws, could plan or preserve the needful

adjustments of such a universe, even to the balancing of the very clouds themselves?

Although the world is governed by general laws, yet man is permitted to know but a small portion of them. A large part of the events which occur, proceed from the working of laws and adjustments which are beyond his ken. These too, often work in such a manner as to cross and counter-work, and in many instances wholly neutralize the operation of those which he does understand. Thus he may be baffled in all his undertakings. So far as he can discern the second causes which produce many events in which he is interested, they are fortuitous, or rather, they are as if they were wrought by the direct interposition of God himself. Man may know all the conditions on which a good crop or a good voyage depends. But some of those general laws on which the realizing of some of these conditions depends, are utterly beyond his knowledge. Thus, if all other conditions are fulfilled, his whole success may depend upon the weather, which it is impossible for him to predict, because he knows so imperfectly the laws by which it is governed. The same is true of health, life, every branch of industry, the markets, pestilence, famine, all that most nearly concerns man. We know enough of some of the general laws relating to these things, to induce exertion, and that degree of confidence and hope, which are the incentives of all sustained effort. Nor are this faith and labour ordinarily vain. Yet we are not such masters of all the laws and all the possibilities that may bear upon them, that we can ensure ourselves against defeat in any given instance. Thus we are in all things left absolutely dependent upon God. He can do his whole pleasure concerning us. Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it. Aside from the religious bearings of this truth, its effect is most salutary upon man in all respects. If all events occurred to him only according to uniform known laws, his life would be a tread-mill round of monotony and stagnation. His ignorance and uncertainty stimulate the thirst for knowledge, discovery, enterprise, progress. On the other hand, if all things were, so far as man is concerned, utterly fortuitous, we would sink into reckless indifference and sullen apathy. Mr. McCosh happily compares

the uniformities of providence to the conservative, and its (to human view) fortuities to the progressive principle of society.

Nor does the progress of science at all alter man's condition in this respect. He surmounts some of the great obstacles of nature, and harnesses her great elemental forces into his service. Has he not so far lessened his dependence on God? Not at all. In proportion to his mastery over immediate obstacles, he becomes more complicated with things remote. The more he knows, the more are the sources uncontrollable by himself, whence he may derive joy or sorrow. If steam and electricity connect him closely with the distant and before unknown, they also make him more dependent upon causes distant, unknown, uncontrollable, for his weal or his woe. His happiness becomes interlocked with the state of the whole globe. Withal, man's knowledge of the laws which govern objects wholly beyond his control is much more perfect than his knowledge of those which govern things directly affected by his labours. He knows perfectly the laws which govern the celestial orbs, but can he make his power felt upon them? He can do what he pleases with his field of grain, but how poorly does he understand many of the laws regulating growth, and many of those contingencies which have to do with a luxuriant harvest!

On this basis, which our author sets up with commanding light and power, he rears an argument to prove the powerful means which God has for governing man, in his providential disposal of the physical world. These fortuities he can adjust so as to gladden or distress, restrain or aid, punish or reward him; in short, to show his hatred of evil, his love of goodness. Not only so; prayer is the natural duty and privilege of a being thus dependent; and God has infinite resources for answering it, without violating any law or arrangement by which he accomplishes predetermined ends; for prayer itself may be included as an integral part of the means on which the result depends, according to his eternal counsels.

He proceeds, in the last chapter of this book, to depict in a graphic manner, the relation of the providence of God to the character of man, and to show by a large collection of facts, ingeniously grouped together, that in his physical government,

God evinces his hatred of sin, and deals with man as if he were a sinner, but a sinner not as yet hopelessly abandoned.

Among the first and most indisputable of the facts revealed by consciousness, are the essential distinction between good and evil; the immeasurable superiority of the moral to the physical; the fact that man, while he approves good, does evil, inasmuch that assuming the lowest standard that can bear the name of moral, we find on a careful examination, that men are disobeying it; that physical agencies and effects are in various ways made subservient to moral results. Thus, in the absolute power which God possesses over human life, he has an almost illimitable resource for touching the springs of moral action within man, which revelation informs us he has not failed to exercise in the successive ordinances made by him for shortening its duration; and which we now see that he constantly exercises in all the forms by which disease and death are visited upon our race. How much are the moral condition and conduct of men affected by bodily temperament, by the whole state of the world around them, by the physical agents and circumstances wholly beyond their control which contribute to their happiness or misery! "While man's will and accountability remain untouched, God has means of accomplishing his will, and that with or without the concurrence of man's will." This power God employs to promote virtuous conduct: 1st, in the direct pleasure which he causes to attend and follow it, while evil passions and acts are in themselves harassing and tormenting. 2d. Virtuous conduct usually leads to manifold beneficial consequences, while iniquity usually leads to the opposite evils, inasmuch that it is the stalest of proverbs that "honesty is the best policy." 3d. God often favours the good, and thwarts the wicked by more special interpositions. When a Luther or a Wilberforce has triumphed, or the Nimrods and Napoleons of our race have been prostrated, there has been a current of favouring circumstances which even the most frigid and irreligious have been constrained to recognize as proceeding from the overruling hand of God. 4th. There are groups of arrangements fitted to restrain men from vice. In the city, the multitude are so far unknown to their fellow citizens, that they feel little of the regulative force of public opinion. A police sup-

plies its place. In the country, a police is impossible. But all are under the inspection of all, and public opinion is more effective than an organized daily and nightly watch. Under the thousand influences which Providence brings to bear upon them, men unconsciously pursue and realize a thrift, a decency, a respectability, which not the wisest despotism on earth could constrain them to attempt, if these God-sent influences were removed. Hence, any successful attempt to improve the character and condition of men, must aim to put them more thoroughly under that constitution of things which God has ordained. All Socialist and Fourierite schemes, which aim to improve man by a dissolution of the family and the State, and a Eutopian reconstruction of society, will be signalized only by utter and universal failure.

Our author proceeds to depict the developments of human character, when these extraneous aids to virtue, and restraints upon vice, are withdrawn. By a strong array of familiar facts, he shows that the degree of decency and propriety which remain among men, are due rather to such external influences, than to any internal principle of goodness. Individual classes, communities, and nations, upon which they have ceased to operate, have generally abandoned themselves to most desperate and diabolical crime. Without the restraining or renewing grace of God, man shows himself half brute, half fiend. Many cannot endure the idea that the wicked should be consigned to outer darkness. But let them be cast together in a sphere where all checks upon their inherent propensities were removed, and it would be hard to conceive of a state of existence more intolerable. On the other hand, suppose that man were pure, and practised virtue from the spontaneous working of his own inward propensities, is it conceivable that God would ordain such a system of external checks, penalties, and counteractions, in order to keep the world from becoming one universal Sodom?

The great mystery which shrouds the actual condition of our world is the existence of evil, evil moral and physical, sin and suffering. No theory can annihilate these facts. That is most worthy of acceptance, which best accords with, if it do not account for them. Sin is the work of man. It is not necessary to go beyond man to account for it. Suffering is inflicted by

God. How shall we justify him in its infliction? We are so constituted that we cannot but condemn sin, though we commit it. We do not condemn, but we instinctively avoid pain, while we cannot but judge it a far less evil than sin, which we do not avoid, despite the pain which we know will follow it. But if conscience pronounces pain a less evil than sin, it also pronounces it a fit punishment of sin, such as it becomes a holy God to indict. Once make due account of the existence of sin, and all else that we see is accounted for, in consistency with the reign of a perfect God. We are sure, if we are sure of any thing, that the blame of sin belongs to him who commits it, and that the appropriate punishment of it evinces the purity of the moral Governor and Judge. Some justify the infliction of evil on the ground that it will produce greater good. But conscience would not justify its infliction on this ground, unless it were also deserved. If it be deserved, we need look after no other ground for it. No satisfactory theory of our existing world can be framed, which denies either the existence or the demerit of sin, and the appropriate punishment of it by a holy God. This view commends itself to the conscience, the only power within us authorized to judge of moral subjects. If this be satisfied, it matters not what floating feelings or sentiments are unsatisfied. They are not the tribunal for adjudicating these questions.

We find ourselves compelled to pass rapidly over the remaining books of this treatise, barely advertng to some of their more prominent features. The third book is a survey of the moral constitution and state of man. The most important questions that arise here, respect the conscience and the will. Upon these the author dwells at some length, advertng casually to the intellectual and emotive departments of the mind, as these stand related to the former. He includes under the will, not only the faculty of positive volition, but of desire and wish, all that belongs to the *optative* power of the soul. Indeed, on account of the ambiguity of the term "will," it being used by some to signify merely the power of forming purposes, while most make it include the desires and wishes, he would prefer to call the faculty under consideration the *optative faculty*. In its feeblest exercise it wishes; its more positive

state is desire; its most decisive act is positive volition, purpose, determination. Upon each and all of these states the conscience sits in judgment, and approves or blames them according as they are good or evil. The will, he contends, is in the most absolute sense free, yet it is under the law of cause and effect, in a manner which, whether explicable by us or not, no way infringes upon its freedom. Each truth stands upon its own independent evidence, and as such is to be received, whether we can see their mutual consistency or not. He objects to Dr. Chalmers, that he did not extend the domain of will far enough to include in it, wish and desire, as well as positive volition.

This view sufficiently shows our author's position on the orthodox side in respect to the will. Yet some passages in which he strongly asserts the freedom of the will, its independence of extraneous control, and its self-acting power, can be, and have been plausibly quoted, for the purpose of impressing him into the Pelagian ranks. His real doctrine appears to be, that the will cannot be determined by circumstances *ab extra* without destroying free-agency and accountability—p. 278. But that it is determined, or determines itself *ab intra* by the laws of its own freedom, and that here it comes under the reign of cause and effect—p. 294. That the power of an external motive is as much governed by the state of the will, as the will is governed by it—p. 280. That acts are none the less, but rather the more praise or blame-worthy where they proceed from a will, rightly or wrongly biassed, immovably holy, or hopelessly depraved—p. 287. And finally, that the connexion of God with the sinful acts of his creatures, neither exonerates them from blame, nor attaches blame to him, because it is not such as makes him the author of sin, or impairs their freedom in its commission.

While we think this a fair representation of the author's views on this subject, and that they include the substance of the truth in relation to it, yet we think that he has spoken about it occasionally in terms somewhat incautious or obscure. Thus he says, p. 77: "It may be involved in the very nature of a state of freedom, that those who possess it are liable to abuse it." Is this so? Are not God's holy angels, the saints

in heaven, free? Are they liable to abuse their freedom? These questions answer themselves. It might, perhaps, be safely said, that *freedom in creatures* is liable to abuse, unless God graciously prevents it. But can he not prevent this abuse of freedom without destroying it? We think that Mr. McCosh would never dispute that he can. We have a great stake in this question. It involves the only security of the redeemed in heaven and earth, against apostasy and final perdition.

Conscience judges of the acts of the will. When these acts pass in review before the mind it cannot avoid declaring them good or bad, "and it does so according to a principle which cannot be resolved into any thing more simple." * * "It seems evident to us on the one hand, that this principle cannot be resolved into any of those intellectual axioms on which the understanding proceeds in acquiring knowledge. Compound and decompound these as we please, they will never lead to the ideas of right and wrong; nor, on the other hand, can it be resolved into those principles which are connected with the desire of pleasure or the aversion to pain. No composition of such ideas or feelings could produce the idea or feeling expressed in the words 'ought,' 'duty,' 'moral obligation,' 'desert,' 'guilt.'"—pp. 299, 300. We thank our author for this distinct and emphatic assertion of a principle, which is fundamental to all sound ethics and theology. We only regret that we have not space to follow him through his able vindication of it. He proceeds to consider conscience as it is a law to us; then as it is a faculty revealing and applying that law; then as it is a sentiment raising emotions pleasant or painful, when, as a law, it has been obeyed or disobeyed. Thus, that which makes man a responsible as well as intelligent being, is will and conscience, freedom and law. When we inquire what is the common quality of virtuous action, we discover—1. That it is found only in the acts of the will. 2. That it includes benevolence. 3. Justice, or righteousness. These two are not rivals or opposites. They are distinct, but diversified forms of the same moral excellence: complementary of, not hostile to each other. The first is the motive, the other the regulative power. Either alone is sickly and distempered. In God and all holy beings they are beautifully and inseparably blended together.

Further, we find that the moral faculty, and God for whom it is a witness, judge not merely of the act, but of the agent who performs the act. *He*, not his act, must bear the responsibility, and *he* is judged of, in and by his act. We agree with Mr. McCosh when he says, "These considerations lead to the conclusion that an agent in a virtuous state, and no other, can perform a virtuous action. It is not enough to consider the isolated act, we must consider likewise the agent in the act before we can pronounce it to be either virtuous or vicious. We hold this principle to be one of vast moment both in ethics and theology."—p. 321. The denial of this plain principle runs through nearly all the diluted practical and speculative theology which has infested American Presbyterian and Congregational churches for a quarter of a century. And we have already seen quotations from our author of passages in which he speaks of conscience as taking cognizance of no acts but those of will, so put as to imply that he agrees with those who attach moral quality to *acts only* and not to the state of the agent who performs them, and who hold that a wicked man can instantly make himself good, by that all-powerful power—even the power of contrary choice!

We infer the character of God from the moral constitution he has given us. We cannot but believe that he approves holiness and condemns sin, from the fact that he has so made us, that we cannot but approve the one and condemn the other. We cannot but attribute to him in an infinite degree all moral goodness, "the two co-ordinate moral attributes:—infinite benevolence and infinite righteousness."

Mr. McCosh, in further analyzing the nature of conscience, observes that it pronounces its decision on the state of mind of the responsible agent, as the same is presented to it. It is the office of the intellect to represent the case, as it occurs, to the conscience. These representations made under the influence of a perverse will, seeking to avoid the pain arising from condemnation by the conscience, are often one-sided, miscoloured, and utterly erroneous. Most of the voluntary acts of mankind are of a very complex nature. It is not easy to know all the motives which govern us in most of our conduct. Hence it is easy to make a false statement to the conscience. Thus its

judgments with respect to the individual and his conduct may be false, though right with respect to the case presented to it. "Hence the conscience of two different individuals, or of the same individual at two different times, may *seem* to pronounce two different judgments on the same deed:" or as presented to the conscience it is not the same, but two different deeds on which it passes judgment. "This accounts for those irregularities and apparent inconsistencies in the decisions of conscience, which have so puzzled and confounded ethical and metaphysical inquirers." Here we have a clue to the process by which a conscience may really be active, yet become perverted and disordered in all its operations. It could not become thus perverted in a pure mind. But if we suppose a depraved will, "even the mind and conscience may become defiled." In no sphere does the human mind so task its ingenuity, as in deceiving the moral faculty, and avoiding its humiliating judgments.

The deplorable consequences of this, he teaches, are three-fold.

1. By presenting evil and good in a false light, the will beguiles the conscience, in regard to many actions, to call evil good, and good evil. The action being complex, only one side of it is displayed to the conscience. Thus moral distinctions are confounded. All know how hard it is to get a favourite sin condemned.

2. Men are led to form a too favourable estimate of their own character. They will not know themselves. This however betrays a sense of guilt. They are afraid to look into their accounts, for fear of the losses and bankruptcy they will disclose. Here our author displays the deceitfulness of the heart under the heads so common with evangelical preachers.

3. The mind becomes completely perverted and disordered, and often becomes comparatively unable to distinguish right from wrong. Hence we have conscience in manifold states among men. There is an "unenlightened conscience," a "perverted conscience," an "unfaithful conscience," a "troubled conscience," a "conscience pacified and purified by the gospel."

Now the conscience of each man, whatever may be his standard of duty, announces to him that he has sinned. This involves a great deal more than most are aware of. It is

a virtual announcement that he is condemned by a holy God. Nor will it ever pass any other sentence upon this conduct, at whatever period of our existence we may review it. No repentance, even if it were in the power of one thus fallen, can ever annul this decision. Though some gentle systems of divinity teach that repentance atones for and procures the forgiveness of sin, conscience testifies the contrary, as the sacrifices which men have ever offered in expiation of it, abundantly prove. It teaches that repentance is a duty, but not an atonement.

If man is thus sinful, what is the extent of his sinfulness? In order to answer this question, our author propounds two preliminary principles. 1. "That the mind in judging of a responsible agent at any given time, ought to take into view the whole state of the mind. 2. That the mental state of the agent cannot be truly good, provided he is in the meantime neglecting a known and manifest duty." He who speaks not the truth, or prays not to God, though discharging every other duty, is in a bad moral state. Thus his actions, which are right in themselves, proceeding from a corrupt principle within, are tainted at the core. So we may bring home the sense of guilt to every man's conscience: not merely of sinful acts, but of constant, abiding, entire sinfulness. Especially is this true of ungodliness, his sin of sins. The fact, that conscience assures men that God justly condemns them, disinclines them to think of him, or to serve him, and disables them from loving or trusting him. Thus an evil, condemning conscience, hardens his heart, and vitiates his whole moral being. All this may be, notwithstanding many amiable traits of character, many good deeds, abstinence from many sins; and notwithstanding that there are few so bad, that they might not become worse. Yet, as to the fundamental element, ungodliness and its fruits, could we look at men, unbiassed by sinful prejudice, and view them from that sphere of cloudless light through which God beholds them, our judgment would be like his. "God looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that did understand, that did seek after God. Every one of them is gone back, they are altogether become filthy; there is none that doeth good, no, not one." "There is no difference." We

include all men under sin, not by debasing them, but by exalting the standard of virtue. Yet conscience exercises a powerful influence in restraining men from the commission of sins to which their passions incline them; especially do they shun sins which are not easily cast into oblivion, or which are likely to be brought often within the purview of conscience, and call forth its renewed reproaches. Hence arises a prodigious check to the eruptions of human depravity.

We should rejoice, if we had room to present an outline of our author's analysis of the effect of an evil conscience in hardening the heart, drying up its pure affections, fixing it irrecoverably in sin, like a wandering star, which, shot madly from its sphere, cannot of itself regain its orbit. We should also be glad to notice his survey of those active principles, neither virtuous nor vicious, which influence men, and are made so to operate as to restrain the workings of human depravity; also his exhibition of the ways in which evil passions sometimes counterwork each other, and prevent the grosser outbreakings of sin. We can only refer our reader to the profound and graphic discourses of the book itself in relation to these topics. The author makes the following summation of his whole argument.

"We have failed of the object which we had in view, if we have not shown that the two, the physical and the moral, are in complete harmony—a harmony implying, however, that man has fallen, that God is restraining while he blesses him, and showing his displeasure at sin while he is seeking to gain the heart of the sinner. Leave out any one of these elements, and the world would appear an inexplicable enigma." pp. 445, 6.

In the concluding book, in the reconciliation of God to man, he begins by stating that his object has been to harmonize science with religion, by a careful collation of the facts belonging to each respectively, and "to contribute his quota of evidence to the support of the divine original of the Scriptures." Following Butler, he strongly urges the "analogy between natural and revealed religion, as an argument in behalf of the latter." And he has done his work with the hand of a master. He brings the evangelical system into alliance with the existing state of moral and physical science. He proceeds, in an elo-

quent style, to contrast the scriptural with the mechanical, the sentimental and the pantheistic view of God, the first of which denies that he is a living and personal, the second that he is a holy, the third that he is either a living, or personal, or holy God, or that he exists at all separately from his creatures.

This holy God, though he abhors sin, has not abandoned the sinner. He still is interested in him, bestows favours upon him, employs means to lead him to virtue. This, with other things already alluded to, is symptomatic of an intended restoration. What, then, is necessary to that restoration? We cannot stay to carry our readers through our author's happy and forcible reasonings on this point, which are so well adapted to impress the stupid or the unbelieving, whether learned or unlearned. It is enough that he has shown that the three great troubles of man are an evil heart, a condemning conscience, and an offended God. Christianity provides resources which give a PURIFIED HEART, A PACIFIED CONSCIENCE, AND A PACIFIED GOD. It meets the want. It provides the perfect and only cure of man's distemper. It gives all things pertaining to life and godliness. How strong, then, is the antecedent presumption, not only that the Bible is true, but that it contains the evangelical system!

Such is the work to which we have called the attention of our readers. It is one of the noble contributions to apologetic theology, by which our brethren of the Scotch Free Church have begun to signalize themselves. We have been able to give only the bare skeleton. Those who will read the book will find it instinct with life, power, and beauty. We know of no work which we would sooner give to a person of cultivated or thoughtful mind, who had imbibed any of the fashionable prejudices against the fundamental principles of evangelical doctrine.

ART. III.—*Philosophy of Philo.*

THE ancient Grecian philosophy died with scepticism. When this last system took its rise, it appeared barely as in opposition to Stoicism and Epicurism; but it changed into a denial of every

true principle of philosophical systems. The proudly exalted "self" annihilated every other existence, in exchanging for it a complete poverty and destitution of every reality. Scepticism carried out strictly the idea that there is nothing existent, except "self," which possesses only the power of denying all that does not exist within it. By this view, all true philosophizing must naturally cease, since there is no object left on which to philosophize; but the beautiful creation which the Grecian genius produced in the province of philosophy could withal not be destroyed, as indeed no production of genius in any age has perished. It is the same with every philosophical system. No system, without exception of the time in which it took its rise, and the learned by whom it was invented, disappeared from the history of philosophy; its principles have co-operated in bringing forth new intellectual life, and found their appointed place in the great structure of modern philosophy. The history of philosophy does not relate simply the ideas which were current at different ages, but it is a chain of living ideas, which are linked to each other according to their development, and the whole chain would break if one link were removed. Just as in a living man, the same power of life and the same pulse animates all his members, so in the history of philosophy, the same idea runs through the whole fabric. It is true that no single system could solve the problem of philosophy by itself, but its chief principles are linked in the organization of the whole, where they have their proper position and rank, that the structure might not be weakened, and at last destroyed.

The chain of developed philosophy was indeed broken by the Grecians themselves, but philosophy made its way in another soil, and that which could not grow in its native country, became full of sweetness in the most beautiful fruit of a foreign country, viz., Alexandria. In that famous city, science flourished after Ptolemy's succession to the throne, and here the elements of Grecian and oriental philosophy became incorporated. Here the eastern and western manners and customs of life melted together, the differences of intellect and thought were thoroughly removed, and left nothing of their particular characters. The force of life and science removed every possible particularity, and united differences in a manner unperceived by the Alexan-

drians themselves. A new mode of life, and the identity of Grecian and oriental philosophizing, brought forth also a new genius, which again, in its turn, created a new system of philosophy, as the acme of the Alexandrian life. This is the Alexandrian philosophy of which especial notice is taken in the elaborate treatise of Philo the Jew, and of which we are about to give an abstract.

In Philo's writings we see the complete amalgamation of Hellenism and Orientalism; the philosophy of Alexandria and the religion of the Jews. Whoever reads his writings will not doubt the identity of the different elements in his philosophy, and will also be soon convinced that the philosopher himself knew the ground which existing circumstances had placed him on, but could not perceive the natural contradiction between Judaism and Grecian philosophy. Yet the Grecian philosophy had nothing more of its pure, classic genius, but coloured by Orientalism; and the Alexandrian did not know its Grecian origin, since he received it as a native of the East. But, on the other hand, it was impossible for Philo and for the Alexandrian Jews in general, to read the Holy Scriptures in that spirit which prevailed generally amongst their countrymen in Judea. The condition of the Alexandrians produced also a new mode of expounding the Scriptures; they created a philosophical science of interpretation, the allegorical one. Philo considers this mode of explaining the laws of Moses and the Prophets, as the true discovery of the meaning that the writers themselves entertained. He seems to be quite convinced that his explanations of the Scriptures are alone true. He says, "Μωϊσεως γαρ εστι τοδε δογμα τουτο, ουκ εμον." *De mundi opificio* 9. But to us this sort of exposition seems unnatural, since it expels the plain sense to interweave meanings which the passage does not contain, and whilst we look out for hidden mysteries, we may very likely overlook the literal and natural sense of the word; and so we find indeed the strangest notions imaginable in Philo's writings, yet he himself did not perceive their absurdity. His philosophical doctrine made him believe the Scriptures must necessarily agree with his reasoning. He platonizes very often, so that it is almost a proverb, "η Φιλων πλατωνιζει, η Πλατων φιλωνιζει."

Moses is, according to our philosopher, the most perfect of all

men who ever lived, "τα πάντα μεγίστον και τελειότατον." The laws of Moses he considers "the most beautiful image of the structure of the universe," τῶν νόμων ἐμφερότατην εἰκόνα της του κόσμου πολιτειας, hence they shall last eternally, when all other laws shall cease.

The end of human life ought to be to know God. There are two ways of obtaining this knowledge, either by conclusion from the works of their author, or by contemplation, wherein God himself must co-operate. Just as we cannot see the sun but by the sun himself, and the stars but by themselves, and light by light, so no one can know God but by the aid of God himself. To obtain "ὁραειν του Θεου," we must be freed from the ties of sensuality, and dedicate ourselves to a godly life; we must become ascetics. The patriarch Jacob is accordingly the type of ascetic life, which his name, Israel, or *יִשְׂרָאֵל* or ὁρων Θεον, testifies. . God is the primitive light, from which numerous rays of a spiritual nature are emanating. He is the being in which are all things; this being he calls *τοπος* [the cabalistic *סֵפֶר*] or "ὁ των ὄλων τοπος." God is space himself, which he himself fills. He suffices of himself; all without him is destitute, needy and empty, kept alone by him. He is limited by nothing, he is One and All. He is absolute perfection; he is better than science and knowledge, better even than goodness and beauty. He remains constantly the same; he is unchangeable; he is in unity with himself, alone, and unequalled. By this perfection and eternal immutability, which are never disturbed from without, God enjoys most perfect bliss and the purest happiness; he is free from affections and passions, nothing alters him, he is the only free being "ἡ μονη ἐλευθερα φυσικς." Philo speaks of God as an absolute being, and of God who is revealing his will to men; the former is transcendental, the latter immanent. God as transcendental is called by him "Ον," absolute being, existence, the totality in itself, the unlimited fulness of the Godhead. Self-existence is in no respect related to any existing being; it has for this reason no name: we can say nothing of absolute being, except that it is absolute in itself; for we cannot imagine limits to its generality. Philo says "the friends of genius, who communicate with spirits and beings without bodies, compare absolute beings with no existing being; they

have only the idea of unlimited being; further it is impossible to have knowledge of it, since self-existence is abstraction. To know is to have knowledge of concrete things, but God is incomprehensible; hence man's endeavours to know God are of no effect; he only convinces himself of his own imperfection." Similar to that description of God by Philo is the cabalistic $\eta\iota\theta \text{ } \Gamma^{\alpha}$ and the Gnostic, unspeakable stillness, the incomprehensible—in itself—closed—bosom of self-existence. But, according to our philosopher, self-existence separates in itself from its abstract generality and becomes active. This is the *logos*, " $\delta \text{ } \Theta\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma \text{ } \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, or $\delta \text{ } \tau\omicron\upsilon \text{ } \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon \text{ } \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$." In the *logos* alone, God is concrete, a living spirit, a true perfect God. If we contemplate God according to his absolute self, " $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha \text{ } \tau\omicron \text{ } \epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$ " he appears to be destitute of consistency. Absolute existence is only one *apothesis* of the Godhead, but in unity with the other apothesis, the *logos*, by which he appears the contemplating and creating intellect, he is the active, living One, in which every thing moves. Both self-existence and the *logos* are God. The *logos* is not another God, but he is *in* the Godhead. The *logos* is called by our philosopher "the first-born son, $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\omicron\varsigma \text{ } \Upsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$," another time " $\epsilon\iota\kappa\omega\upsilon \text{ } \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$, the image of God," he is the image of God, as revealed, he is the *first revelation of God's being*.

The *logos* is God's intellect, in which all the ideas of all beings are living as the primitive images— $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\gamma\mu\alpha$,—hence the *logos* is called " $\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma \text{ } \iota\delta\epsilon\omega\upsilon$ or $\iota\delta\epsilon\alpha \text{ } \tau\omega\upsilon \text{ } \iota\delta\epsilon\omega\upsilon$:" the whole of the universe was made according to the ideas. "Since God," says Philo in his *Mundi Opificium*, "foresaw that he can create nothing without a model, and that no matter can be made without a spiritual idea, he created a spiritual world before he made the material one, in which are just as many kinds of beings, as in the former; but we may not either say or think that the intellectual world exists in a limited space." He compares God's workmanship with that of an architect; "when an architect is going to build a city, he first considers in his mind what there will be wanted to make it perfect, and accordingly he designs his plan of the whole city; he finishes his work, before he carries out his designs materially. So God has made the types, to which the spiritual world agrees, before the material world, when it was his will to create the universe. Now just as the

design of the town exists nowhere else, but in the architect's mind, so the intellectual world has no other place, but in the logos by whom it was built." If we might be allowed the use of a metaphoric expression, we should say, the intellectual world is God's reason, as the spiritual town is the reason of the architect, who designs to build a real city according to that of his reason. The logos is consequently God's reason; that which thinks the universe and apprehends every thought of the beings that are created into the world; but God is not barely thinking, (passive), but active, and indeed a creating God. The logos therefore must manifest himself. He is the living and enlivening intellect of God, whose activity we see has produced material and spiritual worlds. The logos is two-fold, both in respect to the intellectual world and to the material one; as to the former, he contains the intellectual types from which the intellectual world is composed; in respect to the latter he contains the visible things which are only the imitation and images of the archetypes; and in respect to men, the logos manifests himself also in two different modes; the one is the inward dwelling world of ideas, the other is the active one which acts especially by means of language: one is the source, the other its emanation; the one has man's spirit as its organ, the other has his organ in man's language.

We have now to consider the material world. Its principle is negative, [*οὐκ ὂν*]. Matter lacks independent existence, and can only exist if it is pervaded by God's ideas. Just as God is existence in himself, so matter is non-existence in itself; and as God is the source of life, so matter is complete lifelessness, and if we reflect upon matter without distinct form, it is barely pure destitution, emptiness, without consistency and reality. Philo says: "Moses knew that the existing beings have two different causes, the active and the passive, and that the active cause is the purest and brightest reason, which is preferable to virtue, knowledge, beauty, and goodness; the passive—matter—is inanimate, immovable by itself; but, however, if animated and moved by God's reason, it is the most perfect work in the visible world. The source from which formless matter is filled with real existence, (which in itself contains no beauty, but only the possibility of being beautified,) and by which the world was

created, is the goodness of God, who granted existence to matter. The architect of matter is the logos.

In another place Philo says: The world has necessarily been created. The logos is the seal by which every thing has been formed; hence all things have their form from the beginning, because they are impressions of the perfect logos. The production of shapes in matter is occasioned by the ideas of the logos, which are imprinted in the matter; matter has therefore the quality of receiving forms, and through the logos it has the power of exhibiting them in reality; but ideas work only intensively, and become a distinct independent specimen as a general animating power. Philo says, that those men who deny the existence of the bodiless ideas, deny also the author of things, who is the image of all; we cannot deny those ideas if we concede form to matter. God has made use of ideas to imprint upon matter proper forms and shapes. Through the activity of ideas, the material world has its existence, which is the image of the intellectual world which lives in God's logos; and as God's intellectual power has created the intellectual world, so matter and the visible world have also been created by it. "All material things," says our philosopher, "must have been created, for they change, and never remain in one condition; eternity belongs only to intellectual and invisible beings; our world is a visible one, it must consequently have been created. But we must not say that the world was created in time, since time was not before the world, but either *with* it, or *after* it. Time is the measure of the motion of the solar system. Motion cannot exist before the things that are to be set in motion, but with them or after their creation. Time is therefore either as old as the world itself, or younger; but it would be quite contrary to philosophy to say, time is older than the world." As the world cannot have been created *in* time, so God did not want a certain space of time to create individuals, since it was conformable to God's power to create all things at once. The six days of which the Mosaic account speaks, are only in respect to normality and order, in which the created things became visible in the universe. The order of things was necessary, because there is no beauty in disorder—καλον γαρ ουδεν αταξια. The universe was filled and pervaded by God's intellect as soon as it was

created, which is also the cause of its stability. "All visible things," says Philo, "are loose and fluctuating in themselves, kept together only by the logos; he is the power which animates creation." The logos is also the law by which every thing in the universe lives; also the active power that lays down the laws of nature. Hence Philo styles the logos, *νομος*. He says: The law is the most powerful support of the universe; it ties and carries together all parts of it, since it reaches from the centre to the utmost limits, and from the utmost limits to the centre of the world, and its course is immutable. The Creator has made his law—logos—the indestructible tie of the universe; wherefore no one element can act against another, if diametrically opposed to the other in character, because the law is interposed between them; hence the most intimate connexion prevails in the world—*συμπαθεια*. One thing has its close connexion with another, like the links of a chain; every thing lives in itself and through another, and aids it, so that the whole appears to be an artificial organization, in which each member has its appointed place for supporting the existence and the well-being of the other. "The harmony of nature," says Philo, "is the goodness and mercy of God"—*ἁρμονία πάντων ἐστὶν ἡ ἀγαθοῦς καὶ ἰλῆως δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ*;" also the power of God which we perceive in the sustenance and guidance of the universe, and revealed to every observer of nature, both in small and great things. God is also omnipresent, since his power fills the whole of the universe; no space, no spot in the world is without him, every where he appears the active, creating God; and as God manifests his power in the entire universe, so we may see the same power in time. God never ceased to be active; just as it is the character of fire to burn, that of snow to produce cold, so it is the character of God to be active, since God is the active principle within every thing. Now the whole of the universe is filled and enlivened by God's power, hence the smallest thing in the creation may be compared with the whole of the universe, because both man and the universe consist of a body and a rational soul. Man may be called "the little world," *μικροκοσμος*, and the universe "the great man." The logos is accordingly "*νοῦς τοῦ παντός*;" God's intellect which creates, animates, and pervades the whole of the universe.

The human soul is the most beautiful brightness of God. In it the Spirit of God is revealed in the most perfect manner possible. In respect to the human soul, man is formed in the closest relation to the logos. It is a part of God's intellect, hence its excellency, its ability to penetrate every branch of science and knowledge. It could not have the power of doing so, if it were not a part of God's intellect, and indeed inseparable from it. It is inseparable from it, because separation is by God inconceivable; we may imagine expansion in God, hence man can reflect upon the universe in all its most remote parts, without destroying it, because its power is expansive. Just as God can be neither divided nor separated from himself, neither is he divided from the natural world, since we can see the same manifestation of God both in small and in great creatures, so God is revealed also in man; every individual emanates from God, and has its life from him. Philo expresses the individuality of the soul in the following terms: "The soul has left the heavens, and wandered into the body, as into a foreign country. But unity with the body was necessary, since the soul can only be active in the body, (*De Leg. Alleg.*) The most noble and best feature in man, is his intellect; it is part of the purest and best being; it is like God's character; intellect is eternal. The creating Father has gifted it with liberty, free from every want; it has the same attributes with God, with respect to the power of acting spontaneously. Nothing in creation is more godlike than man. On account of his intellect, man is called the image of God." Man has liberty to act, it is his peculiar feature, and its source is his intellect; he is gifted with thought and liberty, and in these the image of God manifests itself. By man's power of thought and reflection, he is able to break through limits of matter, and become immortal. So Philo says, in his *Mundi Opificium*: "Reflection and thought of heavenly things by which man's soul is taken and feels love and desire after knowledge, leads to a happy life; it is philosophy by which man, though by nature mortal, becomes immortal." The power of the soul to know and to comprehend, is the effect of God's λογος; through him the soul has strength and nourishment. Those who asked in the wilderness, "what is it by which our soul is nourished?" had experienced, that it was the word of

God, the logos, from whence all knowledge and wisdom flow like an inexhaustible stream. It is the heavenly food which is meant by the words [in Scripture]—"Lo, I shall rain bread upon you from heaven"—for, indeed, God rains wisdom upon the good, regenerated men, and souls who long for it.

Philo asks also: Do ye know what the nourishment of the soul is? It is the logos of God, which like dew fills the whole of the earth. But God's intellect appears to operate only where the soul is not polluted and fettered by ties of sensuality. The logos may be compared to the pupil of the eye. As the pupil of the eye can, though minute, survey the whole earth, the immense ocean, and the broad expansion of the air and firmament, from the east to the west, so the logos is able to see every thing, by which aid every living being may be seen.

The intellect of the individual is an emanation from the preceding universal intellect, namely, the logos. Hence our philosopher says: human wisdom bears the same relation to God's wisdom as that of individuality to universality, or as the copy to the original. The logos who is the living and acting intellect of God, is also the moral power which guides man; like a stream the logos pours forth wisdom, to water the heavenly plants of souls, which love virtue. He is also the bearer of four principal virtues, *φρονησις, σωφροσυνη, ανδρεια, δικαιοσυνη*. As the logos is the law of the universe, which leads it to eternal order and normality, so the same is the active power of God which appoints existence, aim, and increase. Whoever lives in accordance with this law, submitting himself to the guidance of God's intellect, he is a free man. To follow God, to live and to act in God is man's destination, this is his liberty. Man's soul is in God, hence he is free. But then only he can be free, when he resigns sensuality and pleasures of a finite nature, and lives wholly in God, who is infinite and eternal; a life like this is true immortal life, but devotion to pleasure and wickedness may be called death, because the spiritual power ceases, since the rational soul does not prove its life. The soul is spirit, but only then, when she subdues nature—*την φυσει βασιλιδα ψυχην*—when the superiority of the soul ceases, there the moral man is dead. The highest task of man is, to break through the power of sen-

suality, and to raise himself to God. But man cannot be virtuous by his limited individuality; this must yield to God and be filled with his Spirit.

“It is God’s pleasure,” says our philosopher, “to plant virtue in the soul, but a soul is egotistical and godless, if it meditates similitude and free will like God himself. It is God alone who plants and sustains the excellencies of man’s soul; it is impious to say, I plant, where it is God who does it. Every good action, every moral deed, has its source solely in the inward, living, and acting Spirit of God; wickedness receives its life from the flesh, the finite and natural substance; hence man is apt to sin from his origin, he sins inherently. But the soul, which came forth from God, and is penetrated by God, is free from sin and passion. If man strive to be absorbed in godly life, and entirely to resign sensuality, he enjoys the brightest and happiest bliss. As God is beyond frailty, and free from every passion, so man also, if he live and move in God, destroys the power of sin; he lives in an eternal peace of the purest happiness. Whoever is under the burden of sin, suffers in himself an incurable disease and ever-during misery; impelled into society of the godless, he feels eternal pain. Philo does not speak of the Hades, “for,” he says, “the life of the godless is the real Hades—ὁ πρὸς ἀληθείαν ἄδης ὁ τοῦ μοχθηροῦ βίος ἐστίν. The life of man who lives in everlasting pain of unrulèd passions, is destroyed by sensuality, and he can never have peace; it is a life of suffering and grievances, which never cease and are never cured. Philo counts three sorts of men—earthly, heavenly, and godly men. Earthly men are those who delight in sensualities, and rejoice in vain pleasures only. Heavenly men are those who delight in knowledge and art, for intellect is heavenly and active in heavenly things, knowledge and art in general. Godly men are priests and prophets who partake of none of the worldly pleasures, and are above all sensuality, and live in the spiritual world. Those godly men are of the highest order amongst all men; they nourish their souls not only by science and knowledge, but raise their whole being to the highest degree of moral perfection. They are absorbed in the region of spirit, and live in God. Yet it is not only the privilege of priests and prophets to exalt themselves to that

height of perfection, but every man is able to do so; this they best effect by means of ascetic life. Three means man has of leading a perfect, virtuous life; 1st, by a natural disposition of the soul ($\phiυσει$); 2d, by persevering studies ($μαθησει$); and 3d, by an ascetic life ($ασκησει$). The three ancient patriarchs have typified these three means of virtuous life. Abraham was the type of study; Isaac, of natural disposition; and Jacob, of ascetic life. Jacob's name was also Israel; that means, to see God in his purity. To see God is the highest perfection which man can arrive at; to be absorbed is the only true and real perfection.

This brief sketch of Philo's philosophy, we hope, will interest our readers as disclosing some of the radical principles of the earliest heresies which disturbed the peace of the Church, and the source of some of the abnormal forms of piety which so extensively prevailed in the second and subsequent centuries.

ART. IV.—*The Relation of the Old to the New Dispensation.*

ONE of the most striking facts in the history of the Church, or of the true religion, is its appearance under two successive forms or aspects, so unlike and even contradictory as those which we are wont to call the old and new economy or dispensation, equally genuine and equally authoritative; both intended for man's benefit, and ultimately for the benefit of men in general; both intended to promote an end moral and spiritual, not material or temporal; but the one provisional, the other permanent; the one preparatory to the other, and by necessary consequence inferior in dignity; the one typical and ceremonial, the other spiritual and substantial; the one designed and adapted to teach the need and excite the desire of what could be fully supplied only by the other.

Corresponding to these two dispensations or economies, are two successive revelations or distinguishable parts of the same revelation. Each has its own collection of inspired books, originating in it and intended for it. The Hebrew Scriptures are as clearly the offspring and the property of one dispensation

as the Greek Scriptures are of the other. The very difference of language is significant—the first revelation being given in a local dialect, the language of a single race, the vernacular use of which has never spread beyond its ancient limits; the second revelation in the most perfect and most cultivated language of the earth, and at that time the medium of polite and learned intercourse throughout the Roman Empire. The names too by which we are accustomed to distinguish the two parts of Scripture are equally applicable to the two economies, as the Greek word (*διαθηκη*) may be used to denote, not only a testament and a covenant but a dispensation.

The correspondence or analogy between the two economies and the two revelations, is obvious and striking. But this analogy, if pushed too far, involves us in inextricable difficulties. For, as the new dispensation was designed not only to succeed but to supersede the old, not merely to follow it in time, or to complete it, but to take its place, to do away with it, and render it unnecessary, so that it could never be revived, or re-instated, without abrogating that which it was abrogated to make room for; the analogous fact would seem to be, that the Old Testament having prepared the way for the reception of the New, is now without authority, and only interesting as a part of ancient history, by which we are as little bound, in faith or practice, as by the sacrificial ritual of Moses; whereas the contrary is true, and may be readily established.

The perpetual authority and use of the Old Testament does not arise merely from its being necessary to the correct understanding of the New. For this is, in a measure, true of ancient history, chronology, and archæology, as well as of philosophy and rhetoric, no one of which auxiliary sciences has any claim to stand upon a level with the sacred books which it assists us in expounding. However indispensable the use of the Old Testament may be then, as a source of illustration to the New, this exegetical necessity would not be a sufficient basis upon which to rest its claim to a perpetual authority and use. And yet this claim has really a firm foundation. It rests upon its recognition in the New Testament itself, not only as inspired and once binding, but as possessing a prospective claim to the respect and confidence of all believers. The “Holy Scrip-

tures" there declared to be inspired of God, and able to make wise unto salvation, (2 Tim. iii. 15, 16,) are identical with those which our Lord exhorts the Jews to search, (John v. 39,) and in which he repeatedly declares his advent and atoning work to be foretold, and which one of the latest books of the New Testament describes (2 Pet. i. 19,) as "a sure word of prophecy," to which Christians as such, would do well to take heed, as to a light shining in a dark place, *i. e.* as a revelation of the truth and will of God, with which they could not safely or lawfully dispense.

In strict accordance with this view of the New Testament doctrine, has been the external practice of the universal church. It may be asserted as a general fact, that all churches founded on the New Testament, have acknowledged the perpetual authority of the Old as an integral part of revelation. The erratic views of heretical sects or individual errorists, have never, even in the darkest periods, obtained general currency, and only serve as foils to set forth in more prominent relief the signal unanimity with which Papists and Protestants, the Eastern and the Western Church, have clung to the Old Testament as an essential part of Holy Scripture. The same may be said of the experience of Christians in all ages, as bearing testimony to the same important doctrine. The moral and spiritual influence exerted by the Bible on the characters and lives of men has been exerted by it as a whole, and not by the New Testament alone. Perhaps it may be said with truth, that in proportion to the depth and power of experimental piety, in any age or any individual, has been the disposition to avoid casting lots upon the parts of revelation, and to preserve it like the Master's tunic, "without seam, from the top throughout." (John xix. 23.)

To all this it may be added that the New Testament itself is framed upon the principle of completing the revelation begun in the Old; not upon that of reconstructing a new system of divine truth from the foundation. It does not even recapitulate or sum up the contents of the Old Testament, or formally exhibit the result of its authoritative lessons, as the starting point or basis of its own; but uniformly presupposes a direct acquaintance with it, gathering up its many complicated threads

of history, prophecy, and doctrine, not to tangle or to break them, but to weave them in a more capacious loom, into a still finer texture, and a pattern still more beautiful and splendid than the Old.

The result of these considerations is, that the Old Testament is still a necessary and authoritative part of divine revelation. Although wholly incomplete without the New, it is essential to the completeness of the whole, and cannot be separated from the Christian revelation, without violently putting asunder that which God has joined together. There is, therefore, an important distinction to be made between the relation of the new economy to the old economy, and that of the New Testament to the Old Testament. Though exactly corresponding to each other with respect to chronological succession, and peculiar adaptation to distinct plans, or rather to successive stages of the same great providential plan or purpose, the cases differ as to one essential point. The old economy was abrogated by the new; the old revelation (so to speak) was only followed and completed by the new. The old and new economy could not exist together; the Old and New Testaments not only may but must exist together. The neglect of this distinction may lead to serious errors, both of theory and practice. As the old dispensation is annulled for ever, while the body of revealed truth which originated in it and was primarily intended for it, still maintains its place as a necessary part of revelation; there is obvious danger of confounding the record with the thing recorded, and of transferring the perpetual authority with which the revelation is invested, to the merely temporary institutions with which it was connected in its origin, and from which it has borrowed its peculiar form. What is thus shown to be possible is verified by history. Such errors not only may be, but have been entertained, and their effect is still perceptible throughout the Christian Church, in quarters the most opposite, and under systems of opinion the most contradictory. While one man insists upon adherence to the form of the Levitical priesthood, as essential to the right organization, if not to the very being of the Christian Church—another, while he tramples on this form of Judaism, falls into another, by denying that the Christian may praise God in any other words than

those of David. And to make the incongruity still more apparent, this exclusive adherence to the words of the Old Testament is often attended by a no less rigorous proscription of the very form in which those words were uttered or their utterance accompanied in the ancient worship. These results can be avoided only by a just view of the true relation which subsists between the two economies or dispensations, as exhibited in these two parts of revelation. This view is not to be obtained by a mere study of the older Scriptures; still less by exclusive and one-sided speculation on them. Such speculation and such study are themselves the prolific parents of these very errors. It is in the false belief that one part of God's word may be honoured by being thrust into the place belonging to another, or by being made to answer for the whole, that most aberrations of the kind in question have their origin; and mere increase of diligence in this mistaken course, or of intensity in zeal respecting it, can only aggravate the evil. A just view of the genuine design of the Old Testament is not to be obtained by exclusive study of it, without regard to its relation to the New. We can reach it only by the aid of the New Testament itself. Believing as we do that the Old Testament derives its value from the New, and that the use of it to us must be determined by its bearing on the Christian revelation, to which it was designed to be preparatory, how can we obtain a clearer view of this than by taking our position on the heights of the New Testament and looking back in search of the old landmarks, with the double advantage of higher ground and clearer light than if we transported ourselves back to the position of the ancient saints, and then looked forward through the intervening clouds and darkness? What then does the New Testament teach as to the relative condition of the church of the Old Testament? In order to resolve this question, we are not required to descend into minute details. The answer lies upon the surface of the Christian Scriptures. It might indeed be traced, with exegetical precision, through the whole New Testament. But happily, the scattered intimations of the truth which we are seeking are occasionally found condensed into brief but pregnant maxims or descriptions, any one of which would be sufficient for our purpose, as an utterance of

the voice of the New Testament. Its teachings as to this point are summed up, for example, incidentally but strongly in the first clause of Heb. x. 1. "For the law having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things." That the words do not constitute a formal proposition, but are merely the premises from which the inspired writer draws his conclusion as to the inefficacy of the ancient sacrifices in themselves considered, far from weakening their force or rendering them less fit for the use to which we here apply them, has rather a contrary effect, by showing that the doctrine propounded in the first clause is so clear, that the sacred writer takes it for granted, or assumes it as already proved, and so certain, that he founds upon it a conclusion the most startling to the Jewish Christians whom he is addressing. So too, the figurative form, in which the truth is clothed, far from obscuring, makes it clearer and more striking. In relation to the use of metaphorical and literal or abstract terms, as well as in reference to everything else connected with the statement and communication of religious truth, "the foolishness of God is wiser than men." The Holy Spirit uses neither mode exclusively, and both, we may rest assured, exactly in the right place. In the present case the figures used are such as not only to convey the general truth with force and clearness, but also to suggest particular ideas which might otherwise escape us.

The truth thus taught is intermediate between two extremes of error. This is not unfrequently, we might perhaps say invariably, the case. There are few important doctrines which are not in conflict with a plurality of errors, or of forms of error, not collateral or incidental merely, but directly adverse to the truth in question. And as this most frequently arises from our proneness to extremes, and from the tendency of these to generate each other, the defender or discoverer of truth must frequently be occupied in seeking a safe standing place between two fatal, or at least untenable extremes. In the case before us, these extremes may be presented in a form analogous to that adopted in the verse just cited. The essence of the figure there employed consists in the antithesis between a shadow and the image or defined form by which it is cast. As the latter can, in this connection, only mean the full view of divine truth presented in the Christian revelation, and the shadow the com-

parative condition of the ancient church or dispensation with respect to this same truth, so the characteristic or specific difference of the two extremes to be avoided may be stated under the same figures of an "image" and its "shadow," and of their mutual relation to each other. The first is the error of denying that the church of the Old Testament had either the "image" or the "shadow" of New Testament doctrine in possession. According to this view of the matter, the Jewish religion is a system by itself, having no connection, beyond that of local origin and chronological succession with the Christian system, so that all attempts to trace the latter in the former are mere fanciful refinements and ingenious combinations of things really distinct and independent of each other, not unlike but heterogeneous and incongruous. This is a natural belief in those who deny the inspiration of both Testaments. The infidel caviller or sceptical interpreter, who really believes the Bible to be just as much a product of the human mind, and just as little a divine revelation, as any other work of genius, cannot of course be expected to acknowledge a prospective reference, of any kind whatever, in the Hebrew Scriptures to the books of the New Testament, or in the opinions of the ancient Jews to the subsequent developments of Christian doctrine. The same thing is true, in a less degree, of those who consider Christianity a new religion, and deny its connection with Judaism altogether. Such there are even among those who acknowledge the divine authority, if not the divinity, of Jesus Christ, and profess to receive the religion of which he is the founder and to which he gives his name, as a heaven-descended doctrine, and a means of regeneration to the human race. This form of opinion may be rare among ourselves, but it exists, and where it does exist, the denial of all kindred between Christianity and Judaism may be reasonably looked for. It is more surprising and more dangerous in those who acknowledge the divine authority of both. It might seem impossible that such should entertain the views in question: but the fact is certain, that a whole school of critics and interpreters, distinguished for their learning and ability, and professing themselves champions for the equal inspiration of all Scripture, have expended an immense amount of time and toil and mis-

placed ingenuity in trying to demonstrate that the great end of the old dispensation was to keep the Jews as ignorant as possible, and therefore of course without even a "shadow" of the truths to be disclosed when "the fulness of time" was come. This hypothesis may be refuted by the prospective and preparatory character ascribed to the old economy in the New Testament. The patriarchs and prophets are there often represented as continually looking forward. The habitual attitude of the ancient church or chosen people is described as one of expectation. There is scarcely an allusion to the Hebrew Scriptures, by our Lord or his Apostles, which is not made for the very purpose of connecting something in the old state of things with something in the new, as really related to each other, both in purpose and in fact, thereby fully verifying Paul's description of the law as "our schoolmaster (*παιδαγωγος*) to bring us unto Christ," (Gal. iii. 24). This description is confirmed by the peculiar features of the old economy itself. Everything there is in itself unfinished and almost unmeaning. History, prophecy, and legislation all require a key to unlock their enigmas. The theocracy, the ceremonial law, the social state, the very worship of the ancient Hebrews, all these are inchoate, and unless prospective in their bearing, worthless. How large a part of what they mean to us is furnished from our actual possession of what they expected, or of what their temporary institutions were intended to prepare them for. It is also refuted by the large, clear, and elevated views of certain fundamental truths, disclosed in the Old Testament, not merely as compared with heathenism, but with the Christian revelation. The being and unity of God, his power and his sovereignty, his wisdom and his goodness in the general, the responsibility and guilt of man were as clear to the ancient Jews as to the most enlightened Christian, except so far as they derive an incidental illustration from the person and the work of Christ. Are these the views which would of course be entertained by those whom God designed to keep in a state of infantile ignorance until the very time of Christ's appearing? It is disproved by the moral effects of the Old Testament revelation on all who understandingly and heartily received it. Not only was Israel, as a nation, vastly superior in moral elevation to the world around, but the personal charac-

ter of those who stand forth in the history as types and representatives of Israel, is marked by the same essential qualities which naturally spring from the reception of the Christian faith, not merely as a system of belief, but as a rule of life and standard of perfection. Can this elevation be the fruit of ignorance, or merely negative exemption from the grossness of contemporary heathenism? Is it not rather an internal proof that the two religions, and the only two which concur in their moral effects, were designed from the first to be harmonious parts of the same great remedial and regenerative system? It is disproved by the perfect harmony of its spirit and essential doctrines with the highest and purest Christian experience. This is really the same fact viewed from a different point of observation. As the moral effects of the old revelation on its genuine recipients, so far as they went, were a kind of inward and experimental prophecy of what was afterwards to be accomplished in the hearts and lives of men by Christianity itself; so the actual experience of Christians now enables them to sympathize completely with that of old believers, as differing only in enlargement and in definiteness from their own, and as furnishing expressions of devout affection, which neither the New Testament nor the aggregate experience of the Christian world has yet surpassed or superseded. This experimental evidence of oneness, however vague and intangible it may appear to many, would to others, even in the absence of external proofs, serve as a refutation of the first extreme of error which we are considering.

The other extreme is that of alleging that the Church of the Old Testament possessed the entire body of truth revealed in the New Testament, merely covered with a thin external veil, which they could easily remove at pleasure. Their views of the divine mercy, and of the way in which it could and would be exercised, of Christ's person and twofold nature and atoning work, of the Spirit's influence, and even of the new organization of the Church, were all fully imparted to them under emblematical forms, which they were not only able, but bound to understand correctly. The source and spirit of this error are totally unlike, or rather diametrically opposite to those of the one already mentioned. That may be ultimately traced

to doubt, if not to unbelief of the divine authority, either of Scripture generally, or at least of the Old Testament. This has its rise in zeal for the honour of that very part of revelation, and an anxious wish to wipe off the aspersions of sceptical impiety or latitudinarian indifference. It is often found connected therefore with a high degree of reverence and faith, and is in this respect as unlike the opposite extreme as possible. Yet they generate each other by a mutual reaction. It is matter of history, not only that this zeal for the honour of divine revelation has been frequently excited by the doubts or the indifference of less scrupulous interpreters, but also that these doubts and this indifference have sometimes been produced or aggravated by the revulsion both of taste and judgment from the exaggerated form and ill-advised defence of doctrines in themselves unquestionably true, and susceptible of an unanswerable vindication. By avoiding each of these extremes, therefore, we diminish the danger of the other. This is indeed a general reason for eschewing all exaggeration and extravagance, even in defending what is true, or in opposing what is false, to wit, that by transcending the just limits of a wise and conscientious moderation, we expose ourselves and others to the twofold risk of the immediate errors towards which our exaggeration verges, and of the opposite extreme, to which it naturally tends by subsequent reaction. Thus, all erratic and disorderly efforts to promote religion, however good the motive, tend not only to fanatical excitement as the proximate result, but to the ulterior result of apathy and spiritual deadness, which is almost sure to follow it. So too, a sceptical neglect of the Old Testament may spring at least remotely from an overstrained attempt to do it honour.

This second error, although infinitely better than the other, is still an error, and as such, admits of refutation. Such refutation it may be said to have received experimentally, or practically, in the endless diversity and contradiction which results from the attempt to carry out this theory in its details. Beyond a few indisputable types and symbols, which are so clear that they explain themselves, no application of the principle has ever met with general, much less with universal, acquiescence. But surely that which wise and learned Chris-

tians, with the full blaze of gospel light to aid them, cannot now decypher to their common satisfaction, could hardly have been read aright by ancient saints with no such advantages. It renders wholly unaccountable the long delay of Christ's appearance. However difficult it may be fully to account for this delay on any supposition, the difficulty is undoubtedly increased by the hypothesis in question. If the world was ready for a full exhibition of the doctrine of salvation under enigmatical but easily intelligible forms, it must have been still more ready for the clear annunciation of the same truth. If the truth imparted was the same in either case, and the difference only in the mode of presentation, then the old revelation required or presupposed a higher intellectual condition than the new; for it is certainly a higher exercise of mind to solve a riddle than to understand its meaning when propounded explicitly. But, as we have already seen, the Scriptures represent the old dispensation as the state of infancy or pupillage, and the new as that of maturity or manhood. If any truth is clearly taught in the New Testament, both indirectly and directly, it is, that the law, in the wide sense, was preparatory to the gospel. We may not be able to perceive the necessity of any preparation, or to explain how it was effected, but admitting the fact, it is impossible to doubt that the preparatory process was intended to conduct the Church and the world, not from a higher to a lower, but from a lower to a higher state of intellectual and doctrinal illumination. But this relation is inverted by the theory in question, which moreover, leads to a confusion of the temporary with the permanent part of the old dispensation. The possibility and danger of this issue, are apparent from the history of the Jews themselves. Not only the ungodly, carnal members of the ancient church fell into this error, but even the most spiritual and enlightened seem to have betrayed at least a tendency to cling to what was temporary in the system under which they lived, as permanently binding and intrinsically efficacious, even after it had done its work and fully carried out the design of its existence. This was in fact the very delusion which occasioned the rejection of Messiah, not merely by the populace, but by their spiritual guides and rulers. Such a mistake is now impossible, unless occasioned by the theory in

question. It consequently tends to a Judaizing form of Christianity. Under the influence of this belief, no wonder that whole bodies of sincere and devout Christians have imagined themselves bound to reinstate the law of Moses as a code of civil polity, or to re-enact the extirpation of the Canaanites on modern enemies of God, and of themselves. We wonder that industrious and acute interpreters of prophecy should, even in our own day, give a local and material sense to some of the most spiritual promises of Scripture, and in some cases cherish the revolting expectation not only of ceremonial forms, but of bloody offerings in the Church hereafter. To complete the argument against this doctrine, it may be separately stated, although really involved in what has been already said, that it robs the Christian revelation of its glory, by virtually making it superfluous. If all that is openly revealed in the New Testament was covertly communicated in the Old, nothing more would seem to have been necessary than to lift or take away the veil that covered it. But how does such a change as this resemble that described in Scripture as a total revolution in the outward condition of the Church, to be wrought, and actually wrought by the advent of Messiah? Is this the new heaven and the new earth, the making of all things new, which, both in prophecy and gospel, is presented as essential to the change of dispensations?

The only safe and satisfactory position is the intermediate one, that the ancient Church had "a shadow of good things to come, but not the very image of the things." Let us use the clew afforded by these natural and striking figures to thread the mazes of the labyrinth in which we are involved by human speculation. That such comparisons do not hold good beyond a certain point, implies that up to that point they do, and is a reason for employing them, when they are not mere suggestions of fancy, but dictates of inspiration. The general relation of the old dispensation to the new, is that of a "shadow" to the "image" which produces it. The difference intended is only in the fulness and distinctness of the view. If the apostle had intended to contrast the unsubstantial with the real, he would have placed the shadow in opposition to the solid body, and not merely to the image, or distinctly

defined form, considered as an object not of touch but of vision. The truth suggested by this figure therefore is not that the ancients were excluded from salvation, or that when saved they were saved in any other way than we are—either without faith or by faith in any other object, but that their perception of this object, although equally genuine, was less distinct, and bore the same relation to the view now afforded of the same great object, that the contemplation of a shadow bears to that of the distinct form which it represents. Now, a shadow presupposes light; there can be no shadow in total darkness. The word may be used as a poetical expression for darkness itself; but its sense here is determined by its antithetical relation to the image or defined form which produces it. That this may cast a shadow, it must be exposed to light. It is implied therefore in the use of this figure that the old economy was not a state of total darkness upon moral and religious subjects, but that much of the same light now enjoyed by us was even then diffused among the chosen people. A shadow also presupposes the existence of a solid body, which produces and determines it. By so describing the condition of the Jews under the law, the sacred writer teaches us that the ancient ceremonies, though prescribed by divine authority, were not meant to terminate in themselves, or to be valued for their own sake, but on account of their prospective bearing upon something to be afterwards revealed. A shadow furthermore implies a particular relative position of the body, and the interception of the light by means of it. It is not merely the existence of the substance that is necessarily implied in this description, but such a distance and position of it, with respect both to the light and the spectator, as would cast a shadow visible to him. However real and substantial the “very image” of the gospel might be, it could cast no shadow to the eye of old believers, unless within their general field of vision, and unless so situated as to intercept the light which we enjoy without obstruction. The very nature of a shadow precludes the representation of colour and of all details but those of outline. The notion therefore that the law revealed to the saints of the Old Testament the whole congeries of Christian doctrines, with their nice distinctions and their mutual relations, is at variance with the very nature of the figure here em-

ployed to represent it. The idea meant to be conveyed is not that what is now seen clearly was then covered by a veil; for this is not true of a shadow. No increase of light or removal of integuments can change a shadow to a substance, or even to an image in the sense before explained. Shadows differ in their depth, *i. e.* in the degree to which the general circumambient light is intercepted. This depends upon the nature and formation of the body which is shadowed forth. It may also depend on the degree of light allowed to shine upon it. Two trees planted side by side, and of the same dimensions, may cast shadows altogether different in density, according to the thickness of their foliage. So the light of revelation may be said to have left some parts of the Christian system less concealed than others from the view of the Old Testament believer.

A shadow may convey more of the substance to one person than to another, according to difference of position, eye-sight, attention and imagination. A blind man can see nothing. A man half blind, whether by nature, or disease, or accident, may see but half as much even of a shadow as a man of sound and piercing vision. The same is true of one whose back is partially or wholly turned upon the object; or whose thoughts are occupied with something else, compared with one whose mind is exclusively engrossed by that which is before him, and his eye fixed directly and intently on it. These obvious analogies allow for an indefinite diversity of clearness and distinctness in the views of those who lived under the same twilight dispensation, and who looked upon the self-same "shadow of good things to come." In comparing our own retrospective views of these same shadows with the aspect they presented to the ancient saints, we must not forget that the shadow of a familiar object must convey more than the shadow of one totally unknown; that as the faintest sketch of a familiar face, or the shadow cast by a familiar form is often clothed by memory and imagination with all the attributes of shape, size, countenance, air, walk and even dress belonging to the real object, so the Christian's long familiarity with all the precious doctrines of salvation may throw back such a flood of light upon the partial disclosures of the darker dispensation, as to make it for a moment seem superior to his own, because it adds to the simple substance of the

latter, the dramatic pomp of ceremonial rites and symbols. But let such remember that the most expressive shadow must be less satisfactory than a clear view of the body which produces it, and cannot rationally be preferred to it. Instead of sighing for the return of what is past for ever, or attempting to amalgamate discordant elements intended always to exist apart, let us thank God that in this sense also, we are not "of the night" but of the day; that to us "the darkness is past and the true light now shineth"; that to us the Son and Spirit, the cross, the throne of grace, the gate of heaven, are no longer "shadows," but defined forms and substantial realities. And while we tremble at the new responsibility attending this increase of light, and, at the "deep damnation" which awaits the obstinate rejection or abuse of it, let the happy change which has already been experienced by the church excite and cherish an avowed hope of good things yet to come, of which the present is in some sense but a shadow, a still more glorious change that yet awaits her and the humblest of her faithful children, when "God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, nor any more pain, because the former things are passed away, and he that sits upon the throne hath said, BEHOLD, I MAKE ALL THINGS NEW!"

ART. V.—*Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche. Von Philipp Schaff. Erster Band: die apostolische Kirche.* Merceburg, Pa., 1851. 8vo. pp. 576.

It is now some years since Dr. Philip Schaff appeared among us, or at least among the German churches of this country, recommended to their notice as a young theologian of extraordinary promise, not only by the testimony of distinguished Germans, but by the actual first-fruits of his literary labour. Of his early publications we can name but two, his Treatise on the Sin against the Holy Ghost, and that on the identity of James the son of Alphæus, with James the brother of the Lord. Both these juvenile performances afford evidence of a lively and ingenious mind, independent judg-

ment, varied and exact information, and unusual powers of composition. One of them, if not both, is familiarly referred to, by German writers of great eminence, as a kind of authoritative work upon the subject, although neither of them ought perhaps to be regarded as any thing more than a preliminary trial of the writer's gifts.

As Dr. Schaff became known, through the press and otherwise, first to his own countrymen, and then to the Anglo-American public, their previous impressions of his scholarship and talent were entirely confirmed and even strengthened, but not without some disposition to find fault with a certain confidence, and even dogmatism of tone, which was supposed to characterize his bearing towards both races. This was soon found, however, to be in part a false appearance, and in part a fruit of inexperience as to this new world, of which he had so recently become a denizen. To us, indeed, there is no more striking proof of Dr. Schaff's superiority, than the sagacity and ease with which he has thrown himself into a situation so untried and trying, and begun at once to operate upon it, not by sinking to the level of existing usages and institutions, but by striving to raise them to his own, yet not without conceding much for the sake of gaining more. The ground which he has taken and maintained, with respect to the conflict of the German and the English interest among the people of the former race in the United States, is one which indicates a high degree both of theoretical and of practical wisdom, especially as estimated from the German "stand point."

But besides these proofs of intellectual and practical superiority, Dr. Schaff has given to the public, since he came among us, satisfactory pledges of his soundness in the faith, as to the great principles of Protestantism, by committing himself early and distinctly to the anti-popish views of Justification and the normal authority of Scripture. The confidence produced by these professions may have been impaired, in certain quarters, by his peculiar views on other points, and by his real or apparent implication in the doctrinal developments, which are supposed to have their centre and their source at Mercersburg. But until explicitly forbidden by himself, we shall continue to claim him as a well armed and a well skilled champion of the

genuine old Reformation principles, and hold ourselves in readiness to draw the distinction, which may sometimes be necessary, between the feelings of the friend or partisan, and the independent judgment of the theologian.

The views and principles to which we here refer, have been expressed partly in the author's English treatises, and partly in the German Magazine, (*der Kirchenfreund*,) which he has edited for several years with great ability, although we fear with very inadequate encouragement. The last article in this work from his own pen, which we happen to have read, contains a highly interesting comparison of German and American modes of education, from which we should dissent as to a few minor points, but which more than confirms our previous impressions of the author's comprehensive views and soundness of judgment, by the rare discrimination and impartiality with which he strikes the balance between the virtues and the vices of the several systems. We wish some blind and indiscriminate admirers of Teutonic usages and modes of thought, could read German well enough at first hand to profit by this weighty testimony, from a person so well qualified by talent and experience to see the good and evil which exist on both sides. It might help to disabuse them of the strange hallucination under which they labour, that modes of culture and of training which have grown up under the peculiar circumstances of one country, can be bodily introduced into another, without sharing the inevitable fate of the tree which changes soil or climate after the period of safe transplantation.

These various appearances of Dr. Schaff before our public, besides their immediate effect, have tended to keep up the expectation of the work upon Church History, on which he has long been known to be engaged, and of which some chapters have appeared as essays in the numbers of the *Kirchenfreund*. These specimens have rather served to whet than blunt the edge of public curiosity, by giving promise of great originality and independence, combined with strict adherence to sound principles, at least in matters of essential moment. The curiosity thus felt by some, if not by many, has been gratified in part by the appearance of the volume now before us, containing above a hundred closely printed pages of introductory

matter and above four hundred on the Apostolic period of Church History.

The very act of bringing out a German volume of this size and character, in the face of so many discouragements and difficulties, is heroic, and apart from all consideration of its theological and literary merit, fairly entitles the indomitable author to applause and to encouragement still more substantial. This kind of adventurous enterprise is far more German than American, and bears a strong resemblance to the fact, which we have heard on good authority, that some of the most expensive philological and scientific publications which appear from time to time at Leipzig, are brought out with the certainty of loss to the publisher, with a bare hope of redeeming it by other sales, and sometimes from a disinterested wish to promote the cause of learning, by publications which would otherwise be necessarily suppressed. Whether this statement be correct or not, there can be no doubt that our author deserves well of the public for the good example which he has here given of superiority to selfish or commercial motives, and of zeal for truth and knowledge on their own account. We sincerely hope that all our German-reading scholars, and especially our ministers and students of that class, will combine to save the author of this book from loss, if not to recompense his self-denying labours. We are far from wishing this to be regarded as an act of patronizing charity. The sums expended for the purpose just proposed will secure their full equivalent of valuable matter. If Dr. Schaff might claim the public favour, even on the ground of his self-sacrificing faith and zeal, without regard to the intrinsic merit of his work, much more may he assert the same pretensions, when the book comes to speak for itself and to be estimated at its real value. To this end we can only imperfectly contribute, by a simple statement of our own impressions from a rapid but not inattentive perusal. A work of such a character is not to be accurately judged of in a hurry, and we claim for what we are about to say the benefit of subsequent and more deliberate reconsideration.

The book is eminently scholarlike and learned, full of matter, not of crude materials crammed together for the nonce by labour-saving tricks, but of various and well digested knowledge,

the result of systematic training and of long continued study. The more critical and technical portion of this matter overflows into the notes, but with so perspicuous a condensation as make both reference and perusal easy. The false impression made on some by the exterior of the work, that so large a space devoted to the Apostolic period implies extreme diffuseness and verbosity, or at least a gratuitous amplification, may be at once removed by the simple statement, that this volume comprehends in fact, though not in form, a critical introduction and historical commentary on the Acts of the Apostles and the cognate parts of the Epistles and Apocalypse. Besides the general views presented in the text, there is scarcely an interesting question, even of philology, that is not handled in the notes, with brief but ample references to the best books on the subject; so that on the whole, we know of no help in the study of these parts of the New Testament containing so much in so small a compass, precisely suited to the wants of students.

Besides the evidence of solid learning which the book contains, it bears the impress of an original and vigorous mind, not only in the clear and lively mode of presentation, but also in the large and elevated views presented, the superiority to mere empirical minuteness, and the constant evidence afforded, that the author's eye commands, and is accustomed to command, the whole field at a glance, as well as to survey more closely its minuter subdivisions.* This power of attending both to great and small in due proportion, throws over the details a pleasing air of philosophical reflection, rendered still more attractive by a tinge of poetry, too faint to vitiate the manly prose of history, but strong enough to satisfy that craving for imaginative beauty which appears to be demanded by the taste of the day, even in historical composition. We do not pretend to be judges of German style, but we have always regarded Dr. Schaff as a writer equally remarkable for clearness, strength and elegance.

* As a sample of the author's originality and independence, we cannot help referring to the short but admirable chapter on the language and style of the New Testament (§ 137, pp. 526—531), in which the old way of apologizing for the bad Greek and mean composition of the Apostles is exchanged for the assertion of a new and noble dialect, as admirable in its way as that of the Greek classics, and yet altogether different. This view of the matter as presented here, is to us as novel as it is convincing and acceptable.

We know not whether it is praise or dispraise to describe his German as unusually English; a quality arising, we suppose, not merely from familiarity with English books and English conversation, but from something of the same original peculiarity which renders Hengstenberg, although a very different writer, so attractive and available to English readers. With all his zeal for German ways and notions, Dr. Schaff never verges upon nonsense. He always knows what he means and how to make it known to others. The interminable sentences and endless involutions and contortions, which deform the style of many celebrated German theologians are entirely foreign from his composition. In point of style, and indeed of literary execution generally, there is no Church history in German known to us, excepting that of Hase, that deserves to be compared with that before us. We need scarcely add that there is no department of theology in which this rhetorical advantage is of so much use as Church history, where the mass of inert matter becomes not only dead but deadening, unless quickened by the *vis vivida* of the author's genius.

As to the views of Christian doctrine here presented, it is not easy, within narrow limits, to do justice to our author and ourselves. We may say in general, however, that his doctrinal statements are for the most part such as we could adopt with very little modification. At the same time, there is a marked peculiarity, or at least a sensible divergence from what a German would consider our traditional formality of statement; a difference arising from the author's long familiarity with certain forms of unbelief, and the attempt, perhaps unconscious, so to qualify and shape these as to make them vehicles of Scripture truth. This gives to his theology, even where it is substantially the soundest, an appearance of approximation to erroneous forms of statement and belief, which to many will perhaps be more alarming and objectionable than it is to us. His adoption of Schleiermacher's maxim, that Christianity is not a doctrine (*lehre*) but a life (*leben*), tends in its logical development to favour the rationalistic representation of the most material doctrinal diversities as mere exterior variations in the action of the same essential principle, so that one apostle could believe and teach that men are justified by works, and another that

justification is by faith alone. This is far from being Dr. Schaff's conclusion; but it is one that others might without absurdity deduce from his own premises. This whole conception of entirely distinct types of doctrine in the apostolic writings, although pretty and ingenious, seems to us unworthy of the grave theologians who first invented or have since maintained it, because unsupported by any adequate proofs derived from the Scriptures themselves. A serious objection to the compromising way in which some doctrines of the Bible are here stated, is the door which it leaves open for evasion or equivocal interpretation, if it should ever or for any reason be desirable to vindicate its orthodoxy on the one hand, or its freedom from a bigoted rigour on the other. We have no suspicion that our author wrote with any such end in view; but we do believe that such a use might be made of his expressions, and that some who are enamoured of the looser German systems of belief, might possibly be tempted to embrace them in the hope of thus giving them an orthodox interpretation. At the same time, we desire to bear witness to the value of the work before us, as an antidote to the incomparably lower and more dangerous opinions, as to inspiration, and some other most important doctrines, which are gaining currency and sanction, even among us, by the authority of such names as Neander and some others of the same devout but latitudinarian school. The religious tone and spirit of the work are such as to leave no doubt on the reader's mind respecting the sincere belief and piety of the author. Its practical tendency is uniformly good. Its influence, we trust, will be felt in Germany itself, for which cause we are glad to see it in its German dress, as well as on account of its rhetorical attractions, which could hardly be preserved in a translation. At the same time, we regret that in its present shape it must remain a sealed book to so many of our ministers and students of theology, whose only access to it is through such imperfect sketches as we have here given. We had hoped to furnish a more thorough critical analysis of this important work, soon after its original appearance. But the person upon whom the duty of preparing it appeared most naturally to devolve, was providentially called elsewhere, and circumstances now forbid the execution of our plan in its original extent. We have not

been able to persuade ourselves, however, to abstain any longer, upon this account, from an explicit though imperfect statement of our general impression of the faults and merits of this welcome addition to the stores both of German and American theology. Into what we regard as minor faults of plan and execution we have neither time nor inclination now to enter. We might say something in the way of exception to the rubrical arrangement which the author has retained from his predecessors, and which, by carrying us back over the whole ground of Moral and Religious Life, Worship and Church Government, Doctrine and Theology, after the History is at an end, gives a character of heaviness and irksome iteration to the close of what is otherwise one of the most interesting books that we have ever read. But we yield to every author, and especially to one so highly qualified, the right of determining such questions for himself, believing, as we do, that such a man can write best on the method which he likes best, and that the disadvantages arising from a forced compliance with a rule imposed *ab extra* would more than outweigh the advantages, however real and important. We have still less inclination to record our dissent from the author's judgment upon certain matters of detail. Should the work be continued, as we trust it will, we may have other opportunities of going into these minutiae. In the meantime, it is enough for us to know and say, that this experimental volume, were its faults and errors far more grave and numerous than we think they are, would still place its author in the highest rank of living or contemporary Church historians.

ART. VI.—*Histoire de l'Eglise Vaudoise, depuis son origine, et des Vaudois du Piémont jusqu'à nos jours, avec un appendice contenant les principaux écrits originaux de cette église.*
Par Antoine Monastier. Toulouse, 1847.

WE have often thought that the well known words in the emblematic device of the Church of Scotland, "NEC TAMEN CONSUMEBATUR," might be fitly chosen as the motto of the collective Presbyterian Church, by which we mean the Reformed,

as distinguished from the Anglican and the Lutheran. No other branch of the true Catholic Church has endured so great a fight of afflictions, or has been forced to engage in so many and such fierce conflicts with priestcraft and worldly policy. The Anglican and Lutheran churches, if we except the struggles of their infancy, have hardly known what persecution is; their rolls of martyrs and confessors are comparatively short and scanty, while the Reformed Church can reckon them by thousands, and not in one country only, but in many—in Scotland, Holland, France, Hungary, and the valleys of the Alps. In one view the Vaudois Church stands apart from all those to which the Reformation gave birth. Her light shone in darkness—as her motto, *LUX IN TENEBRIS*, intimates—during many centuries before the Reformed Church existed. Yet it was not from her that the latter received the torch of truth through which northern Europe was illumined. No branch of the Church of the Reformation traces its origin to her; still, the Vaudois Church may properly be regarded as a part of the Reformed, in the distinctive sense in which we use that term, for the doctrine and discipline of both are essentially the same, and almost from the birth of the younger, there was a mutual and formal recognition that they were one in Christ, having “one Lord, one faith, and one baptism.”

The history of the Vaudois Church, of her long struggle with the Man of Sin, of her bloody persecution, and her unswerving adherence to the truth of Christ, has been often told, and probably most of our readers are acquainted with its leading events, but the story is one which will bear to be repeated. Indeed, unless we quite mis-read the signs of the times, there are special reasons why Christians generally, and Presbyterians in particular, should take down their Book of Martyrs from the dusty shelf, to which it has been consigned, and cultivate a more intimate acquaintance with that “noble company of martyrs and confessors,” to whom we are, under God, indebted for that civil and religious liberty, which calls forth, we fear, a great deal more proud boasting than humble gratitude. Amid the splendid triumphs of science and art which distinguish our age, and its manifold schemes to diffuse both secular and sacred knowledge, we are in danger of forgetting that one of the

greatest enemies of social progress still lives, and that although somewhat shorn of his power, he has lost none of his ancient antipathy to freedom. Antichrist is not yet dead; and the predicted time has not yet arrived when Satan, whose grand instrument he is to obstruct the advancement of humanity, shall be bound for a thousand years.

We sometimes hear it said that the Romanism of the present day is a very different system from the Romanism of former ages: that some of its worst elements have been eliminated from it, and that it is consequently unfair to put its advocates in the same category with those ruthless and bloody bigots, the Innocents and the Dominics of earlier and darker times. In one sense, it is undoubtedly true that Rome has changed. She finds herself greatly trammelled by a growing popular intelligence, and an enlarging civilization; she no longer ventures to dethrone kings, to absolve subjects from their allegiance, or to put nations under her interdict; she no longer dares to preach crusades against heresy, to observe Bartholomew's day after the old style, or to enact an *auto da fé* even in Italy, or in Spain; in a word, she is now very far from being what she once was, because the Christendom of the nineteenth century is vastly different from that of the fifteenth. But has Rome undergone any essential change in her principles, her spirit, and her aims? The fact that she herself earnestly protests against the supposition that she has, and claims immutability as one of her distinctive features, should certainly make us somewhat slow in giving an affirmative answer to this question. And if in order to get a satisfactory reply to the inquiry, we quit the lands in which the spirit of the present age has the amplest scope, and has thus been able most thoroughly to infuse its leaven into society, and go to those regions in which its influence is least felt, where Rome is still all-powerful, we shall find on every hand abundant proof that Rome's own testimony respecting herself is true—that she is unchanged and unchangeable in her intense hatred of divine truth, of human liberty, of every thing, in short, that really tends to improve and elevate society. He who surveys the recent doings of Rome in Ireland, Britain, Madeira, France, and Italy, must be blind indeed, if he does not recognize in her “the mother of

abominations," willing as ever to be the ally of despotism, and eager as ever to make herself drunk with the blood of saints. Chameleon-like, Rome well knows how to adapt herself to varying times and seasons; with a matchless versatility she can use the blandest cajolery, or utter the most horrible curses, according to the character of the people with whom she has to deal. Her prelates, fresh from Italy, and still redolent with the odours of the dungeons of the Inquisition, at Liverpool and New York can wax eloquent in defence of the rights of conscience, and in praise of our unlimited religious liberty. Rome can vary the tones of her voice and the expression of her countenance, but her nature is unchanged. If we would know what she is, we must learn what she has been; if we would know what she would do if she could, we must learn what she has done when she had the power. And, therefore, we rejoice in the appearance of works like the one before us, which rehearse the mournful but glorious story of those who fought the battle of truth and freedom with their great enemy, "counting not their lives dear unto them," if they might only transmit the precious legacy to succeeding generations.

The history of the Vaudois Church has a special interest, from its bearing upon the much agitated question of apostolical succession. It is the history of a body of faithful men, whose existence dates from those earlier and purer times when Romanism was unknown. The Reformed Church holds that the most essential bond of connection with the apostolic, is the belief and confession of "the truth in Jesus," and that even if Rome could show, what it is idle for her to pretend to have, an authentic catalogue of bishops, all of them canonically (in her sense) ordained, and reaching from the days of Peter to those of Pio Nono, it would avail her little; her ecclesiastical character would still mainly hang upon the inquiry whether she had "continued in the apostles' doctrine." The true catholic Church is "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone." No careful reader of the Epistles of Paul and John, can fail to notice the immense importance which they attach to *doctrine*—"holding the head"—"preaching Christ"—"walking in the truth." With them, the *matter preached* is the object of pri-

mary concern; the official authority of the *preacher*, is comparatively nothing. Even if he had been ordained and sent by the apostle John himself, the command is, "if he bring not this *doctrine*, receive him not into your houses."

But if the Reformed Church is not accustomed to attach so high value, as some others, to a visible ecclesiastical succession, it is not because she has no claim to it. If she is not perpetually boasting of her title-deeds, it is not because she has no such documents to show. She can produce them, and they are, to say the least, not inferior in value to those of any other body, bearing the name of—church. When Rome exclaims against us, "ye who are of yesterday, separated only a few centuries ago from the Catholic Church by a revolution, which ye absurdly dignify with the name of Reformation, do ye pretend that truth is with you? then is she young indeed;"—we have two answers to give. In the first place, we say, whether we are of yesterday or not, this has nothing to do with the determination of the question, with which of the two opposing parties is truth? our respective claims must be settled by an appeal not to a genealogical table, but to the teachings of Christ and his apostles in Holy Scripture. But we go farther, and assert that our system bears the stamp of venerable antiquity, while yours is made up of novelties—and we can tell you the very age of most of them. We maintain that our system has never wanted confessors and martyrs; often so reduced in number that they constituted only a "little flock," yet never utter annihilated; and this we can prove without the aid of those pretended Apostolic Constitutions, forged Decretals, and falsified Fathers, of which you have made such frequent and ample use.

The Vaudois church, as our author justly observes, visibly connects the evangelical churches of the present day with the primitive and apostolic, clearly establishing the fact that their doctrine, discipline and worship were long anterior to the heresies and idolatry of Rome. Viewing the subject simply in its historical bearings, he undertakes to prove the uninterrupted existence of the Vaudois, and thus the perpetuity of the primitive, now represented by the church of the valleys of Piedmont and her sisters of the Reformation. We may readily suppose that many documents inestimably precious for the light they

would have shed upon the path of the general historian, as well as for their convincing evidence of the antiquity of the Vaudois church, have been designedly destroyed by Rome, or have perished during the repeated crusades which she has carried on against this faithful body of Christian witnesses. Still the proofs of her existence at a very early period are not wanting; and one pregnant fact bearing upon this point, is, that the professed aim of the Papal church in her mediæval crusades against the Vaudois was to force them—not to *re-enter*, but to join her communion. She herself did not pretend that they were separatists from her fellowship; she owned that they had never bowed to her sceptre; her avowed design was not to put down rebellion, but to make a new conquest. This fact alone speaks volumes as to the relations subsisting between the simple Christians residing in the remote Alpine valleys and the Roman Pontiffs, during those early ages, the historical memorials of which have disappeared. And with this virtual admission of Rome we must couple the invariable tradition of the Vaudois themselves, that they had never yielded allegiance to the papal throne, that they were never under the dominion of the see of Rome, and therefore had never separated, in the strict sense, from her. On the contrary they have ever maintained that their origin dates from a period long anterior to that of the wide extension of pontifical power.

Many persons fancy that Constantine's adoption of Christianity as the religion of the Roman empire, was the grand and almost the exclusive source of those corruptions, which, during the middle ages overspread the nominal church, and which nearly extinguished true religion. Up to this time they seem to imagine that the church had retained the purity of doctrine and simplicity of worship that marked the times of the apostles. On the other hand Isaac Taylor attempts to prove—and his argument is not wanting in plausibility—that the policy of Constantine helped materially to check the too rapid development of the mystery of iniquity which had long been working in the church, in spite of the repeated persecution to which she was exposed; and that, but for the dam thus providentially raised by the imperial power, the Christian world must have been speedily submerged beneath the waters of corruption,

darker and filthier even than those which, in the course of time, actually spread themselves over its surface, leaving only here and there an uncovered hillock. We are disposed to believe that each of these views is exaggerated; but be this as it may, there can be no doubt that great evils existed in the Church, that the process of declension from soundness of doctrine, purity of worship, and strictness of discipline was considerably advanced long before the days of Constantine. Yet there were many "faithful found among the faithless," who earnestly protested against the growing laxity, and vigorously resisted the incoming tide of mischief. Among the causes of this early declension—and we may add, the signs of a still earlier one—which led to the partial disintegration of the once compact mass of the Catholic Church, the too ready re-admission to her communion of those who had fallen away in periods of persecution, deserves to be particularly mentioned. It was this which caused the schism of the Novatians—the Puritans of the early Church, about the middle of the third century;—a schism which, originating in Rome, rapidly extended itself into all parts of the empire.* Without going into the details of Novatian history, we may mention that the views of Novatus were especially popular in the southeastern provinces of France and in North Italy. In the following century, about forty years after the union of the Church and the State, Lucifer of Cagliari, at the cost of bitter persecution on the part of the Arian emperor Constantius, and in spite of the frowns of many nominally orthodox churchmen, nobly defended the cause of sound doctrine, of a simple worship, and of a pure discipline. His followers were not in the ordinary sense of the term separatists; they did not form a distinct sect, nor adopt a system of distinctive tenets; they simply abandoned the prevailing corruptions, and resisted the recent innovations of the so-called Catholics, and evinced a fervent zeal for evangelical doctrine, and for the spiritual fellowship of believers in opposition to a mere outward and worthless profession of the gospel. The influence of Lucifer was not so widely diffused as that of Novatus. His field of labour was Lombardy

* See Lardner III. 223, and Bower I. 55. The latter says that "Novatian churches were formed all over the empire." The opposing churches were as often called "Cornelian" as Catholic.

and Piedmont, a region at that day on the confines of civilization; but he left the impress of his own character upon the churches of those remote provinces; and there can be little doubt from what Romish historians themselves relate, that he there planted the scions of those trees of righteousness, which neither the axes of the Inquisition, nor of those hereditary persecutors, the princes of Savoy, have ever been able wholly to destroy. After the storms of centuries they still "flourish in the courts of the Lord's house," upon the Alpine mountains, and "bring forth fruit in old age."

Towards the close of this century we encounter in this same field another eminent witness for the truth, Vigilantius, upon whom Jerome pours the vials of his wrath in consequence of his determined and successful opposition to the relic-worship, the pilgrimages, and other superstitions of his day. During the dismal period then close at hand, when successive waves of barbarism swept over the ancient seats of Roman civilization, we have scarcely a light to guide us; but this much we know, that many simple minded Christians sought a refuge from the storm, amid the distant and solitary fastnesses of the Alps; and evidences are not wanting that there the lamp of truth shed its pure and blessed light, long after thick darkness had covered most of the cities of the plain. Here again we can avail ourselves of the testimony of Rome herself. Boniface*—the apostle of Germany as he has been styled, a good man we doubt not, but a mere tool of the Pope—was charged by several French bishops with holding and teaching the following errors: the celibacy of the priesthood, the adoration of images, the supremacy of the Pope, and purgatory. This led to some correspondence between Boniface and Pope Zachary, in which the latter says, "*As for the priests whom your associates are reported to have found, who are said to be even more numerous than the Catholics, who wander about disguised under the name of bishops or presbyters, and have never been ordained by Catholic bishops, they confound and trouble the ministers of the church.*" His holiness then proceeds to apply to them a long list of bad names, a weapon, in the use of which he showed himself to be quite as expert as his successors.

* A full and interesting account of his missionary labours will be found in Blumhardt's *Missions Geschichte*, and Bost's *Histoire Générale* II.

They are described as a set of "false, vagabond, adulterous, homicidal, effeminate, sacrilegious hypocrites." No wonder that a worthy Belgic Abbot, St. Thom, did not dare to trust himself in a region where such men abounded, though very anxious to do so during a journey which he once made to Rome. It so happens that the region in question is the very one occupied by the Vaudois, and that the only reason assigned by the abbot for not indulging his curiosity was "*pollutam esse inveteratâ hæresi.*"

But we hasten to notice Claude of Turin, a burning and shining light in an age of deepening darkness, whose life forms one of the salient points in the history of the intervening church. Some say that he was a native of Scotland, others of Spain. He was appointed bishop of Turin about A. D. 822, having been previously chaplain to Louis le Debonnaire, and died A. D. 839. Claude was an accomplished theologian, well versed in Scripture, an eloquent preacher, a faithful pastor, and his ministry of sixteen years was as fruitful as it was active. Unfortunately his works have perished with the exception of a few passages preserved by his antagonist, Jonas of Orleans, and we are not sure that even these are given exactly as they came from their author's pen. Still these mere fragments give us a high idea of the man, as a Christian and a scholar. In rebutting the charge that he had founded a new sect, he asserts that he remained in the unity of the true church, and that in banishing images from his diocese he was only acting up to his ordination vows. His argument against the use of the sign of the cross is marked by singular acuteness, and if our limits permitted, we would gladly quote it at length. "Shall we, says he, adore all mangers, because the cradle of the infant Saviour was a manger? Shall we adore ships because Christ often sailed in them, slept in them, taught in them? All this is ridiculous, but what else can we say against such folly? God commands one thing and these people do another. God commands us to bear the cross and not to adore it. These people wish to worship it, while they will neither bear it in body nor in spirit. We are well aware that the passage, "*thou art Peter,*" &c., is very grossly misunderstood. An ignorant multitude, neglecting all spiritual meaning, think they must go to Rome to gain eter-

nal life. If we examine the sense of the words "whatsoever thou shalt bind" &c., we shall discover that they were not addressed to Peter only; but this ministry belongs to all the true watchmen and pastors of the church." Such was Claude of Turin. "This holy and eloquent pastor," says a modern Italian author, Costa de Beauregard, "had a very great number of partizans. These anathematized by the popes, persecuted by princes, were chased from the plains and forced to take refuge in the mountains, where they ever afterwards maintained themselves in spite of the incessant efforts to crush them."

We have dwelt the longer upon these evidences of a succession of enlightened witnesses for the truth of Christ, and of the continuous existence of a distinct and pure church in the regions occupied by the Vaudois, in order to show how well grounded is their constant tradition of this fact, and what good reason their pastors had for the statement which they made to *Æcolampadius* of Basle respecting the extreme antiquity of their church. They never belonged to Rome, never owned her authority, never adopted her practices, never separated from her communion; or if they did, it was as the raft upon the surface of a flowing stream separates from the immovable rock "which standeth ever still;" it was because they "continued in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship," while Rome pursued her onward and downward career of corruption.

The Vaudois first appear on the field of history under that name in the twelfth century. By the Romish writers of that period, it seems to have been used as a generic designation of the numerous sectaries who in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries abandoned the Roman church, the Toulousians, Picards, Lombards, Bohemians, Petrobrussians, Henricians, Arnoldists, Leonists and others. We have no doubt that the common name of Valdenses, or Vaudois, was applied to these numerous bodies because their faith was essentially that of the church in the Alpine valleys, and because many or most of them were the fruit of her missionary labours; for her members, like those of every living church, were largely imbued with missionary zeal.

The question respecting the origin and meaning of the name Vaudois has been a good deal discussed. M. Monastier devotes

a whole chapter to the examination of this point, and considers at some length the three principal etymologies which have been given. Some say it is derived from Peter Valdo, or Waldo, whose disciples bore the twofold name of Waldenses, and the Poor of Lyons. Others affirm that it comes from the Latin word *vallis*, or *vallis densa*. Others again maintain that it was originally a term of reproach and equivalent to *sorcerer*. We think that our author conclusively proves that Peter of Lyons did not originate the name. His reasons are, 1. That in the canons of councils and other public documents relating to Peter's disciples, the latter are never termed Vaudois or Valdenses, but are always described as the Poor of Lyons. 2. That Peter could not have been the author of the religious movement which originated in France during the early part of the eleventh century, because he did not begin to preach until about A. D. 1180. 3. That the name Vaudois could not have come from him, because Valdo was not the proper name of the merchant of Lyons; at that period, the baptismal name was the only one employed, that of family not having yet come into use. But while there can be no doubt that the name was known long before the days of Peter of Lyons (Waldo as he is commonly called) it is still somewhat uncertain whether the second or the third etymology is the true one. Eberard de Bethune writing about 1160, says, "there are certain heretics who style themselves *Vallenses*, (from *vallis* a valley) because they dwell in the vale of tears." Bernard de Foncald, 1180, says, "they are called *Valdenses*, from *vallis densa*. While in that venerable monument of Vaudois faith, the Noble Lesson, dating from 1100, it is said, "if any one fears and loves Jesus Christ, and will not curse, lie, steal, rob, nor kill, he thereby excites the vengeance of his enemies, and *they call him* Vaudé, and say that he merits punishment." To the above proofs of the antiquity of the Vaudois we may add the striking though indirect evidence supplied by the armorial bearings of the counts of Lucerne. The symbol is a lamp emitting a brilliant flame, (*Lucerna*) and the legend consists of the words *Lux lucet in tenebris*. These attest that at the time when the name Lucerne was given to the largest of the Vaudois valleys, *i. e.* in the tenth century, and of course long anterior to Peter Waldo, the pure light of

the gospel was there shining in the midst of surrounding darkness.

We have already adverted to the invariable tradition of the Vaudois themselves. This tradition has at once a general and a definite form. In all their persecutions, and in all their petitions to their princes they constantly declared that their religion had been handed down from father to son, from generation to generation—" *Da ogni tempo e da tempo immemoriale*,"—in all time and from time immemorial. Their more precise tradition ascribes their distinctive system to Leo contemporary with Constantine. Leo was one of those who held that the policy of that emperor tended to corrupt and enslave the Church, and he preferred Christian liberty with poverty, before a rich benefice with bondage. The inquisitor Rainier Sacco writing about A. D. 1250, refers to this tradition, and adds, "of all existing sects none is so pernicious to the Church as that of the Leonists, and this for three reasons. In the first place, *because it is the most ancient*, having been preserved, as some say since the days of Sylvester, (Bishop of Rome, under Constantine) others from the times of the Apostles. In the second place it is the most widely diffused; in fact there is hardly a country where it does not exist. And thirdly, while all other sects excite horror by the magnitude of their blasphemies, the Leonists make a great appearance of piety, they live justly before men, they have true faith, and hold all the articles of the Creed." This testimony coming from a bitter enemy, is as decisive as it is delightful. We might adduce others, but we must turn to notice the later history of the Vaudois.

Various causes combined to shield the Vaudois of Piedmont for a long period from the effects of that malignant hatred with which Rome could not but regard a people whose faith and manners were so entirely the antithesis of her own. The almost anarchical condition of the city of Rome during the tenth and part of the eleventh centuries, and the incessant plots and counter plots of Popes and cardinals made the firm possession of the pontifical chair so very difficult, that its occupants had no time to think about distant heretics. Besides, the princes, within whose dominions the Vaudois resided, found that they were their most loyal and valuable subjects, and were naturally unwilling to dis-

turb such a population, or to allow others to persecute them on account of their religious faith. Ultimately, however, even princely favour and protection was found, in some quarters, to be an insufficient defence against the fury of Rome. So soon as she was in a position to do so, she sent forth against the Albigensian Vaudois her crusaders, headed by that iron hearted couple, Dominic the monk, and Monfort the soldier, who speedily converted one of the loveliest lands on the face of the globe, the region watered by the tributaries of the Garonne, the home of literature and art, as well as of pure religion, into a desolate wilderness. Unchained demons could scarcely have perpetrated more horrid deeds than those committed by the ministers of the Holy Roman Church, who to mark her approval of his work canonized the monster Dominic, in whose presence Danton and Marat appear as amiable specimens of humanity. Between 1209 and 1229, an incredible number of Albigenses were slain. Multitudes joined their brethren of Piedmont, so that it soon became necessary to form a colony in Calabria.

The escape of the Vaudois of Italy, whose history is the special subject of these volumes, from the fearful infliction of a Dominican crusade, was under God mainly owing to the fact that south of the Alps there was no such overshadowing monarchy as France. Italy was divided into numerous principalities and republics each independent of the others, and all of them more or less jealous of the Roman Pontiff. Hence the Vaudois of Savoy, during the century after the Albigensian crusade, not only lived in security in the plains at the foot of the Alps, but sent forth colonists to the extreme southern part of the Italian peninsula, where, under the protection of the Marquis of Spinello, who was glad to get such excellent subjects, they enjoyed large privileges and built numerous towns. Other colonies, as an outlet to their surplus population, were established towards the end of the thirteenth century on the borders of Provence, in a district hitherto uncultivated, but which their industry and enterprise speedily clothed with beauty and converted into a source of wealth.

But it was impossible for Rome to endure the presence of such a community so near her, a moment longer than she could help. The storm at length descended upon the very home of

the venerable Vaudois church, the central spot of that pure gospel light which had shed forth its illuminating beams to distant lands. In 1488, Innocent VIII. (worthy namesake and successor of him who originated the Albigensian crusade), having gained over the Duke of Savoy to his views, proclaimed his purpose to exterminate the heretics of Piedmont. We have not space to enter into the details of the story; suffice it to say, that the Vaudois of the plains were almost wholly swept away, but the inhabitants of the upper valleys rose in arms, and protected by the ramparts of their mountains, heroically repelled every onset of their foes. At last the Duke, tired of the worse than useless contest, entered into a treaty with the Vaudois, in which he solemnly secured to them for all coming time the enjoyment of their ancient rights. On this occasion twelve of their leading men met the Duke at Pignerol, who told them that he had been grossly misinformed respecting their persons as well as their faith. He was particularly desirous to see their children, as he had been told that they were born perfect monsters of deformity, having only one eye in their foreheads and four rows of teeth in their mouths! Falsehood, no matter how atrocious, is a weapon which Rome has often employed, and the story of "the holy coat of Treves" propagated in the nineteenth century shows that she is as ready as ever to "speak lies in hypocrisy."

The promises made by Duke Charles II. were in the main faithfully performed by him, and though the terrible disaster which so suddenly befell them in 1488 reduced the number of their churches, the Vaudois of the valleys lived in tolerable comfort and security until some years after the beginning of the Reformation. By the poor Vaudois this glorious event was hailed with boundless delight; messengers from their church were early despatched to Switzerland and Germany to convey their affectionate salutations to the blessed men whom God had there raised up to proclaim and defend his truth, and these brought back from the churches of Zurich and Basle equally warm testimonials of love. The German reformers seem to have taken little interest in the Vaudois; not so the Swiss, who were consequently brought into close relation with the church of the valleys, as we shall have occasion presently to show.

When Rome had fairly recovered from the shock which the Reformation seemed to have given her, and her political difficulties were removed, she gathered all her energies for a mighty effort to regain her lost provinces and exterminate heresy from Europe. The Vaudois would of course be among the very first to feel the effects of her renovated zeal and her whetted vengeance. Between the years 1550 and 1689 repeated attempts were made to extinguish the name of Vaudois, and utterly to eradicate those who bore it from their ancient homes, in the course of which scenes of barbarism and butchery, too horrible and soul-harrowing to be described, were enacted, but they all failed of attaining their end through the heroic bravery of the Vaudois, except the last one in 1687-8, and the success on this occasion was only temporary. Secure amid the fastnesses of the Alps the Vaudois might easily have bid defiance to their enemies, and had they been more disposed than they were to suspect the good faith of Romanists as well as of Rome, they would have saved themselves an incalculable amount of suffering, and might have dictated terms to their princes. Indeed one can hardly help feeling half indignant with the poor Vaudois for their very guilelessness, in the face of so many instances of foulest treachery on the part of prince and priest. There are Protestants who affect to regard it as a monstrous calumny when Romanists are charged with holding that no faith is to be kept with heretics. We have only to say, that if such persons have read the history of the Vaudois, their minds are impervious to proof. Suppose that we cannot quote a Tridentine canon in which the horrid maxim is formally enunciated; actions speak louder than words, and only the blindest prejudice can deny that in Savoy, France, Austria, and Ireland, the devotees of Rome, through her prompting, have repeatedly broken the most solemn faith with those whom she deems heretics. We readily own that there have been Romanists, the better feelings of whose nature have triumphed over their perverted consciences, and that even priests and prelates have sometimes shrunk back from the detestable dogma, but it is still true that the shameless violation of treaties and promises which disgraces the history of France and Savoy would never have occurred, but for the influence of the Roman church.

Every reader of Milton is doubtless familiar with that noble sonnet,

“Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered Saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold;
Even them who kept thy truth so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones
Forget not: in thy book record their groans
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese, who rolled
Mother with infant down the rocks.”

Milton refers in these affecting lines to a crusade against the Vaudois in his own day, in 1655, projected and carried out by the Society for propagating the faith and extirpating heretics. It was marked by such scenes of treachery and cold-blooded cruelty, that it brought upon its authors the reprobation of horrified Europe. The Duke of Savoy in order to escape the odium which the news of his baseness could not fail to excite in every humane breast, added meanness to cruelty by publishing in the face of Europe a statement notoriously false. The account of the persecution as given by Leger, the historian of the Vaudois, and by Morland, the English ambassador at the court of Savoy, is based upon official documents, and confirmed by the testimony of eye-witnesses. Well might the wretched Vaudois say, as they do in a letter to the Swiss Cantons, “our tears no longer consist of water; they are made up of blood; they not only obscure our sight, they suffocate our poor hearts.” Partly owing to the interference of the Protestant powers of Europe, but mainly in consequence of the indomitable valour of the Vaudois in the upper valleys, the crusade was brought to an end, and a new treaty made, guaranteeing their ancient rights. In this affair Rome, true to her nature, evinced her usual treachery. When the treaty was published, to the astonishment of the Vaudois and their Protestant friends, it was found to contain an article to which they had never agreed. Instant measures were taken to get it annulled, which were only partially successful; still the Vaudois lived in comparative quiet until 1686, when the Duke of Savoy, stimulated by the example of Louis XVI. who had just repealed the Edict of Nantes, resolved upon a fresh attempt to get rid of his Vaudois subjects. In the month of January 1686 an ordinance appeared, requiring them to conform to the Roman church or to abandon their valleys for ever. The Swiss Cantons, Holland, and the German princes

pleaded in vain for a reversal of the cruel order. Unhappily the Vaudois themselves were divided in sentiment as to the proper course to be taken; some urged an appeal to arms, others were for emigration; the last opinion prevailed, and accordingly the whole body including the women and children, the aged and the sick, prepared for the dismal journey across the Alps, in the depth of winter. They quit apparently for ever, their ancestral homes, and started for Switzerland. No words can do justice to the kindness with which they were welcomed by their brethren.

But among these exiles, there was one who could not extinguish the desire or give up the hope, idle as it seemed, of returning once more to the land of his father, and of taking with him his banished friends. It was the pastor Arnould, whose portrait is most fitly prefixed to one of the volumes before us. After several fruitless attempts, he at length succeeded in his purpose in 1689. The history of the "glorious return of the Vaudois to their valleys" is one of thrilling interest, and abounds with marvellous instances of God's providential care of his people. We are strongly tempted to dwell upon it, but we must forbear. We only add, that from their return in 1689, till the recent recognition of their rights, the course of Vaudois affairs flowed on in an even channel. They of course experienced a thousand annoyances at the hands of their Romish enemies, but no general persecution.

We have reserved a very limited space for the consideration of the faith and order of the Vaudois church. Her earliest confession of faith that has come down to us, dates from the year 1120. It consists of fourteen articles framed with the brevity characteristic of the formularies of ancient times, and it clearly shows that the faith of the Vaudois is, as we have before intimated, identical with that of the Reformed church on all the leading doctrines of the gospel. There is also a Vaudois Catechism, divided into eight chapters, which bears the date of 1100. But the most remarkable document, next to the Confession, is the Noble Lesson; it is in the form of a poem, and contains an exposition of doctrine, a set of moral precepts, and a testimony against the heresies and superstition of Rome, which is denounced as the predicted Antichrist. It appears that the doctrine of

the Vaudois church on the subject of Predestination became somewhat lax just before the Reformation began; but this evil tendency was speedily checked by the influence of that great event, and by the intimate relations into which she was brought with the Reformers, Farel, Bucer, Capito and Œcolampadius.

The order and discipline of the Vaudois church was, as it still is, essentially Presbyterian. We have a document bearing upon this subject, of uncertain date, but certainly anterior to the Reformation, as is proved by the testimony of Bucer and Melancthon, to whom it was submitted. "Discipline—says this document—is the body of all the moral doctrine taught by Christ and his apostles, showing to each one how he should live and walk in righteousness by faith, and what should be the communion of believers in the same love of goodness, and the same separation from evil. To attain this end, the church has pastors who direct her." Then we have an account of the way in which the Barbes, as the Vaudois pastors were anciently called, trained aspirants for the ministry. "We make them learn by heart all the chapters of Matthew and John, all the canonical Epistles, and a large part of the writings of David, Solomon and the prophets; if they have a good character, they are admitted to the ministry by imposition of hands. Among other powers which God has given to his servants, is that of choosing the pastors who govern the people, and fix the elders in their charges, according to the diversity of work in the unity of Christ, as the apostle shows in his Epistle to Titus, "for this cause left I thee in Crete." "When any pastor is dishonoured by falling into sin, he is ejected from our company and from the office of preaching."

Some English writers have attempted to prove that the Vaudois church was partially hierarchical in her constitution; but as M. Monastier shows, there is not the least ground for this assertion. Her Episcopacy like that of our own church was purely congregational. "The Barbes," says the document already quoted, "shall meet once a year in general synod, to examine and admit to the holy ministry, students who are found qualified, and to nominate those who shall visit the churches in foreign lands." These synods were attended by ruling elders, as well as by pastors (*regidors*) who were chosen

by the people to aid the ministry of the word, in the government of the church. In short, in the ancient Vaudois church, with some slight peculiarities resulting from her circumstances, we recognize a modern Presbyterian one.

Our author has a delightful chapter on the missionary character of the Vaudois church during the middle ages. She gave decisive evidence that she was a living witness for Christ, by the holy influence which she sought everywhere to spread. Her missionaries two by two, one of age and experience joined to one with the dew of his youth upon him, traversed nearly all the countries of Europe. Her colporteurs going forth ostensibly to sell the precious productions of human art, found access to many of the noble and refined, and not unfrequently left behind them, in the palaces of the great, the infinitely more precious treasure of the word of life. But we may not enlarge on the enticing theme, and we shall only add the earnest hope that these charming volumes may be at no distant day made accessible to the mere English reader.

ART. VII.—*Unity and Diversities of Belief even on Imputed and Involuntary Sin; with Comments on a Second Article in the Princeton Review relating to a Convention Sermon.* By Edwards A. Park, Abbot Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July 1851, p. 594–647.

It is not our intention to reply to the long article of which the title is given above. Our object in what follows is to present in few words our reasons for putting an end to the discussion between Professor Park and ourselves, so far as we are concerned.

His Convention Sermon presented three legitimate topics for discussion. 1. The nature of the theory therein proposed. 2. The correctness of that theory, and 3. Its value as a general solvent of all allowable creeds. We have endeavoured to adhere strictly to these points. In that sermon our author set forth a theory which he seemed to think new and important. He applied that theory to neutralize some of the great doctrines

of the Bible. It was incumbent on those to whom those doctrines are dear, and who saw them evaporating, in Professor Park's alembic, into thin air, to examine the nature of the process, and to ascertain whether it was a real discovery or only another Paine-light. Professor Park is very importunate in urging that we should drop this subject, and take up a very different one. After presenting in an interrogative form a variety of objections to the doctrine of inherent sin, he says, "We request an answer to these questions as a *favour*. We are entitled to demand such answer as a *right*."* We cannot accept this challenge. It may suit Professor Park's purposes to divert attention from the real point at issue, but we are not disposed to aid him in the attempt. In our preceding article we distinctly stated the subject we intended to discuss. After presenting an outline of the two great systems of doctrine, which have so long been in conflict, we said, "The question is not which of the antagonistic systems of theology above described is true; or whether either is true. Nor is the question, which of the two Professor Park believes. His own faith has nothing to do with the question. . . . The point to be considered is not so much a doctrinal one, as a principle of interpretation, a theory of exegesis and its application. The question is, whether there is any correct theory of interpretation by which the two systems above referred to can be harmonized. Are they two theologies equally true, the one the theology of the intellect, the other the theology of the feelings? or, in other words, are they different forms of one and the same theology?"† On the same page we say, we proposed, 1. To show that the above statement of the question was correct, (*i. e.* that Professor Park had really undertaken the task of reconciling the Augustinian and anti-Augustinian systems of theology), 2. To consider the success of this attempt, and 3. To examine the nature of the theory by which that reconciliation has been attempted. The prosecution of this plan involved the careful statement of the doctrines to be harmonized by the new theory, but it excluded a discussion of the truth of those doctrines. When, therefore, Professor Park calls upon us, with such authority, to

* Bib. Sac. p. 646.

† Princeton Review, April, 1851, p. 320.

answer his objections to the doctrine of original or inherent sin, he is travelling out of the record.

Again, where is this matter to end? The two systems which Professor Park proposes to harmonize embrace almost the whole range of theology, in its two great departments of anthropology and soterology. Are we to go over the whole of this ground? Must we write a system of polemic theology in answer to a Convention Sermon? This is a great deal more than we bargained for. When we ran out of the harbour in our yacht to see what "long, low, black" schooner was making such a smoke in the offing, we had no expectation to be called upon to double Cape Horn. Our author indeed confines his present challenge to the discussion of imputed and involuntary sin; but these are only two out of a long concatenation of doctrines embraced in these systems; and if we admit his right to demand a discussion of these at our hands, we concede his right to keep us busy to the end of our days. We beg to be excused. Our relation to Adam, the effect of his sin upon his posterity, the nature of sin, ability and inability, regeneration, grace, predestination, and election; the work of Christ, justification, faith, and perseverance, topics on which thousands of volumes have been written, are some of the subjects on which Professor Park assumes the right to call us out at pleasure. This is one of the numerous mistakes into which our author has been betrayed by a want of due discrimination. The truth of his theory and the truth of Augustinianism are two very different things. We are open to all fair demands as to the former, but we never volunteered to defend "Gibraltar" against his attacks.

Again, where is the necessity for any such discussion? Why should we again go over ground rendered hard by the footsteps of generations? Why discuss anew questions which have been debated every ten years since the days of Augustin? Why trouble ourselves to pick up and send back spent balls which have been discharged a thousand times before to no purpose? Every generation has indeed its own life to live. It must fight out its own battles, which are only a repetition of the conflicts of former ages. The same great questions are constantly recurring, and must be settled anew by every seeking soul. But these are mostly personal struggles. The doctrines are fixed.

They have taken their place in the settled faith of the Church; and the real struggle is in the breast of each individual, to come to a comprehension, appreciation, and acknowledgment of the truth. To help such individuals in their inward conflicts, to vindicate the faith from misapprehension, to commend it fairly to the acceptance of men, is now, in great measure, the work of the theological teacher. That there is a God; that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are three persons, the same in substance, equal in power and glory; that God was manifested in the flesh for the redemption of man; that Jesus Christ our Lord is very God and very man in two distinct natures and one person for ever; that he died for our sins and rose again for our justification; that we are saved by faith in Christ as the Son of God, who loved us and gave himself for us; that the race whose nature he assumed, and whom he gave his life to redeem is a fallen race—born in sin—by nature the children of wrath, under condemnation from their birth, infected with a sinful depravity of nature, by which they are disabled and indisposed to all spiritual good, and therefore must be born again, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God, are no longer open questions among Christians. These doctrines are part of the settled faith of Christendom, included in the creeds of all churches, Greek, Latin, Lutheran and Reformed. We are aware that these doctrines are liable to assault from various quarters, and that every man should be prepared to give a reason for the hope that is in him. But this is no reason why we should treat the whole Christian system as something unsettled, to be discussed anew with every individual who may choose to assail any of its fundamental principles. It is time that men should feel and acknowledge that assaults against matters of common faith, are attacks, not against opinions of men, but against Christianity; so that the position of the assailant may be defined from the beginning. If the point assailed can be shown to be part of the common faith of the Church, then we think the necessity for further debate is, in all ordinary cases, at an end. We hold to no infallibility of the Church, but we hold to the certain truth of what all Christians believe. The fact of their agreement admits of no other solution than the teaching of the Spirit of truth, who dwells in all

believers. We regard it, therefore, as a matter of great importance that such questions should not be open, at least within the Church (*i. e.* among Christians) to perpetually renewed agitation. The Church has new conflicts enough before her, without fighting over and over her former battles.

Again, there is nothing new as to substance or form, in Professor Park's objections to call for special attention. They are presented somewhat more rhetorically than usual, but with less than common logical force and discrimination. They are the old, ever recurring, and constantly repeated difficulties, which arise partly from the nature of the subject, and partly from the apparent impossibility of disabusing the mind of misconceptions to which it has become wedded. Language is at best an imperfect vehicle of thought, and when men have become accustomed to associate certain ideas with certain terms, they find it very difficult to free themselves from such trammels. There is a large class of words to which Professor Park attaches a meaning different from that in which they are used by theologians of the Reformed Church, and he, therefore, unavoidably misunderstands and misrepresents their doctrines. To this class of terms belong such words as imputation, guilt, punishment, condemnation, satisfaction, justification, nature, natural, moral, disposition, voluntary, &c. In numerous cases he perverts these words from their established sense, and then pronounces judgment with the greatest confidence, on doctrinal propositions, of whose meaning he has no distinct apprehension. If instead of reading here and there a page in Turretin, through dark green spectacles, which turn every thing into spectres, he would read his whole work through with unclouded eyes, he would find himself in a new world, and would be saved the trouble of asking a multitude of irrelevant questions.

We will give specimens of the Professor's objections to justify our description of their character. He represents the doctrine of the imputation of Adam's sin, for example, as involving an unintelligible oneness of the race with Adam; an assumption that men sinned before they existed; that the moral character of the act imputed is transferred; that men, being regarded as morally guilty of Adam's sin, are, contrary to all justice, punished for it. The true doctrine on this subject is nothing more

nor less than that the sin of Adam is the judicial ground of the condemnation of his race. There is no mysterious oneness of the race, no transfer of moral character, no assumption of the moral guilt of men for the sin of Adam, involved in the doctrine. Professor Park knows this, for he himself makes the question on this subject to be, whether God exercises distributive justice or sovereignty towards us, in causing us to suffer for the sin of Adam.* If, then, our author is able for himself thus to eliminate the unessential elements of this doctrine, why does he overload it with all his queries and difficulties about oneness, transfer of character, &c. &c.? If, as Professor Park says, the whole dispute is about the word punishment, or, in other words, whether the evils brought upon our race by the sin of Adam be judicial or sovereign inflictions, then imputation does not involve any transfer of the moral character of the act imputed. This is still further plain, not only from the explicit declarations of the advocates of the doctrine, but also from the notorious fact, that no other imputation of the offence of Adam is acknowledged or contended for, than is asserted when it is said our sins were imputed to Christ, and his righteousness is imputed to believers. Every one knows it would be a gross calumny against the Lutheran and Reformed churches, to say they teach the transfer of moral turpitude (or moral ill-desert) to the Lord Jesus, or of the moral excellence of his righteousness to his people. The imputation of sin to Christ did not render him unholy, nor does the imputation of his righteousness render us holy. Why then should it be contended that the imputation of Adam's sin renders his race morally guilty of his transgression?

As to the objection that it is unjust to condemn men for a sin not personally their own, there are three modes of answer.

* Bib. Sacra, p. 616, *et seq.* What is more remarkable, our author, after stating at great length the old theory of imputation, and making it include "a common existence" in Adam, ante-natal sin, and transfer of moral ill-desert, and laboriously sustaining his representations by a long array of misunderstood quotations, says, at last, p. 621, "The dispute turns chiefly on this word, punishment, and is *merely verbal*!" We never saw a house built with so much trouble thus recklessly pushed over by its author. If the old doctrine differs from the new simply in the use of a word, then the former does not involve all the absurdities and atrocities which through so many weary pages he had been attributing to it. We cannot see why we should be called upon to answer objections which their author thus summarily disposes of.

First, it may be shown that the objection bears with aggravated force against those who deny the doctrine of imputation. They admit that evils only less than infinite come upon the race in consequence of Adam's sin; that God as a sovereign determined that if Adam sinned all his race should sin; he decreed to bring men into existence with such a constitution of their nature and under such circumstances, as to render their becoming sinners absolutely certain, and then to condemn them to eternal misery for the sin thus committed, in the first dawn of reason. All this is done in sovereignty. The other doctrine teaches that the evils which afflict our race on account of Adam's sin, are part of the just penalty of that transgression. Professor Park himself says, "Our calamities hang suspended on the sovereign purpose of heaven: we say, directly; he (his Reviewer) says, indirectly: we say, without any intervening links; he says, with the intervening links of imputation, guilt, &c."* When we first read this sentence we could hardly believe that Professor Park had been given up to speak the truth thus simply and clearly. It is precisely as he states it. A man is put to death, he says, by a sovereign act: we say, with the trifling intermediate links of guilt and just condemnation. He is welcome to all the converts he can make by this statement of his case.

A second method of answering this charge of injustice is, to show that it bears against undeniable facts in the providence of God. It is vain to say any thing is wrong which God actually does. It is a plain fact that the penalty threatened against Adam in case of transgression has been inflicted on his posterity. Death, the pains of child-birth, the unfruitfulness of the earth—all the visible manifestations of God's displeasure, fell upon the race as well as upon the original transgressors. These evils were denounced as a curse, as a penalty, and as such they have come on all mankind.

A third answer to this objection is found in the express declarations of Scripture. The Bible does not say we are merely pardoned, by a sovereign act, on account of Christ's death; but that we are *justified* by his blood. Neither does it

* Bib. Sacra, p. 617.

say we suffer certain evils inflicted in a sovereign manner, of which Adam's sin is the occasion; but it says, we are *condemned* for that sin. If justification means more than pardon, then condemnation means more than the sovereign infliction of evil. This is Paul's method of answering difficulties. If an objection can be shown to bear against the providence or the word of God, it is thereby handed up to a higher tribunal, where the objector can prosecute it or not, as he sees fit.

Another subject on which our author has many difficulties is the doctrine of inability—or the denial of the doctrine “that ability limits responsibility; that men are responsible only so far as they have adequate power to do what is required of them; that they are responsible for nothing that is not under the control of the will.”* On this subject there are three forms of doctrine more or less prevalent in this country. The first is that of plenary or adequate power; the second, the doctrine that man is naturally able, but morally unable to keep the commandments of God; the third, the doctrine that since the fall men are both “indisposed and disabled” to all spiritual good. The symbols of the Lutheran and Reformed churches which inculcate this last mentioned view of the subject, clearly teach, first, that since the fall man retains all his faculties of soul and body, and is, therefore, still a free, moral agent; second, that he not only has the power of choosing or refusing what is agreeable or disagreeable, but has the power of performing things “civilly good;” the inability asserted is restricted to things spiritually good, or things connected with salvation; thirdly, that this inability arises out of the sinful state of the soul, and is removed by spiritual regeneration and the co-operation of the Holy Ghost. The second form of this doctrine mentioned above, is a kind of neutral ground, and is a very convenient hiding and dodging place. Many who profess that view of the subject, mean by natural ability nothing more than what the old theologians mean by man's free agency; and by moral inability they mean what those divines intend, when they say men are since the fall disabled and indisposed to all spiritual good. On the other hand, however, there are many who understand

* *Princeton Review*, April, 1851, p. 309.

by natural ability, plenary power; and the only inability which they admit, is a disinclination which it is in the power of the will, *i. e.*, of the sinner in the exercise of his natural strength, to remove.

With regard to Professor Park's objections to the old doctrine on this subject, we have but three remarks to make. First: Most of his difficulties arise from his not understanding the question. He overlooks the limitations and explanations of the doctrine given in the Protestant confessions. We no more believe than Professor Park does, that men can be under obligation to create a world by their own power. The old doctrine does not represent the inability of the sinner as being the same in kind, though as invincible in degree, as that of the blind to see, or of the deaf to hear. The inability of the blind to see does not arise out of their moral state, has not reference to moral acts, and is not removed by a moral change. It is, therefore, of an entirely different nature from the inability under which the sinner is represented to labour. The objection, therefore, which takes for granted their identity, is simply an *argumentum ad ignorantiam*. Secondly: Whether men are, or are not, able of themselves to do all that God requires, is a question of fact, and is to be determined accordingly. Where is the man who has ever regenerated himself? Where is the man who has loved God perfectly even for one hour, much less for a lifetime? Where is the sinner who, by any exercise of his natural strength, though in imminent danger of perdition, can turn himself unto God? Let Professor Park, with all his boasted power, go on his knees and utter ten sentences in a manner to satisfy his own conscience. He knows he could not do it, if the salvation of the world depended on it. The plain, simple fact of consciousness and observation, is that men cannot do what they know they are bound to do; and every denial of this fact is either palpably false, or true only in an esoteric and deluding sense. As every man knows that his affections are not under the control of his will, the only way to sustain the doctrine, that ability is the measure of obligation, is to take the ground that we are not responsible for our affections; that the command to love is absurd; and then the very foundation of religion and morals is overthrown. Thirdly: As the Scriptures nowhere tell men

they can regenerate themselves, but expressly declare that the natural man cannot discern the things of the Spirit of God, so that blessed Agent, in leading men to a knowledge of themselves, uniformly convinces them of their entire helplessness, *i. e.* that they cannot of themselves repent, believe, or even think any good thought. It is not a matter of surprise, therefore, that the doctrine of adequate power, or that men "can by their natural strength turn themselves unto God," is repudiated as anti-Christian no less by Romanists than by Protestants. It is just as abhorrent to the theology of New England, as it is to that of the Reformed church.

It is, however, on the subject of involuntary sin that Professor Park is most zealous, and on which he seems most confident of carrying the public sympathy with him. The term *involuntary* is not very happily chosen, as it is used in very different senses. Any thing may be said to be voluntary which inheres in the will, or which flows from an act of the will, or which consists in such an act. Then again, the word *will* may be taken to include all the "active powers" of the mind, so that all liking and disliking are acts of the will; or it may be taken in the stricter sense for the imperative faculty of the mind, or power of self-determination. In this sense, only acts of choice, volitions generic or imperative, are acts of will. To say that all sin is voluntary in the first of these senses, is a very different thing from saying it is voluntary in the sense last mentioned. Yet it is easy and very tempting to quote, as Professor Park does, Augustin's admission that all sin is voluntary in one sense, as an authority for teaching it is voluntary in a sense which would overthrow the whole of that father's system.

On this subject of original sin, we have in this country three principal forms of doctrine. The first is founded on the principle that all sin consists in the voluntary transgression of known laws; whence it follows that whatever may be the condition of human nature since the fall, there is nothing of the nature of sin in man until in his own person he voluntarily transgresses the law of God. The second is "the exercise scheme," which assuming that the soul itself is a series of exercises, teaches that moral agency begins at the commencement of the existence of the soul, and that since the fall all moral

exercises, though "created" by God, are sinful, until at regeneration a holy series is commenced. The third is the common doctrine that men derive from Adam a sinful nature, *i. e.* that they are born destitute of original righteousness, and with unholy dispositions or principles, which corruption of nature is commonly called original sin. This, beyond the possibility of doubt is the doctrine embodied in the symbols, inculcated in the teaching, and implied in the rites of every Christian church. Our author indeed says that *some* theologians have taught this doctrine.* Some indeed! He might as well admit that some men have eyes. True or false, the doctrine of inherent, hereditary, sinful corruption of human nature since the fall, is part of the faith of the whole Church. In assailing that doctrine, Professor Park arrays himself, not against some theologians, but against the Christian world, and he should have the courage to acknowledge his position. He denies a doctrine, the rejection of which, (connected with the assertion of plenary powers,) Edwards says, does away with the necessity of redemption. He puts himself in special opposition to the faith of the New England churches; for the New England divines, the less they made of imputation, the more stress did they lay on inherent sin.

Most of Professor Park's objections to this doctrine belong to one or the other of two classes; they either arise from misapprehension, or they involve a *petitio principii*. The source of a large part of them is indicated in the following sentence: "A thorough Calvinist can no more believe in the passive sin of the heart, than he can believe in the sin of the muscles and veins."† It is assumed that *nature* means the essence of the soul with its constitutional faculties and sensibilities. A sinful

* Bib. Sac. p. 628. "What is the theory of passive, inherent sin? Our reviewer frankly defines his doctrine when he says that we have 'an innate, hereditary, sinful corruption of nature;' that we have derived from Adam 'a nature not merely diseased, weakened, or predisposed to evil, but which is 'itself' as well as 'all the motions thereof truly and properly sin.' Having already admitted that many theologians have believed in our moral guilt for the crime of Adam, we also admit that some have believed in our moral guilt for the very make of our souls. The two themes have by some been indissolubly blended, and it has been, therefore, maintained that our inherent as well as our imputed sin is ill deserving, and is justly punishable with the second death."

Bib. Sac. p. 642.

nature, therefore, must mean a sinful substance, something made. Hence the objections about physical depravity, God's being the author of sin, the absurdity of men being responsible for the "make" of their souls, &c. &c. All these objections are swept away by the simple remark, that nature in such connexion means natural disposition, and is expressly declared not to mean essence or substance. Cannot a man have a new nature without having a new soul? Cannot we believe in a holy nature without believing in holy muscles? In every rudimental treatise on original sin our author will find distinctions and definitions which ought to have precluded the possibility of his advancing such objections as these.

Another class of his difficulties arise from his taking for granted there can be no such thing as moral dispositions, as distinct from active preferences. To him it appears an axiom that all sin consists in sinning. "What," he asks, "is the passive voice of the verb *sin*? What is the inactive form of the word *evil-doers*? Why is language made without any such phrases as to endure or suffer criminality without any criminal volition?"* These are some of the questions to which he says he has a right to demand an answer. We would reply with all seriousness and respect, that years ago, when we were harassed by the same difficulties, we derived more satisfaction from Edwards on the Religious Affections, and from his work on Original Sin, than from any other source. We there found a philosophical exhibition of the nature of dispositions, principles, or habits, as distinguished from acts; and a clear demonstration that such dispositions, whether innate, infused, or acquired, may have a moral character. The venerable father of New England theology taught us that it was "not necessary that there should first be thought, reflection, and choice, before there can be any virtuous disposition;"† and therefore that it is not inconsistent with the nature of virtue that Adam should be created "with holy principles and dispositions." He showed us that as it was possible for Adam to be holy, before any act of preference, so it is possible for man to be unholy before any such act. He made it plain to us that the Scriptures every

* Bib. Sac. p. 645.

† Edwards on Original Sin, p. 140.

where inculcate the doctrine that there may be, and are, moral principles distinct from moral acts and antecedent to them, in the distinction which they make between the tree and its fruits, between the heart and the thoughts, feelings, and preferences which proceed out of it; in their description of the natural state of men as born in sin, and by nature the children of wrath; in their representing even infants as needing redemption and regeneration; and in their account of the new birth, as the infusion of a new life, a holy principle, inherent and permanent, as the source of all holy preferences, feelings, words and works. He pointed out to us a fact which seems to have escaped Professor Park's notice, viz. that all human languages, (so far as known) bear the impress of this distinction between moral principles and moral acts. A good or bad man means something more than a man whose preferences are good or bad, whose acts are right or wrong. It is implied in such expressions that there are certain abiding moral states which constitute the man's character, and afford ground of assurance what his acts will be. He further showed us how deeply this doctrine entered into the religious experience of God's people, and how intimately it is connected with the whole scheme of redemption. It is not for us to retail his arguments, but we apprize Professor Park that if he hopes to succeed in his present course, or to carry with him the sympathy and confidence of New England, the first thing he has to do is to answer Edwards on the Will, Edwards on the Affections, and Edwards on Original Sin. When he has done this, it will be time enough to come all the way down to us. In the mean while, we think it best to step aside, and let him face his real antagonist.*

Our first general reason then for discontinuing this discussion is, that our author, instead of adhering to the true question in debate, wishes to introduce a doctrinal controversy for which we feel no vocation and see no occasion. Our second reason is

* Should Professor Park accomplish the task indicated in the text, he will find his work scarcely begun. There is *Julius Müller's* "*Lehre von der Sünde*," the most elaborate and philosophical work on the subject of sin, which has appeared since the Reformation. That work must be answered, and then he will have before him all the great army of Romanist and Protestant divines; and when all these are disposed of, he will be prepared for Augustin, and after him for PAUL. We humbly hope to be in heaven long before our turn comes.

to be found in his manner of conducting the discussion. He represents our articles as little else than a series of misstatements, and our method of argument as little better than "nick-naming." See pp. 628 and 605, *et passim*. He will not, therefore, object to our respectfully pointing out some particulars in which it appears to us he has come short.

In the first place, we think his articles are, to a great degree, characterized by evasions, and playing with words. For example, one point of distinction between the two systems of theology, is that the one teaches that the sufferings of Christ were penal, the other that they were simply didactic; that is, designed to exhibit truth and make a moral impression. This point is evaded by the remark that the author only denied that Christ suffered the *entire* penalty of the law, which his Reviewer must admit, as he does not hold that Christ suffered remorse. Another point of difference is, as to whether the law of God is set aside in the salvation of sinners, or whether its demands are satisfied by the righteousness of Christ. This corner is turned by saying that what he rejects is *complete* satisfaction, which his Reviewer cannot maintain, as he admits the law to be still binding as a rule of duty. Again, the theology of the intellect, we are told, would not suggest the *unqualified* remark that Christ has fully paid the debt of sinners. Here the pirouette is performed on the word *unqualified*, and the real point is left untouched. To such an extent is this word-play carried, that language seems in his hands to lose its meaning. He can make any thing out of any thing. In his former article, setting up himself and his Reviewer as representatives of opposite systems, he showed that there was nothing the latter could say in the matter of doctrine which he could not say too; and in the present article, he "avows before the wide world" his hearty belief that we are regarded and treated as sinners on account of Adam's sin, that we are punished for it, by which, he says, he means that we "are not punished in the most proper sense." (See p. 623.) Thus the words, satisfaction, impute, ability, inability, &c., &c., are kept going up and down like a juggler's balls, until no man can tell what they mean, or whether they have any meaning at all. We feel ourselves to be no match for our author in such a game as this, and

therefore give the matter up. He may keep the balls going, and we will take our place among the admiring spectators.

In the second place, we object to the personal character which he has given the discussion. The only interest which our readers can be presumed to take in this matter, relates to the truths concerned. But our author seems far more anxious to prove that his Reviewer contradicts himself and agrees with him, than to establish the truth of his theory. This *ad hominem* method of argument is greatly commended by our author's friends, and considered very effective. Were he ever so successful in his attempts to convict his Reviewer of self-contradiction, we cannot see that he would be much the better for it. His theory would remain unproved and its evil tendencies uncounteracted. In our partial judgment, however, our author nowhere appears to less advantage than in these personal attacks. To make sure of his object he goes back twenty years, and ascribes to us articles in this Review some of which we probably never even read. Taking such a sweep as this it is hard that he should catch nothing. We will select what we consider the most plausible examples of self-contradictions, examples over which our author has specially triumphed, and show in few words the source of his mistake.

In our former article we denied that ability or adequate power is the measure of obligation. As a direct contradiction to this, he quotes from the Biblical Repertory for 1831, the passage, "Man cannot be under obligation to do what requires powers which do not belong to his nature and constitution." This, he says, ends the strife. These propositions are not only perfectly consistent, but it is the express object of the writer of the article for 1831 to teach the very doctrine that ability is not the measure of obligation, and this Professor Park could not possibly fail to see and know, if he read the article he quotes. The above propositions are consistent, for the one does not affirm what the other denies. The one affirms that nothing can be obligatory which transcends the powers of our nature and constitution. The examples given by the writer are, that a rational act cannot be required of an irrational animal, nor a man be required to transport himself to heaven. The other simply denies that adequate power, or as it is explained, the power of the

will, is the measure of obligation; for example, it is not necessary that a man should be able to change his affections at will in order to his being responsible for them. The object of the writer is thus distinctly stated: "The maxim," he says, "that obligation to obey a command supposes the existence of an ability to do the act required, relates entirely to actions consequent on volitions." "Man," he says further, "cannot alter the perceptions of sense; he cannot excite affections to any objects at will. . . . We utterly deny," he adds, "that in order to a man's being accountable and culpable for enmity to God, he should have the power of instantly changing his enmity to love."* Where is now the contradiction between the Repertory of 1831 and the Repertory of 1851? And where is now our author's self-respect?

On page 630 he goes still further back, and quotes from the Repertory of 1830, the proposition; "the loss of original righteousness and corruption of nature are penal evils;" whereas in another place, the Repertory says, "we do not teach, however, that sin is the punishment of sin." Professor Park asks, "What are we to believe? *Now*, original sin is a penal evil; but *then*, we do not teach that sin is penal!" Taken in their connexion these propositions are perfectly consistent. It is a common objection to the doctrine of original sin that it represents sin to be the punishment of sin. To this it is answered, that if this means either that God causes men to commit one sin as a punishment for having committed another, or that he infuses evil principles into men's hearts as a punishment of their own or of Adam's sin, then we deny that sin is the punishment of sin. As these are the senses in which objectors are wont to use the expression, it is perfectly proper and perfectly intelligible to deny that we teach what they charge upon us, when they say sin is the punishment of sin. On the other hand it is perfectly intelligible and perfectly correct to express the idea that original sin is the certain consequence of God's judicial abandonment of our race, by saying, it is a penal evil. Paul teaches Rom. i. 24, that God judicially abandons men to unclean-

* Biblical Repertory, July 1831.

ness, and that immorality is a punishment of impiety. In this sense sin is the punishment of sin. But in the sense that God causes men to sin, or infuses sin into them, as objectors say, sin is not the punishment of sin. Cannot our author understand this? The Bible says, God does not tempt men; in other places it says, He does tempt them. The Apostle says, the heathen know God, and in another place that they do not know him. What would be thought of a sceptic who should try to overthrow the authority of Scripture by parading such verbal contradictions as contradictions in doctrine?

Again, the denial that nature, in the sense of essence, is or can be sinful, is represented as contradicting the assertion, that nature in the sense of moral disposition, can have a moral character; and the assertion that the Augustinian system characteristically exalts the sovereignty of God, is inconsistent with saying that the opposite system represents the law of God, in the pardon of sinners, as being set aside by a sovereign act. In view of such contradictions, Professor Park asks, "What will this gentleman say next?" Why, he says he would just as soon spend his time in picking up pins as in answering such objections as these; of which we should say, in the language of feeling, there must be some hundreds in our author's two articles.

There is another class of these arguments *ad hominem*. There are certain familiar facts and principles which lend an air of plausibility to our author's theory, and which we were careful to distinguish from it. We admitted that figurative language and the language of emotion were not to be pressed unduly; that true believers agree much more nearly in their inward faith than in their written creeds; that the mind often passes from one state to another, at one time receiving as true what at another it regards as false. When in his search for contradictions the author finds in our pages the acknowledgment of such truths as these, he brings them forward with exultation as the very doctrine of his sermon. He quotes, for example, the following passage from the Biblical Repertory, Vol. xx. p. 140: "There is a region a little lower than the head, and a little deeper than the reach of speculation, in which those who think they differ, or differ in thinking, may yet rejoice in

Christian fellowship." On page 598 of his present article he says, "Lest our Reviewer suspect this remark of Germanism, let him have the goodness to re-peruse his own saying, 'this is a doctrine which can only be held as a theory. It is in conflict with the most intimate moral convictions of men;' and further, 'it is the product of the mere understanding, and does violence to the instinctive moral judgment of men;' and further still, 'even among those who make theology their study, there is often one form of doctrine for speculation, another, simpler and truer for the closet [!] Metaphysical distinctions are forgotten in prayer, or under the pressure of real conviction of sin, and need of pardon, and of divine assistance. Hence it is that the devotional writings of Christians agree far more than their creeds.'" We can almost pardon our author, considering the straits to which he is reduced, for quoting these passages as agreeing with the doctrine of his sermon. The difference between them is, however, we are sorry to say, essential.

It is a familiar fact of consciousness and observation that faith is sometimes determined by the understanding, and sometimes by the inward experience and instinctive laws of our nature. It is also a familiar fact that the convictions produced by the considerations presented by the understanding, give way when those considerations pass from the view of the mind, and it is brought under the influence of the feelings and the common laws of belief. Thus, a man may be a sincere idealist so long as the metaphysical arguments in favour of the system are before the mind; but as soon as the attention is withdrawn from those arguments, and the mind is brought under ordinary influences, he believes in the external world as truly as other men. Thus too, a man puzzled with the difficulties which beset certain doctrines, or controlled by his philosophical theories, may be a sincere Arminian; or he may really believe that responsibility is limited by ability, that he has no sin in him but his acts, and that he can change his heart by a volition. But when these theories are absent, and the mind is brought into contact with the simple word of God, or governed in its convictions by the inward teachings of the Spirit, he can adopt all the language of David or Augustin. Still further, it is not uncommon to meet with experiences similar to that of

Schleiermacher. He was educated as a Moravian, but became addicted to a Pantheistic form of philosophy, and wrote a system of divinity, which such men as Hengstenberg regard as subverting some of the essential doctrines of the gospel. Yet, he often relapsed into his former faith, and thought, felt, acted, and it is hoped, died as a Moravian. All this is true, and this, and nothing more than this, is contained in the extracts quoted by Professor Park from our pages. Has any one before our author, ever inferred from these facts, that idealism and materialism are different modes of one and the same philosophy; or that Arminianism and Calvinism, Moravianism and Pantheism, are but different forms of one and the same theology? Let it be remembered that Professor Park proposes to reconcile all allowable creeds; that he purposes to do this by his theory of two theologies, the one of the intellect, and the other of the feelings, distinguished not as true and false, but as "one system of truths exhibited in two modes,"* that he applies his method *ex professo* to harmonizing the Augustinian and anti-Augustinian systems, and in the article under consideration, applies his principles to the case of imputed and involuntary sin, for this reason among others, "that it is more difficult to reconcile the New England, and the old Calvinism, on these subjects, than on any other."† Is there not a difference between Professor Park and ourselves? Is there not a difference between saying that pious men, when not speculating, think and feel very much alike, and saying that conflicting creeds are one system of truths presented in different modes? Whether Professor Park has come to this conclusion by the same steps as the German theologians, or not, the fact is clear that the conclusion is the same. Their theory is, Christianity is a life and not a doctrine. Their conclusion is that this life manifests itself in different theologies, which differ not as true and false, but as the same system of truths in different modes. He says it is "an unworthy attempt," on our part, to link his sermon with the German theory. We expressly and repeatedly stated we intended no such thing,‡ though we are free to confess, it appears to us more

* Bib. Sac. p. 596.

† Bib. Sac. p. 607.

‡ Princeton Review, April, 1851, pp. 333, 337.

respectable to take the theory with the conclusion, than to take the conclusion without the theory. We would far rather adopt the Schleiermacher doctrine on this subject out and out, than the principle which to so great an extent pervades Professor Park's articles, of teaching error in the established formulas of truth.* We begin to suspect that when our author wrote his Convention Sermon, he had no developed theory whatever. There probably floated in his mind the simple principles, that men often say things in an excited state of the feelings, which mean more than their sober judgment can approve; that good people agree much nearer in experience than in their creeds; and that a man often changes his faith with his varying states of mind; and he thought he could, out of those principles, construct a scheme of union of all allowable creeds, and do away with the inconvenient distinctions of sound and unsound theology. But in the excitement of the work, his Pegasus ran away with him, and carried him over into the German camp, and when a friendly hand rouses him up and tells him where he has got to, he insists he is still safe at home.

There is another feature of Professor Park's mode of conducting this discussion, which is very little to our taste. He constantly endeavours to represent us as assailing New England theology. This is a *ruse de guerre* every way unworthy of a candid disputant. We stated as the three radical principles of the anti-Augustinian system—"First, that all 'sin consists in sinning;' that there can be no moral character but in moral acts; secondly, that the power to the contrary is essential to free agency; that a free agent may always act contrary to any influence, not destructive of his freedom, which can be brought to bear upon him; thirdly, that ability limits responsibility: that men are responsible only so far as they have adequate power to do what is required of them, or that they are responsible for nothing not under the control of the will."† If there is one characteristic of New England theology more pro-

* This, after all, appears to us the most objectionable feature of this whole theory, that it justifies the use of language out of its established sense. Professor Park has openly avowed that there is scarcely any form of expressing Old-School doctrine which he could not adopt.

† Princeton Review, April, 1851, p. 309.

minent than any other, it is opposition to these principles. The world-wide fame of President Edwards as a theologian, rests mainly on his thorough refutation of them in the works we have already referred to. In this opposition, Bellamy, Dwight, and the other great men of New England were no less strenuous than Edwards. The aberration of the advocates of the "Exercise Scheme," though it led them to a denial of at least the first of the above principles, was in the direction of ultra Calvinism. It was not until the rise of what is popularly called New Havenism, that these principles were rejected by any other class of New England divines reputed orthodox. It is Professor Park, and not we, who is the assailant of New England theology, a fact which he will not be able to conceal. We recently heard of certain Unitarian gentlemen who seemed honestly to believe that Trinitarianism is dying out in this country. It is possible that a similar hallucination may lead Professor Park to regard the little coterie to which he belongs as all New England.

Again, there is not in the long article under consideration any frank and manly discussion of principles. His great object seems to be to elude pursuit by a copious effusion of ink. We had two leading objects in our late review. The one was to state clearly what it was our author proposed to accomplish; and the other was, to examine the means by which he endeavoured to attain his end. We endeavoured to show that the task which he undertook, was to reconcile the two great conflicting systems of theology, the Augustinian and the anti-Augustinian; and then we endeavoured to set forth the theory, under its different aspects, by which this reconciliation was to be effected. If he intended his "Comments" to be an answer to our review, it was incumbent upon him to take up these points. He should have proved either that we had not fairly presented the two systems of theology referred to, or that they were not included under his category of allowable creeds. Or if satisfied as to these points, he should have shown either that we misapprehended his theory, or that that theory was philosophically true. So far as we can discover, he has hardly made a show of attempting to accomplish any one of these objects. We therefore do not feel it necessary to pursue the subject any

further. If, on the other hand, our author did not intend his "Comments" as an answer; we have, of course, nothing to say. In either case we remain unanswered.

We hope the reasons above given will satisfy our friends of the propriety of our discontinuing this discussion. We have one other, which, we trust we may present without offence. It is a common remark that a man never writes any thing well for which he has "to read up." Professor Park has evidently laboured under this disadvantage. Old-school theology is a new field to him; and though he quotes freely authors of whom we, though natives, never heard, yet he is not at home, and unavoidably falls into the mistakes which foreigners cannot fail to commit in a strange land. He does not understand the language. He finds out "five meanings of imputation!" It would be wearisome work to set such a stranger right at every step. We would fain part with our author on good terms. We admire his abilities, and are ready to defer to him in his own department. But when he undertakes to teach Old-school men Old-school theology, it is very much like a Frenchman teaching an Englishman how to pronounce English. With the best intentions, the amiable Gaul would be sure to make sad work with the dental aspirations.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Epoch of Creation. The Scripture Doctrine contrasted with the Geological Theory. By Eleazar Lord. With an Introduction by Richard W. Dickinson, D. D., New York: Charles Scribner, 145 Nassau street. 1851, pp. 311, 12mo.

THE fundamental position of the author, is that the Mosaic narrative is utterly incompatible with the present inductive theories of the geologists. He maintains that the pre-adamic antiquity of the earth, and the period of deposit of the stratified and fossiliferous rocks, are not questions of geological science at all; because, in the first place, geology has to do simply with the facts of the earth's structure, and not with the methods or agencies by which they were produced. And secondly, because it is expressly claimed in the inspired record, that these "facts" were brought about by miraculous agency, and not by the common forces of nature—which latter, alone, fall within the cognizance of science. He claims, therefore, not only that the geologists are wrong in their inductions, but that they are transcending the legitimate limits of science in making inductions at all.

There is always great danger of doing more harm than good, by attempting to argue a difficult question, without a complete knowledge of both sides. We fear our author will make but little impression, at least upon his scientific readers, from the palpably one-sided character of his argument. What he describes as the legitimate province of geological science, is nothing but the mere natural history of the subject. It is not science at all, in the true sense of the word. Science is not the simple knowledge and classification of phenomena, or "facts," but the knowledge and classification of the *laws* to which those phenomena are to be referred. It strikes us as unfortunate for the cause of our author, that he has stumbled at the outset of his argument, as to the primary question, what science is. He might with some show of reason have raised the question, whether geology is entitled to be classed as a science; he might have called in question the validity of its inductions, as hasty, or incomplete, or faulty; but in setting up a claim, that as a conceded branch of science, it transcends its legitimate sphere, in inquiring after the laws to which its classified phenomena are to be referred, we fear he will detach from him at once most of those whom, we presume, he is anxious to convince.

In regard to the second point we have specified, we appre-

hend our author is also at fault, in defining the *status questionis*, and the position of the parties. We do not understand the geologists, and certainly not Mr. Hugh Miller, and President Hitchcock, to whom he specially replies, as denying the interposition of miraculous agency, in the production of the contents of the earth's crust, or the fossiliferous deposits of its surface, but the reverse. The question is not whether the rocks with all their organic contents could not have been cast into their present form, by miraculous or supernatural power, but whether there is sufficient evidence to believe that they were. It is not a question that involves the denial of miracle, or of immediate divine agency, for these are admitted and argued against the sceptics with irresistible power, both by Mr. Miller and Dr. Hitchcock; but the question is, whether in point of fact, the phenomena are to be referred to such agency. No man who believes in the existence of God, as Hugh Miller remarks, will deny that he could have created the contents of an old grave yard just as they lie, with its crumbling bones, half decayed flesh and hair, and fragments of coffins, with pieces of nails in them, &c., but the question is whether any man in his senses can be brought to believe, that these exhumed materials of some unknown burial ground, were thus produced by some extraordinary exertion of creative power. So it is not denied, that the fossiliferous deposits of the earth's crust, the tracks of birds, the marks of ripples or rain drops on sand beaches, and the like, might have been created or miraculously produced in their present form; but the question is, whether there is reason to believe that they actually were so produced; or whether they are not due to the natural laws, whose imprint they bear.

If on the other hand, as really seems too palpable to be questioned without giving up the whole argument from design, the secondary rocks with their fossil enclosures, were formed, as the geologists claim, by deposit from a state of solution, or in other words, by the action of the laws of physics, then it would seem equally clear, that it is competent to inquire and determine further, under what circumstances the deposit was thrown down; whether rapidly, *e. g.* as the result of a sudden and brief catastrophe, or by slow and gradual deposition. And finally it must be obvious, that the determination of questions of this sort, can only be wisely made by those who are practically, and in detail, familiar with all the features of the phenomena on which they are called to pronounce. Now whatever may be said of the hasty, crude, and unsatisfactory character of geological inductions, it is a remarkable fact, that every practical geologist known to us, whatever his religious belief, and whatever his

prior convictions may have been, is brought to the conclusion, by a thorough and minute study of the facts, that there were races of organic beings on the earth living, and succeeding one another on definite and settled principles, before the existence of the human race. The unanimous and decided judgment of the professional geologists of all schools, for years past, is so strong a testimony to the probable truth of the conclusion, that we confess to a strong feeling of regret, when we see an attempt made to array the Scriptures against sciences, on which, in our judgment, they do not pronounce: at least not in the deliberate and carefully weighed terms of a scientific verdict. When we take up a purely theological or exegetical argument against the unanimous conclusions of geologists, Christian as well as others, we feel very much, as we fancy Mr. Lord himself would feel, as if some accomplished theological polemic should undertake to demonstrate, that the Newtonian theory of the universe was in irreconcilable contradiction with the plain didactic narrative of the inspired historian. We hope Mr. Lord, and others who adopt the same views, will pardon us for not being convinced by their arguments; but as hosts of Christian geologists prove to us, that the adoption of such conclusions does not make men either deists or infidels, we should greatly prefer to see the question left to a free discussion, until the truth shall be reached; rather than compel the devotees of geological science to renounce the authority of the Bible on all the momentous subjects of which it professes to treat, in case the theories of geology should turn out to be clear and irresistible inductions from "undisputed and unquestionable facts," as Mr. Lord admits the facts of geology to be.

Pictorial First Book for Little Boys and Girls. Presbyterian Board of Publication. Square 16mo. pp. 64.

Lessons of Life and Death; a Memorial of Sarah Ball, who died in her eighteenth year. By Elizabeth Ritchie. Philadelphia, Presbyterian Board of Publication, No. 265 Chestnut street. pp. 144, 18mo.

The Pictorial First Book is the most beautiful and appropriate book of its kind we have yet seen. The compilation of its contents appears to us remarkably happy; and the artistic finish of the illustrations greatly enhances its value as an instrument of education. We regard it as a highly valuable addition to the issues of the Board, small, and cheap, and unpretending as it is, and would recommend it to the notice of parents and teachers of small children, as far as our voice can reach.

The Memoir of Sarah Ball is one of those delightful, affecting, but melancholy pictures of cultivated youthful piety, which no one can look upon without being better for the sight. The

reader will see in the brief but suggestive heading of the chapters, sufficient evidence of the authoress's appreciation of the beautiful spirit which breathes, like fragrant odours, from these life-like tableaux of her friend. They are as follows: Seeking after Christ—Inward Conflict—The Public Resolve—Mental Cultivation—Life at Home—Death Shades gathering—The Banks of the River—Death—Conclusion.

English Literature of the Nineteenth Century: on the Plan of the Author's "Compendium of English Literature," and Supplementary to it. Designed for Colleges and Advanced Classes in Schools, as well as for private reading. By Charles D. Cleveland. Philadelphia, E. C. & J. Biddle, No. 6 South Fifth Street, 1851. pp. 746, 12mo.

The title page of this book is a sufficient advertisement of its character and contents. Those who have had occasion to consult the author's previous work, of which this is merely a continuation, will know what to expect. The criticisms are the modest but genuine expression of the author's own judgment; and the selections strike us generally as fair and just to the reputation of the respective authors. The biographical notices are necessarily very brief and rather jejune, and not, we think, remarkable for graphic skill. The author displays, in both his works, a wide range of literary reading, but does not appear to us to possess a very high order of critical taste. All his judgments command our respect for their honesty and candour; but they seldom rise to great warmth or liveliness of appreciation of pure æsthetic merit. The principles of his criticisms, especially in poetry, strike us as drawn too much from the intellect, and too little from original sensibility to the intuitive impressions of beauty, goodness, and truth. Perhaps, however, it is better to err upon that side than on the other; and though we might often differ from the author in our opinion of the merits of a writer, yet we are disposed to recommend his works as containing a great body of information on literary subjects, and as furnishing a safe and useful introduction to literary studies.

Dictionary of Shakspearian Quotations. Exhibiting the most forcible Passages illustrative of the various Passions, Affections, and Emotions of the Human Mind. Selected and arranged in Alphabetical order, from the Writings of the eminent Dramatic Poet. Philadelphia: published by F. Bell, 1851. pp. 418, 12mo.

A beautifully printed volume, containing a large collection, classed under topics, alphabetically arranged, of those quotations from Shakspeare, which constitute the chief literary wealth of the fashionable, non-producing classes in the empire of letters. Few are aware how much of the business of thought in this world, is transacted by means of this Shakspearian

currency; and all who wish to set up on credit, will here find a liberal and very convenient contribution to their resources. As a revelation of Shakspeare, of course, it is a mere collection of fragments, of superb sculpture, from the gorgeous temple of his poetry; but there are many to whom it will prove a highly valuable addition to their stock of available books. It is the best and most conveniently arranged collection of extracts we have seen.

A Series of Tracts on the Doctrines, Order, and Policy of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America: embracing several on practical subjects. Vol. 6. Philadelphia, Presbyterian Board of Publication.

This entire series of Tracts would form a most appropriate and valuable addition to the household library of every Presbyterian family. Those contained in the volume before us, are chiefly of a practical character: though we believe it is characteristic of the doctrinal teaching of Presbyterians, that it is either cast into a practical form, or drawn out in inferences and applications of that character.

The Canon of the Old and New Testaments Ascertained; or, the Bible complete without the Apocrypha and unwritten traditions. A new edition, revised for the Presbyterian Board of Publication. By Archibald Alexander, D.D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. Philadelphia, Presbyterian Board of Publication.

Our readers will be glad to see that the Board of Publication has filled this *hiatus* in the department of the Christian evidences, with a new and revised edition of this standard work, by Dr. Alexander. Every intelligent Christian should desire to know the rational grounds on which the Canon of Scripture is made up, though we are persuaded that few comparatively have any idea of the principles involved in the question. Every necessary facility will be furnished by this lucid and satisfactory exposition of the subject. If our voice could be heard through the Church, we would urge the introduction of this work as well as that on the direct Evidences of Christianity, by the same author, as a part of family religious instruction, which we hope will never lapse into disuse in the Presbyterian Church.

The Poetical Works of Wordsworth. Edited by Henry Reed. Philadelphia: Troutman & Hayes. pp. 727, large 8vo.

Poetry had degenerated from the wild freedom, or the simple sweetness of the early English period, into the cold artificial conventionalities of an objective art, in the hands of Pope and his imitators. For a long period England can hardly be said

to have produced a genuine poem: till Cowper poured the tide of song through the channels of his sad but rich and beautiful religious experience. We have always thought that the poetry of Cowper contains the true original germ, which was evolved under the culture of the Lake Poets, into the characteristic school of modern English poetry. It differs from Cowper indeed: but chiefly as the richer and more varied floral products of the later season differ from the violet that peeps through the fading snow-bank of the early spring. Of that school in its youthful vigour, the chief apostle of course was William Wordsworth. The great aim of Wordsworth and his co-labourers, and the fundamental idea of the Lake School, was, to transfer poetry from the *ideal* into the *actual* world. They seek to invest humanity with the drapery of moral beauty, and breathe into it the spirit of genuine poetry, just as they find it in real life, in its fallen estate, guilty, depraved, and wretched. The true function of the poetic faculty in their hands, is, to throw over the hard forms of society as it is, with its very diseases and derangements, an atmosphere of ideal beauty, like the lights and shades of a natural landscape; and so to awaken our interest and our delight in scenes and situations, of which, as Coleridge somewhere expresses it, "custom had bedimmed all the lustre, had dried up the sparkle and the dew-drops." This fundamental idea has been developed into the three characteristic principles of the school, viz. 1. That the character and essential passions of the heart, which furnish the highest theme of a true Christian poetry in its human relations, find a better soil in which they can attain their maturity, are less under restraint, and speak a plainer and more emphatic language, in low and rustic life, than in any other of its walks. 2. That to discern and appreciate these forms of beauty, and sources of poetry, we must cultivate our kindly, humane, and Christian sympathies—we must live right. And 3. That the very utterance and language, in which such poetry seeks to express its theme, must partake of the essential qualities, the unaffected naturalness, genuineness, and simplicity, of actual life.

Perhaps no subject appertaining strictly to literature, has elicited so much keen discussion and produced so sharp a division among critics of all classes, as the theory of poetry, drawn out and vindicated with so much art and ability by Wordsworth, in his famous Preface and the Supplementary Essay. The discussion was certainly productive of at least this good result, that it drew attention to certain principles vital to genuine poetry, and which had almost gone into disuse, during the artificial and heartless days of the Restoration. Into the merits of

this controversy we cannot enter in a notice like the present, not even to state the important truths which we conceive the theory, as intended by Wordsworth, and especially as defined and expounded by Coleridge, really involves. The extravagance to which it was carried out from a sort of parental partiality, especially by Wordsworth himself, accounts sufficiently for the keen ridicule and the confident logic with which it was assailed by the critics of the old school; while its characteristic truth to nature both physical and human, its lively sensibility and exquisite appreciation of beauty in both, and the undoubted marks of genius, in many of its finest productions, account, on the other hand, for the well considered, and, as we believe, decided vote, by which the leading organs of the critical world at the present day, have awarded a verdict of poetic immortality to its gifted authors, with all their faults. And faults they certainly have. Many of their themes, in the first place, are utterly beneath poetry. That they contain passages of simple beauty and pathos cannot be denied; but they are no more fit themes for genuine poetry, than a surgical operation on the ulcer on a beggar's limb. It requires something more than human sympathy or human feeling, it requires some form of the element of beauty to breathe a genuine poetic life into language, however smooth and melodious the versification.

And besides, the objection on the score of repulsiveness in a few cases, like *Betty Foy* and her *Idiot Boy*, there are not a few where the theme is simply *below* the sphere of poetry. Witness the *Blind Highland Boy*, who went to sea in

“A household tub, like one of those
Which women use to wash their clothes.”

This, doubtless, is far the most prevalent fault at least in the case of Wordsworth. But the greatest and most serious objection to the poetry of the Lake School, is that it is untrue to the pure, genuine forms and spirit of Christianity, from which any strictly modern and permanent school of poetry must draw its life. This allegation will be peculiarly ungracious to its admirers, but we cannot withhold the charge, much as our admiration of Wordsworth causes us to regret it. The poetry of the Lake School is religious; it is devotional: but it expresses its religious and devotional feelings in forms that are not purely Christian, to say the least. The emotion on which it founds its religion, is the sense of beauty in nature and humanity; and the divinity it worships, is too often the spirit of beauty incarnated in the same, and not the true, supreme, personal God of Christianity, the God and Father of our Lord and Saviour

Jesus Christ. The highest type of a true Christian poetry yet remains to be reached.

We ought to have said at the outset that this edition of Wordsworth is the most complete and altogether the most desirable one known to us.

The Religion of Geology and its connected Sciences. By Edward Hitchcock, D. D., LL.D., President of Amherst College, and Professor of Natural Theology and Geology. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co., 1851. pp. 511. 12mo.

This book commands our respect in an uncommon degree, by the sincerity and earnestness of its spirit, the timeliness of its aims, and the general ability and learning of its execution. We regard it as a highly interesting and valuable contribution towards popularizing science, and rendering it tributary to religious purposes: and as an unanswerable refutation of the sceptical tendencies of some of its cultivators. We are very far, however, from agreeing with many of the author's hypotheses, touching the minor and still unsettled facts of science, and still farther from assenting to much of the philology and hermeneutics which he quotes and endorses. The exegetical portions are far the least scholarly of the book. The chapters on the Eternity of the Universe, on the Hypothesis of Creation by Law, and on Special and Miraculous Providence, are noble examples of Christian argument, resting on the wide and solid basis of Christian science. To the chapter on the Future Condition and Destiny of the Earth we are disposed to take more exception. The conjectures—for of course they are nothing more—touching the resurrection-body, may be ingenious, and may perhaps satisfy some of the conditions of the problem; but they are entirely too hypothetical to enter into such a discussion. The chapter on the Telegraphic System of the Universe has some lofty, imposing and suggestive conceptions; but as a whole, it is unsatisfactory, refined, fanciful and credulous. It carries out Professor Babbage's train of thought, which we have always regarded as unscientific and *ad captandum*, to a much greater length and to much more questionable applications. The author fancies in the first place, that in its future body, composed of the ethereal matter whose varied phenomena constitute light, heat, electricity, &c., humanity will be rendered, not indeed omniscient, but omnipercipient of the present and the past, first by means of exquisitely subtle media, filling the entire universe, and conveying impressions of every occurrence, just as air conveys sound to the percipient beings that are within its sphere of audible recognition; and then, secondly, by so sharpening the sensibilities of the percipient, as to bring

everything in the universe within that sphere in each case. In the second place he claims as a result of the present physical constitution of matter, that all the impressions made upon this universal and sensitive medium, will be propagated like the waves that emanate from a pebble dropped into still water; and so rendered permanent and legible through eternity, by the sharpened senses of the spiritual body; very much as the rain marks or the fossil fauna are permanent and legible to our present senses, in the stony records of geology.

In explanation of what we mean by the author's credulity, we are sorry and disappointed to find him prepared to accept the "facts" of "mesmerism," (but of course not its theories) as sufficiently proved, unless we reject evidence that would "prove anything else;" and farther to regard it as an established fact, that "mind acts on mind without the intervention of body." Admissions like these are sadly out of place, to say the least, in a work on science.

The closing chapters on the Vastness of the Plans of Jehovah, and the Religious Bearings of Scientific Truth, are impressive and excellent; and free from any abatements of the kind we have mentioned.

Elements of Thought: or Concise Explanations of the Principal Terms in the several Branches of Intellectual Philosophy. By Isaac Taylor. Second American from the Ninth London Edition. New York: William Gowans, 1851. pp. 168, 12mo.

The repeated editions of this work, by an author recently so prolific and popular, argue a general demand for a book on the subject, and also a general approbation of the plan and execution of the work. Good definitions are valuable helps in the acquisition of knowledge, and particularly on the topics connected with Intellectual Philosophy: and the arrangement of the work is such, that a continuous study of it, presents the various topics as nearly as possible in systematic order. The plan of the work has an eye, therefore, to scientific arrangement, as well as scientific precision in definition.

Service Afloat and Ashore during the Mexican War. By Lieut. Raphael Semmes, U. S. N., late Flag Lieutenant of the Home Squadron, and Aide-Camp of Major General Worth in the Battles of the Valley of Mexico. Cincinnati: Wm. H. Moore & Co. 118 Main St. 1851. Philadelphia: W. S. Martien. New York: Baker and Scribner. 8vo. pp. 480.

The author's connexion both with the Navy and the Army, gave him extraordinary advantages for the treatment of his subject. He enters upon his task *con amore*, with a sufficiently enthusiastic apprehension of its most interesting features. "His object has been, by a hasty sketch of the physical and

moral condition of Mexico; by a review of her manners, customs, religion and laws; and by tracing accurately, though as briefly as possible, the principal events of our naval operations, and of General Scott's campaign, to give his countrymen a *coup d'œil*, not only of the war itself, but of our sister Republic, in her internal and more interesting relations." The author has executed his task with a free hand. His criticisms are very different from the common-place and indiscriminate laudations which make up the popular catchpenny histories of that remarkable campaign. He claims to have "bestowed commendation and censure alike, wherever he has deemed them to have been deserved." We do not pretend to pronounce upon the justice of either, farther than to say, that their heartiness bears strong evidence to their honesty. It is a really interesting, and in some parts, a stirring book. In reading some of the author's descriptions of assaults and storms, one can hardly wonder at the fascination and enthusiasm productive of the almost incredible military prowess so repeatedly displayed during the Mexican war.

1. *Universalism False and Unscriptural.* An Essay on the Duration and Intensity of Future Punishment.
2. *Considerations for Days of Adversity.*
3. *My Father's God.* A Testimony for religion addressed especially to the Children of Pious Parents.
4. *Still Happy in Jesus; or the Dying Hours of Emily F——, a Kelso Sabbath Scholar, aged 14.* By Jane Catharine ——.
5. *The Brazen Serpent, or Faith in Christ Illustrated.* By J. H. Jones, D. D.
6. *Letters to the Rt. Rev. John Hughes, Roman Catholic Bishop of New York.* By "Kirwan." Three parts in one. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, No 265 Chestnut Street.

It is becoming difficult to keep pace with the frequent issues of our Board, the more especially as they are, as they should be, for the most part of small size.

The Essay on Universalism is a well weighed, but earnest and conclusive scriptural argument on this momentous question. If we are not mistaken, we see both in the style and handling of the argument the familiar marks of a well known name.

The *Considerations for Days of Adversity*, are pertinent to the most common forms of affliction; and are always seasonable, seeing we know not what a day may bring forth. We were very much struck with the consideration that furnished

this *morceau* in advance of the occasions which will be sure to demand it sooner or later. To be forewarned is to be fore-armed.

The Juvenile books, in this lot exhibit the distinctive features of all the juvenile issues we have seen from our Board. They are earnest, solemn, and scriptural, rather than stimulating or fictitious.

All the world knows of "KIRWAN," and will be glad to have him return to his own home, and take his place quietly among his old Presbyterian friends, in the Board of Publication.

Report of the Sanitary Commission of Massachusetts. Presented April 25, 1850. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth, State Printers, No. 37 Congress Street. 8vo. pp. 544.

If we should express briefly our sense of the value of this document, we fear we should forfeit the confidence of our readers, by the suspicion of extravagance. We will therefore simply say, that it is long since we have seen a public document, that has interested us so much. It gives a running history of public sanitary measures, from the period of the Greeks and Romans, down to the present time. It brings together a vast amount of most interesting and valuable information on a great variety of topics relating to health and disease, their causes and means of management. It reduces and tabulates, with great labour, and in most convenient form, an immense multitude and variety of vital statistics, some of them of the most curious, and some of the most startling character: the whole looking to the adoption of wise sanitary measures with the most encouraging prospects of mitigating human suffering, and prolonging the average of human life.

Justification by Faith. A Concio ad Clerum, delivered in New Haven, July 29, 1851. By Lyman H. Atwater, pastor of the First Church in Fairfield. Published by request. New Haven, 1851.

The occasion on which this sermon was delivered, its subject, and the character and standing of its author, combine to give it special claims to public attention. There is no subject which lies nearer the sources of spiritual life, none more intimately connected with the well-being of religion in the individual and in the church, none more discriminating between true and false theology, than the great doctrine here discussed. Dr. Atwater has presented the subject so happily chosen, with so much clearness, and sustained his positions with so much ability, that we

entertain the hope that this sermon will form an epoch in the history of Connecticut theology.

The Popular Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature. Condensed from the larger work. By John Kitto, D. D., F. S. A., assisted by James Taylor, D. D., of Glasgow. Illustrated by numerous engravings. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1851, pp. 800.

This is a treasure house of matter illustrative of the Scriptures. The materials being alphabetically arranged, the work is one of easy reference; and the sources of information used being the latest and most reliable, it is one of the most valuable books of its class. Compressed into one bulky, yet handsome volume, it is accessible not only to ministers, but to Sunday school teachers, and general readers of the Bible, who will find it a very important aid in their study of the word of God.

The Perpetual Abode of the Holy Spirit in the Church, and Filial Duty. Two Sermons, preached in the First Reformed Dutch church, New Brunswick, June 8, 1851. By Samuel B. How, D. D., pastor of the church. Published at the request of the congregation.

These are two excellent discourses, and taken as specimens of the ordinary ministerial service of their author, must give a high impression of the instructive and edifying character of his preaching. The congregation which he has so long and so faithfully served, seem to be sensible of the blessing they enjoy in having a minister so devoted to his work.

The Confessional Unreiled. Being the substance of a Discourse on Auricular Confession, as set forth and practised by the Romish Church. Preached on Sabbath, June 29, 1851, in the Presbyterian church, Little Rock, Arkansas. By Joshua F. Green, minister of the gospel. Published by request. Little Rock, 1851.

This is a discourse much above the ordinary standard. It is distinguished by great clearness and force, and is careful in its statements, and therefore, not liable to the common objection of being exaggerated and abusive. It must, we think, not only do great credit to the author, but be of real service wherever it is read.

The Bible in the Family; or Hints on Domestic Happiness. By H. A. Boardman, D. D., Pastor of the Tenth Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., Successors of Grigg, Elliot & Co., pp. 342. 12mo.

This is another of those excellent practical works, by which Dr. Boardman extends the healthful influence of truth and piety far beyond the limits of his own particular charge. So much of the happiness and well-being of society depends on household religion, that the author could hardly have selected a theme of greater practical importance than the influence of

the Bible in the family. The subject and the author's name preclude the necessity of any other commendation.

Songs of Zion. A Manual of the best and most popular Hymns and Tunes for Social and Private Devotion. Published by the American Tract Society. pp. 192. 18mo. Containing 200 Hymns and 93 Tunes. Price 25 cents.

This work has the reputation of being selected with ability and taste. We hope it may facilitate and encourage devotional singing as a part of family worship, a purpose for which it is well adapted.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE title of Mr. Benton's forthcoming book, which the Appletons publish, is to be "Thirty Years in the Senate of the United States." There will be one volume only, of 800 pages octavo.

Dr. Conant's new translation of the Bible is to be printed by Lewis Colton, and will appear in parts.

The Messrs. Carter are publishing John Owen's works in sixteen 8vo. volumes of 400 pages each. They are also issuing, "Bonar on Leviticus," a New Collection of Prayers, and the "Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity," delivered before the University of Virginia; also, a new Index to all the Magazines and Reviews.

More volumes of the Exploring Expedition are coming out, including "Conchology," "Fishes," and "Ferns."

Dr. Hitchcock has published an account of the "Life and Labours of Miss Mary Lyon," of the Mount Holyoke Seminary.

"The Human Body and its Connexion with Man," by James Garth Wilkinson, of the Royal College of Surgeons, (Lippincott, Grambo & Co.)

"The Patriarchal Age; or, the Story of Joseph," prepared originally for the Students of the Girard College.

"Palestine; its Geography and Bible History," by F. G. Hibbard, (Ohio Conference,) by Lane & Scott—a useful and comprehensive reproduction of the labours of Robinson, and others; 20 lithographic maps.

"Familiar Science," a school book, that under the form of question and answer, elucidates common phenomena.

"The Life of Josephine," one of Abbot's Biographies.

The 2d volume of Lord Campbell's "Chief Justices," is out. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea. It comprises the Memoirs of Scroggs, Jeffreys, Holt, and Mansfield; the two former, as has been remarked, are every thing that is contemptible, the two latter, every thing that is praiseworthy and noble.

Lord Campbell has lately made an important decision in the Court of Errors, whereby it was declared to be the law of England, that an alien could legally assign the copyright of a work to a party in England.

"Ticknor's Spanish Literature," "Wilkes's United States Exploring Expedition," "Dr. Channing's Works," "Elements of Geology," by Agassiz and Gould, and Emerson's Arithmetic, have recently been translated into German.

The Harpers publish 1285 books, making 1686 volumes; 540 are copyright, 745 reprints; the balance against the copyright publications being made by the great number of novels republished.

Rev. Jedediah Huntington, brother we believe of the Painter, and author of that prurient puseyite novel, "Lady Alice," is about to publish, "Alban, a Tale of the New World."

Two important works are announced, a new French and English Dictionary, by G. C. Henderson & Co., Philadelphia; and a new Spanish Dictionary, by Thomas, Cowperthwaite & Co., Philadelphia.

It is said that Fitz Greene Halleck is writing a Memoir of his Life and Times.

The American Doctrinal Book and Tract Society will issue this fall, the works of the Rev. Dr. S. Hopkins, in 4 vols. also the Writings of John Robinson, of Leyden.

A Memoir of the Rev. Dr. S. Worcester, Corresponding Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, is preparing by his son, 2 vols. 12mo.

Also by Dr. J. Proudfit, A History of the Huguenots who came from France, and settled in New York and New Jersey.

The fourth volume of Torrey's Translation of Neander is in press at Andover, also a new edition of Kühner's School Greek Grammar.

A Translation of the Book of Proverbs, with a Commentary by Moses Stuart, and New Reading Lessons in Greek by Professor Felton, are in preparation.

A Translation of Mosheim's Historical Commentaries is already printed, and will soon be issued in two octavo volumes.

Mr. Squier's book "Antiquities of the State of New York," from extensive and original surveys and explorations, with supplements, 14 quarto plates, and 80 engravings will be published shortly, by G. H. Derby & Co., Buffalo.

Also the Works of Dr. Lyman Beecher, in 5 vols. 12mo. by J. P. Jewett & Co., Boston, whose excellent reprint of Grote has now reached the seventh volume.

The "History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac, and the War of the North American Tribes against the English Colonies after the Conquest of Canada," by Mr. Francis Parkman, jr., of Boston, has been reprinted by Bentley, of London; and is said to be a truly dignified history, and as interesting as a romance.

Gould & Lincoln, Boston, will soon issue "Smith's Natural History of the Human Species, with a preliminary abstract of the views of Blumenbach, Prichard, Buchanan, Agassiz, and others, also Neander's Commentaries on Philipians and James, translated by H. C. Conant.

W. H. Moore & Co. have in press Dr. Scoresby's "Memorials of the Sea," being Records of the adventurous life of his father.—Hugh Miller's Scenes and Legends of the North of Scotland, and a Concise History of England, from the Roman Invasion to Victoria, by William Clark, edited by Professor Moffat.

Guizot is shortly to publish his Lectures from 1820 to 1822, to be called "Origines du Gouvernement Représentatif."

A Persian Journal has been lately started at Teheran. It appears every Friday, and consists mainly of European news and articles on the condition of the provinces.

A Manuscript of Rousseau—a profoundly misanthropic preface to his Confessions, has just been discovered in the public Library of Neufchatel.

Bentley, of London, is about to publish "The fifteen decisive Battles of the World, from Marathon to Waterloo," by E. S. Creary, Professor of History in University College, London.

Dr. Haas's "History of Western Virginia" is said to be a useful and entertaining compilation. It is published at Wheeling, Virginia, by H. Hoblitzell.

W. Gowans, of New York, announces a new edition of Mourt's "Relation or Journal of the beginning and proceeding of the English Plantation, settled at Plymouth in New England," with notes by W. T. Harris.

The rich and recherché library of Dr. Jarvis is about to be sold at auction.

Dr. Latham, author of "The English Language," has lately put forth a work on the Ethnology of the British Colonies and Dependencies.

A new and splendid edition of the Doway version of the Bible is commenced at New York, under the sanction of Archbishop Hughes.

Hawthorne is about to publish a fourth volume of "Twice Told Tales."

A new edition has been published of Hodgson's Catalogue of all the books published in England from 1814 to 1851. It is invaluable to the book-buyer. A classified index up to 1850 is published separately. It is recommended to the buyers to preserve this edition, as after editions will not embrace the same time.

Twelve of the master pieces of Raphael are now publishing by Hering and Remington, London; size of the engravings 12 by 8 inches, price each \$1.75, proofs \$2.50. Subscribers to the whole receive a portfolio, explanatory notes, an essay on the "Life and Works of Raphael," and his portrait.

Ruskin is about to publish a pamphlet, entitled "Pre Raphaelitism."

The Rev. Wm. R. Alger has published a curious work, (Cambridge, Munroe & Co.) entitled a "History of the Cross," by which must be understood, not a history of the Gospel, but of the symbol merely.

A committee of the House of Parliament lately reported against newspaper stamps, as preventing the existence of cheap local papers which could reach the humbler classes. They suggest that some short copyright be given to articles which would prevent their being printed in case the stamps were abolished.

The present editor of the London Quarterly Review, is Mr. Lockhart, son-in-law of Sir Walter Scott.

The "Edinburgh" is edited by Mr. Empson, son-in-law of Lord Jeffrey. Among its present contributors are Mr. Moreton Milnes, Mr. John Foster, author of "Statesmen of the Commonwealth," Mr. G. H. Lewes, Professor Spalding, of St. Andrews, Professor De Morgan, Mr. Venables, of Cambridge, Sir James Stephen now of Oxford, whose miscellanies have been published, Mr. Morell, the metaphysician, who has been made Inspector of Schools, and Sir David Dundas, Judge Advocate. The advance of opinion has left it behind, and the "extreme left," once its place, is now occupied by the Westminster, edited by John Stuart Mill, and now the avowed advocate of Radicalism and Socialism.

The "North British" is edited by Mr. Fraser, and among its contributors are Mr. McCosh, and Sir David Brewster. It aims at the Catholicity of Chalmers, and appears about to take its place in the very forefront of the march of improvement.

The Carters have in press a hitherto unpublished work of Johnathan Edwards, entitled "Discourses on Christian Love:" it is to be edited from the original MSS., by Rev. Tryon Edwards, of New London, Connecticut, and will consist of sixteen lectures on the thirteenth chapter of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians. The subjects are "Charity or Christian Love;" "The sum of all that is distinguishing in Christian Character;" "All that can be done and suffered in vain without Charity;" "Charity, long suffering;" "kind;" "opposed to envy;" "humble;" "unselfish;" "not easily provoked;" "not censorious;" "rejoices in truth and holiness;" "enduring all for the sake of duty;" "connected with the other graces;" "never failing;" "Heaven, a world of Love." It is said to equal his best works and to be eminently practical in its character.

The Harpers have ready Lamartine's "Restoration of the Monarchy," translated by Madame Lamartine; and Isaac Taylor's "Wesley and Methodism."

Mr. Sewall, (New York,) will publish "Cobbin's Illustrated Testament," in octavo, for the young, in twelve parts, at ten cents each.

M. W. Dodd has issued a "Memorial of the late Rev. William J. Armstrong, D. D." Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, with selections from his sermons by Rev. H. Read.

Spencer's "Pastor's Sketches" have reached the tenth edition. Dr. Wisner has lately published a volume of the same character.

"Carlyle's Life of John Sterling" will be issued shortly by Phillips, Sampson & Co.

Gould & Lincoln, (Boston,) have just issued "Williams's Lectures on the Lord's Prayer," a new edition of the "Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation," by Calvin Stowe, which has been reprinted several times in England. J. A. James's "Wreath around the Cross," and "Guizot's Mural Map of the World." This is the first of a series of elegant coloured maps, exhibiting the physical phenomena of the Globe; projected on a large scale, 7 by 4½ feet, printed in three colours, and intended to be suspended in the recitation room.

A new religious paper has just been begun by the Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg, of New York, a bi-weekly quarto of eight pages, it is to avoid controversy, and foster charity, and steadfastness in the faith: it is called the "Evangelical Catholic."

Copway, the Indian Chief, has published his "European Observations:" he has also begun a periodical which is said to be a smartish production.

The contributions of the Harpers and A. Hart alone to the

New York Trade Sale amounted to nearly \$100,000, and the whole sale probably reached half a million.

The third and fourth volumes of "Macaulay's History" are on the eve of publication; it is also said that he is about to attempt a novel.

The books and MSS. of the poet Gray were lately sold for the sum of £1034 7s.

Horace Greely's "Glances at Europe" is in press by Dewitt & Davenport, and it is said that immense orders for them have been already received.

Putnam announces a new Spanish and a new French Dictionary, uniform with Adler's German Dictionary.

The 16th, 17th, and 18th vols. of the works of "Frederick the Great," have just been published at Berlin. They are occupied with correspondence. There are 4000 letters written by him, two-thirds in French, and the remainder in German, chiefly on military topics addressed to his Generals. They belong to the State Archives, and this edition was undertaken by the King at his own expense. The sale of Autographs in England and France is enormous. A great many are doubtless stolen: a Catalogue of the thefts of this sort from public libraries of France was lately published in Paris, which states the number lost during the last fourteen years to have been 58,000.

Twenty-six hundred of Walpole's letters have been published, and it is thought that there are many more yet.

An unpublished Correspondence between Charles I. and his confidential servant, Capt. Titus, (author of "Killing no Murder," written against Cromwell,) was bought at auction lately by the British Museum.

"Schleswig Holstein in 1850," by I. Venedy, is an interesting contribution to contemporary history.

A new exposition of "The Prince," by Machiavelli, has appeared from the pen of Theo. Mundt. He thinks that it has had an influence on the late revolutions in Europe, and that "The Prince" will be again the text-book of despots.

It is said that this year's crop of German novels exceeds all bounds.

Jonghaus of Darmstadt has published a collection of hitherto unprinted documents of the 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, and relating to the history of the Monastery of Arnsburg. It is said that antiquarians were never more energetic in the scrutiny of the ancient hoards of mediæval times.

Goethe's racy correspondence with Prof. Zahn, while the latter was excavating at Pompeii, has lately been discovered at Naples, and will be soon published.

A series of elaborate Histories has just been begun by Weizel of Leipsic, the first of which is "The History of the Cities of Germany and of German Citizenship." The subject is treated after the manner of the "Pictorial History of England."

The tenth volume of "Thiers' History of the Consulate," is announced, and the eleventh is nearly ready.

Mr. Mignet, for his "Life and Times of Mary, Queen of Scots," has had the advantage of a collection of letters published by Prince Lebanoff, "Researches in the State Paper Office," by Mr. Lytler, and a collection of unpublished documents, chiefly from the archives of Spain, that he was enabled to reach by the express request of the French government. This is the third work on the subject that has appeared within a year and a half. It is said that the law requiring French journalists to sign their articles, has been of advantage. The articles are better written, and with more caution as to fact and opinion, and able writers can thus gain the sooner a reputation and a claim upon their employers.

M. Vachterol, who lately published an exposition of the doctrines of the Philosophical School at Alexandria, has just finished and issued "A Critical History of the Philosophical School at Alexandria," tracing its influence upon subsequent schools.

Mr. Chas. Kingsley, whom we mentioned in a previous number as prominent in the new party of Christian Socialists, is about fifty years of age; has been a voluminous contributor to Fraser's Magazine, whence his "Yeast a Problem" has lately been reprinted, a book of considerably more energy than delicacy. He has besides written "Politics for the People," "Village Sermons," and "The Saint's Tragedy," a drama. There are now five tracts on "Christian Socialism" published, two of them by Maurice.

Little & Brown will publish Judge Woodbury's Miscellaneous Writings, Addresses, and Judicial Opinions, in four octavo volumes. "The Life of Judge Story," in two octavo volumes, will soon be ready. It is written by his son.

Mr. Lyman C. Draper is about to publish "The Life and Times of Gen. George Rogers Clarke," in two octavo volumes; to be followed by shorter historical accounts of Daniel Boone, and others of the Western pioneers. Mr. Draper has been several years collecting the materials for these lives.

Herr Heischmann's "Branches of Industry in the United States," written to tell emigrants from his Fatherland what they can do for themselves in America, and what they must not

expect to be able to do, so that no undue expectations may be entertained, is an admirable review of all that we are doing; and incidentally contains admirable and enthusiastic descriptions of our manners and customs.

A Convention of Sclavic scholars, under the auspices of the Servian Literary Society of Matica Ilirska in Agram, will soon be held to consider the possibility of combining the different Sclavic dialects into one language. It is said that the cultivation to which these dialects have attained, will render the problem extremely difficult.

"Milton's *Areopagitica*" has been lately published in German at Berlin.

Auguste Comte has published the first volume of a new work, entitled "*System of Positive Polity*." The science he develops he calls Sociology, or a new Religion of Humanity.

Girardin has published a pamphlet with an odd title, "*The Revolution Legal through the Presidency of a Workman*."

Michelet is publishing "*Legends of the Deocracy*."

Proudhon "*The General Idea of Revolution in the Nineteenth Century*."

Dr. Buchanan, of Edinburgh, has written a refutation of the shallow Atheism of Martineau and Atkinson.

The important Greek MSS., from the foot of Mount Athos, have been proved to be forgeries.

Chevalier Bunsen has in press, "*Five Letters to Archdeacon Hare on Hypolitus, Presbyter of Rome, author of the recently discovered book ascribed to Origen, and the bearing of this work on the leading questions of Ecclesiastical History and Polity*."

Dr. Croly has just published "*Scenes from Scripture*," a new volume of Poems.

Herodotus is to appear in an English version, edited in the light of all the recent discoveries in Assyria, by Rev. George Rawlinson, assisted by Col. Rawlinson, and Sir G. Wilkinson.

Sir James Stephen, the brilliant essayist of the Edinburgh, has nearly ready "*Lectures on the History of France*," and a compiled History of France.

Sir William Hamilton has published "*Critical Discussions in Philosophy, Literature, and Education, with University Reform*," chiefly from the Edinburgh Review, but now corrected, vindicated, and enlarged.

Over sixty-five commentaries on the Apocalypse have been written in America. Two more are just forthcoming, one by Mr. James of Western New York, and the other by a clergyman of Connecticut. Two more are announced in London.

The "Grenville Papers," to be published by Murray, consist of the private correspondence of Richard Grenville, Earl Temple, and his brother, Right Honourable George Grenville, and their friends and cotemporaries. It is expected to contain materials for deciding the Junius question.

Archbishop Whately has written thirty-six works.

The Harpers publish the Memoirs of the late Rev. Edward Bickersteth by the Rev. T. Birks, with an introduction by Dr. Tyng.

Rev. Isaac Leaser, one of the Jewish ministers of Philadelphia, a scholar and man of talents, is engaged in translating the Old Testament on the basis of the present English version, his object being to render few explanatory notes needed. Also Rev. Dr. Conant of the University of Rochester will publish a translation of the Holy Scriptures with the same object.

Longfellow has in press his longest poem, "The Golden Legend." It will make some three hundred and fifty pages.

The Carters have issued the last volume of Henry's Life of Calvin.

The publication of the works of Alexander Hamilton has reached the sixth volume.

A new edition of Cruden's Concordance is published by M. W. Dodd.

The Life of Zumpt, the grammarian, has appeared, written in Latin by William Zumpt.

M. Villemarque's "Bards of Brittany in the Sixteenth century," is said to be a good study for belles lettres scholars; full specimens and translations are given from the Celtic, besides certain valuable philosophical disquisitions.

M. Romain Cornut is publishing in La Presse a succinct yet complete summary of the Philosophy of Augustus Comte.

The first volume of a collection of the speeches and parliament reports of the principal French orators from 1789 to the present day has just appeared at Paris. It contains the speeches of Mirabeau with a biography and critical notices. The speeches of Robespierre appear next, to be followed by those of Buzot, Vergniaud, Danton, Maury, Cazalles, &c. The price is seven francs a volume.

Mrs. Marsh, the popular novelist, has written a "History of the Protestant Reformation in France," which Lea and Blanchard have just published. Also we have Felice's "History of Protestants of France," published by Mr. Walker, which is an admirable work; and the "History of the Reformed Religion in France," by Mr. Smedley, published by the Harpers.

A new volume of Bohn's Library (New York, Bangs & Bro-

ther,) contains biographical sketches of Denzil Hollis, Ludlow, May, Sir P. Warwick, Lilburne, Fairfax, Hutchinson, Herbert, Price, Clarendon, Burnet, Buckingham, Sir John Reresby, and James II., by M. Guizot. These are transferred from his great "Collection of Memoirs relating to the History of the Rebellion in England."

Another Diary of the Seventeenth Century is about to be published, that of Edmund Bohun. It was discovered in Suffolk, England, and will be edited by S. W. Rix.

Professor Moffat of Miami University has in the press of W. M. Moore & Co., Cincinnati, a volume on Aesthetics, which is well spoken of, and intended for purposes of Education.

The Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg has been spending the last three years in Mexico, studying its Archæology. He brings away with him original and important materials for the early history of Mexico, obtained from the neglected libraries of that country.

GERMANY.

Dr. F. Delitzsch has published a Commentary on the Song of Solomon. pp. 239. Leipzig.

Hengstenberg's Commentary on the Revelation is now completed, by the appearance of the second part of Volume II. pp. 230. Berlin. The exposition is followed by an extended examination of the points affecting the genuineness of the book.

Three volumes of Hengstenberg's Psalms have passed through a second edition.

Tholuck's Doctrine of Sin and of a Mediator, has reached its seventh edition.

F. Arndt, The Life of Jesus, in a series of Sermons, delivered in 1850. Part II. pp. 256. Magdeburg. The first part was issued last year.

Dr. A. Hilgenfeld, The Gospel of Mark, as to its composition, position in the literature of the Gospels, origin, and character. pp. 133. Leipzig.

F. C. Steinhöfer, Exposition of Paul's Epistle to the Romans. pp. 251. Tübingen.

Lic. W. O. Dietlein, The Catholic Epistles Expounded. Part I. Containing the Second Epistle of Peter. pp. 244. Berlin.

The Seven Epistles of the Apocalypse applied to the present condition of the Evangelical Church, (in Latin.) By Dr. Freytag. pp. 44. Berlin.

Professor J. H. Kurtz, *Doctrines of the Christian Religion*, as held in the Evangelical Church. 4th edition, enlarged and improved. pp. 208. Mitau. Also, *Contributions to the Symbolic of the Old Testament Worship*, No. 1. *The Place of Worship*. pp. 70. Leipzig. This is reprinted from Rudelbach and Guericke's *Zeitschrift*, Heft 1, of the current year. The author takes middle ground between Bähr and Hengstenberg. In the same field there have appeared before, from the pen of Kurtz, an article in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1844, on the Symbolical Dignity of Numbers, and a volume entitled, *The Mosaic Offering*, 1842. pp. 317. His *Bible and Astronomy* (with a few pages devoted to Geology,) is so revolutionized in the second edition, (pp. 317, Berlin,) as to be really a new work.

Professor A. Ebrard, *The Bible and Reason*, (16mo., pp. 94,) and *Day of Freedom*. pp. 54. Frankfurt on the Mayn. Published by the Evangelical Union for the Palatinate.

H. Alt, *The Christian Worship*, historically presented. Second greatly enlarged edition. pp. 670. Berlin.

C. Bähr, *der protestantische Gottesdienst vom Standpunkte der Gemeinde aus betrachtet*. pp. 122. Heidelberg.

J. W. F. Höfling, *The Doctrine of the most Ancient Church respecting the Offering in the life and worship of Christians*. pp. 236. Erlangen.

Z. Frankel, *The Influence of the Palestine Exegesis on the Alexandrine Hermeneutics*. pp. 354. Leipzig.

J. B. Kraus, *The Apocatastasis of the Irrational Creation from the (Rom.) Catholic Standpoint*. pp. 100. Regensburg.

R. Hofmann, *The Life of Jesus*, according to the Apocryphal accounts. pp. 484. From a commendatory notice by Guericke, we gather, that one aim of this work is to exhibit the striking testimony which is rendered to the genuineness and divinity of the Canonical Gospels by the contrast of the Apocryphal. It brings together, in their regular order, narrations, not only from Apocryphal Gospels published and unpublished, but from various other traditionary sources, *e. g.* the Epistle of Lentulus, giving a description of Christ's personal appearance, the Epistles of Christ and Abgarus, the Mohammedan legends, &c. The whole is accompanied with much learned and valuable matter relative to the literature of the subject, and the explanation of the text.

H. Ewald's *Annual of Biblical Science*, for 1850-1. pp. 294. Göttingen. This is the third of these annuals; the first was for 1848.

Maurer, (author of the *Grammatico-Critical Commentary on*

on the old Testament,) Condensed Hebrew and Chaldee Dictionary of the Old Testament, with a German Index. pp. 1139. Stuttgart.

J. Nathan, Vocabulary to the Pentateuch, with tables showing the inflexions of Hebrew Nouns and Verbs. Second edition, enlarged and improved. pp. 130. Berlin.

C. A. Thile, The Scientific Character of the modern Speculative Theology examined in its principles. pp. 344. Leipzig.

C. R. Hagenbach, Encyclopædia and Methodology of the Theological Sciences. Third edition, revised. pp. 419. Leipzig.

E. Sartorius, die Lehre von der heiligen Liebe. Third edition.

L. J. Rückert, (author of Commentaries on several of Paul's Epistles,) Theology. Part I. pp. 379. Leipzig.

K. F. A. Kahnis, Doctrine of the Lord's Supper. pp. 472. Leipzig.

J. Amberger, Pastoral Theology. Volume I., Book 1st., Grundlegung. Book 2d., The Pastoral Office. pp. 684.

F. Vogl, Pastoral Theology. Two volumes. pp. 1139. Sixth edition. Regensburg.

H. Schmid, Compend of Church History. pp. 468. Nördlingen.

History of the Christian Church in the first three centuries, from Talmudic sources. pp. 152. Berlin.

Stolberg's History of the Religion of Jesus Christ, continued by J. N. Brischar, (Rom. Catholic.) Vol. 46. pp. 447. Mentz.

J. Kehrein, (R. C.,) History of the German Bible before Luther, with 34 different German translations of Matthew, Chap. v. pp. 154. Stuttgart.

J. Akermann, The History of the Kingdom of God on earth before, in, and after Christ.

J. M. Mandernach, History of Priscillianism. pp. 104.

F. Mommsen, The Edict of Diocletian de pretiis rerum venalium, A. D. 301. pp. 80. Leipzig.

C. T. Keim, The Reformation in Ulm. A contribution to the history of the Suabian and German Reformation. pp. 420. Stuttgart.

C. H. Bresler, History of the German Reformation. Second edition. In 12 Lieferungen, Lfg. 1-6. pp. 480. Berlin.

A. Wildenhahn, Martin Luther, a life-portrait from the first ten years of the Reformation. Two Parts. pp. 280 and 234.

Luther's complete Works have been printed at six several times: 1. At Wittenberg, in 19 vols. folio, 1539-1558; 2. At

Jena, in 12 vols. folio, 1555–1558; 3. At Altenburg, in 10 vols. folio, 1661–1664; 4. At Leipzig, in 23 vols. folio, 1729–1740; 5. At Halle in 24 vols. 4to. 1740–1753; 6. At Erlangen, in 66 vols. 8vo. 1826–1849.

Corpus Reformatorum, also under the title of the Complete Works of Philip Melanchthon. Edited since the death of Dr. Bretschneider, by H. E. Bindseil. Vol. XVI. 4to. pp. 1300. Halle.

Homilies of Synesius, Bishop of Cyrene, translated for the first time into French, and published with the corrected Greek text by B. Kolbe, pp. 21. Berlin.

F. H. Ranke, *Sermons*, Third Part, second edition, pp. 278. Erlangen.

F. W. Krummacher, *The Sabbath-bell*.

Francis von Baader's Complete Works, to consist of 10 volumes of writings published during his life, and 5 volumes of posthumous matter, Vols. I. and XI. (1st of posthumous) have been issued. Von Baader died in 1841.

C. Ritter, *Geography*, Vol. XV. 2d Division, or Comparative Geography of the Peninsula of Sinai, Palestine and Syria, Vol. II. 2d Division, pp. 781–1502. Berlin.

Titus Tobler, *Golgotha, its Churches and Cloisters*, with 4 lithographic views and plans, pp. 553. St. Gall.

Thetmari iter ad Terram Sanctam anno 1217. E cod. mss. ed. Titus Tobler, 16mo. pp. 73. St. Gall.

J. N. Stöger, *Historians of the Society of Jesus from its origin to our times*, pp. 138. Ratisbon.

Pirke Aboth, (*Proverbs of the Fathers*, a Talmudic tract) with the pointed text, a new German translation, and copious explanations by Rabbi Dr. L. Adler, Vol. I. Heft 1. pp. 72.

J. F. Schröder, *Statutes and Usages of Talmudico-Rabbinical Judaism*, A Manual for Jurists, Statesmen, Theologians, and Historians, as well as for all who would inform themselves upon the subject, pp. 678, Bremen. In an Appendix on the present condition of the Jews in the different countries of the world, their numbers are stated as follows, viz. in Russia 940,000; in Austria they are suffered to reside only in Galicia, 300,000; in Hungary as many, if not more; in Bohemia and Moravia, 120,000; in Lombardy only a few thousand; and in Vienna 2000. In Prussia there were at the census of 1840, 194,000; in the other German States 160,000. In Denmark there are 15,000, chiefly at Altona and Copenhagen. In Sweden about 2000. In Norway they are not tolerated. In Holland there are more than 100,000, of whom 30,000 are in Amsterdam; in Great Britain 60,000; in France more than

100,000. In Spain and Portugal there are only a few Jews, and these dare not own themselves publicly to be such; they have no Synagogue except four in Gibraltar, which belongs to England. There are in Italy 50,000 Jews, in Turkey in Europe 400,000, in Palestine 16,000, in Egypt and Barbary about 1,600,000. In Persia and China, and on the Malabar coast there are Jews, but their numbers are not known.

E. Wippermann *die Altorientalischen Religionsstaaten.* pp. 148. Marburg.

A. Böckh, *The Administration of Athens.* Second edition in three vols. Vol. I. pp. 792. Berlin.

E. Braun, *Greek Mythology*, in three books. Book First, and half of the Second. pp. 442.

C. Petersen, *The Domestic Worship of the Ancient Greeks*, with a lithographic ground-plan of the Greek house, pp. 73. Cassel.

A. J. Weidenbach's *Mythology of the Scandinavians and Germans*, pp. 429. Frankfurt on the Mayn. This is a sequel to his *Mythology of the Greeks and Romans*, pp. 272, published last year.

H. Keck, *The Theological Character of Zeus in the Trilogy of the Prometheus of Æschylus.* 4to. pp. 26. Glückstadt.

H. D. Müller on *Zeus Lykaïos.* A mythological treatise. 4to. pp. 38. Göttingen.

The works of Euripides and Sophocles have been published in Greek, with a metrical German translation, and critical and explanatory remarks by J. A. Hartung.

J. B. Brosi, *The Celts and ancient Helvetians*, pp. 115.

H. Brugsch, *The Inscription on the Rosetta Stone*, pp. 35.

M. G. Schwartz, *Coptic Grammar*; published after the author's death, by H. Steinthal, pp. 493. Berlin.

M. A. Uhlemann *de veterum Ægyptiorum lingua et literis*, pp. 116. Leipzig.

H. J. C. Weissenborn, *Nineveh and its Territory*, with relation to the recent excavations in the Valley of the Tigris. 4to. pp. 36. Erfurt.

F. Spiegel, *Grammar of the Parsees Language*, with specimens of the language, pp. 209. Leipzig.

Avesta, the Sacred Writings of the Parsees. For the first time in the original, with the translation of Huzvâresh. Published by F. Spiegel. 1st Division: *The Vendidad*. Fargard i—x. pp. 112. Leipzig. The nineteenth Fargard of the *Vendidad* has also been published by the same at Munich, pp. 58. 4to.

Vendidad Sade. The Sacred Writings of Zoroaster, Yaçna,

Vispered and Vendidad. From the lithographed editions of Paris and Bombay, with an Index and Glossary. Published by Dr. H. Brockhaus. Small 4to. Price six Thalers.

Bundehesh, liber Pehlvius. E vetustissimo cod. Havniensi descripsit, duas inscriptiones regis Saporis I. adjecit. Professor N. L. Westergaard. 4to. pp. 84. Havniae.

Indian Studies, Contributions to the knowledge of Hindoo antiquity, issued in numbers at irregular intervals. By A. Weber. Vol. I. pp. 484, appeared in three numbers in 1849-50. Two numbers of Vol. II. pp. 320 have been published. He has also published five numbers of Vol. I. and one number of Vol. II. of the Sanscrit work Yajurveda.

The Sanscrit system of Medicine, Susrutas Ayurvedas has been translated into Latin, and published by F. Hessler. Vol. I. in 1844, Vol. II. in 1847, Vol. III. the present year.

